56k-1943

An Open Letter to Paul V. McNutt:

Yesterday you intervened with the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee to suppress plans for hearings on discrimination against Negroes in the railroad industry—hearings that held promise of opening railroad employment to all Americans on an equal footing in this time of vital need.

If you stand by your decision, this is tragedy. But it isn't too late to change your mind. Respectfully, and with some knowledge of the considerations on both sides of the case, we ask that you reverse your decision. Keep the door open for whatever small measure of advance this proceeding may offer to 13 millions of our people.

Exactly what considerations are in your mind, of course, we don't know. But there are some obvious, and serious, factors that may have influenced your decision.

First, of course, are the political facts. We know, as well as you do, that your commanding officer—the Commander-in-Chief of all of us in this war—is faced by an almost intolerable political situation in this present Congress. Hostile Republicans, some of them men who put their hatred of the President and their desire for a return to reaction above every other consideration, are within a hair's breadth of control.

In this situation, the President, faced by constant political sniping and hamstringing legislative action, wants the support of the Southern Democratic bloc.

Now, as we all know, the Southern bloc, by and large, is composed of men loyal to the war effort in its international aspects. Because they come from the cotton and tobacco states, which must export or starve, they know how closely the peace and welfare of our own country are tied up with the rest of the world. But, also because they are from the cotton states—where the poll tax makes most of them the representatives not of the people, but of the privileged minority at the top—they are inclined to be reactionary on domestic issues.

The people who elect them—again by virtue of the poll tax—are people who are best served by cheap labor markets. By the tradition of the South, too, they are largely exponents of the idea of white supremacy. They say, of course, that they are the Negro's best friends—and they think they mean it—but most of them mean that what they want to do is to *improve* the Negro's condition but *keep him in his place.*

In substance, many of them are on the democratic side on the military front and against democracy on the home front.

The President is faced constantly with the threat of losing the support of the Southern bloc on the war front unless he appeases it by sabotaging democracy on the home front.

Realizing the difficulties of running a war with that kind of a Congressional setup, it is the natural and understandable inclination of the President's friends to try to play politics with the Southern bloc and help him keep it in line. This can be done by trading off things like the poll tax or parts of the campaign against racial discrimination. The Jim Crow man will go a long way with anyone who will let him alone in his eternal fight to *keep the Negro in his place.*

Add to this political situation all the old arguments stemming from the whites of the South that this isn't the time to rock the boat by fighting out the Negro question democratically at home while we're fighting abroad, and the arguments of some employers and some workers that taking Negroes into jobs heretofore closed to them might cause friction, and it isn't hard to understand the difficulty of the decision that faced you.

Take a minute before we pass that last point. Since the war started, Negroes *have* been taken into many jobs heretofore closed to them. In most cases, there has been little or no friction as a result. In some cases, there has been friction, and it has been eliminated by the kind of understanding between people that can only be achieved by association. In some cases there still is some friction, but it will be removed by the same process of growing understanding. I know of no single instance where friction has developed that cannot be smoothed out amicably if wise counsel like that heretofore given by the FEPC is allowed to prevail.

But grant that there are tough arguments against giving the Negro a democratic break. There's another side, and it's tougher yet.

We are at war with Fascism—and racism is one of the foundation stones of Fascism. If we make this a white man's war, and, it follows, not a war for democracy—if we insist that one American shall be privileged above another because of his race or his color—we will have lost the essential of our own democracy, no matter how we come out in the field. As a by-product, we will be kissing off as allies on the military front the millions of people in the East.

We are at war, and every one of us is faced with the loss of our lives or everything that we hold dear, if we lose. In a time like this, when every hour of work that every man can give is needed, we cannot afford to close the door on 13 millions of our people who are ready and willing to work. If the white man does not allow the Negro his right to equality of opportunity to work, the white man stands to lose more than the Negro, for the colored man has less to begin with.

We are at war, and our Commander-in-Chief needs the support of every believer in democracy in our country, if he is to be effective. He needs this whole united democratic support more than he needs the support of any factions in Congress. President Roosevelt has done more to bring democracy to all our people, white and colored alike, than any President since Abraham Lincoln. Are we now to destroy the faith of our people—again it is whites and colored alike—in the kind of democracy he has been fighting for?

There isn't room, or need, to go into all of the arguments for the Negro's side of the case—all the arguments for the democratic side. You know them as well as we do.

But cut back to the political question. If we fear that the Southern Negro-haters are going to obstruct the President and the war effort because we won't trade off discrimination for votes, isn't it time we faced the reality:

They can't do as much harm to the President, to the war effort or to the democratic cause by voting openly in Congress against the Administration, as will be done if we sacrifice our democratic principles in an effort to keep them in line by appeasement. In Congress they can only hamper and obstruct the President, just as the isolationist Republicans are out to do. In private deals, which trade away the democratic rights of our Negro people, they can destroy our democracy, turn our war aims to ashes.

If any part of the Southern Congressional bloc is going to join the isolationist Republicans and doublecross our wartime Commander-in-Chief because an American who happens to be colored is given the same fair shake at a job as an American who happens to be white, we can't help the situation by surrendering. What good can come of dealing with a man who has betrayal in his heart; and if his heart is clean, what need is there for a deal?

Any—if there are any—who would betray their leader and their country because they can't stand democracy at home, might as well be found out now.

To repeat: our Commander-in-Chief needs the support of the men and women in this country who believe in democracy, more than he needs the support of the Negro-haters in Congress. Don't close the door on this kind of support in the Fair Employment Practice Committee. We can't afford to lose our democracy by appeasement.—JOHN P. LEWIS.

Well "Ole Gene" will be out of the picture next week—and we hope it is "Goodbye forever." Gene Talmadge has done Georgia more harm than a couple of race riots and a whole string of lynchings.—Claxton Enterprise.

Fake 'Crime Wave'

SOME of the New York newspapers have been devoting much space to headlines and to lurid details about a few isolated alleged crimes by Negroes. These newspapers are well-known for their hatred of democracy and progress, and are apparently trying to whip up another "crime wave" hysteria directed against the Negro people.

Obviously, this is an attack upon national unity, and specifically upon the struggle for job rights and equality for the Negro people. The fact is that Harlem in the one section of the city where juvenile delinquency declined, despite newspaper headlines, in 1942,

They are cleaning up the State Capitol Building and getting it in readiness for ... The newspapers who are trying to whip ... move out and Ellis Arnall to move in. A first-call ... up this hysteria can best be answered by an fumigation is certainly in order.—Sylvester Local.

sburgh Courier
sburgh, PA.

No Negroes On Ration Boards

JAN 9 - 1943

ATLANTA, Ga., Jan. 7—(ANP) — "Thirteen million Americans, one million of whom are in Georgia, want to know how long they may be denied just representation in federal agencies. They want to know whether they can expect a square deal from the Office of Price administration. Or must they be limited solely to leaving their families and friends to fight on foreign soil while those who remain behind buy war bonds and stamps?"

These were the questions asked of OPA Administrator Leon Henderson by the Atlanta Urban league this week as it tried to find out why there are no Negroes among the 8,000 OPA employes in Georgia.

STRANGE CASE OF GEORGIA

Pointing out that "the United States would take a great step toward democracy and Negro citizens all over the country would be immensely gratified if OPA were to give more consideration to the hiring of Negroes on its various staffs," William Y. Bell Jr., executive secretary of the Urban league, wrote Henderson that "this is particularly true for Atlanta and Georgia, neither of which can point to a single Negro acting in any official capacity with your agency.

NO REPRESENTATION

"More than one-third of the people in Atlanta are Negroes," the statement continued, "but they are not represented in any way whatsoever on any of the rationing boards. More than 100 tire inspectors have been appointed and in spite of the fact that we have several Negro service stations and repair shops which could easily qualify and have applied, not one has been certified as a tire inspection center. The economic factor which restricts income to white operators is apparently at work here.

"With only one-fourth as much chance for equal education, the Negro families of Georgia and other southern states stand at the top of the list in need for consumer education. Yet, there is not even one Negro appointed to serve the 1,100,000 Negroes of Georgia in the consumer education field."

ADMITS OTHER PRESSURE

Admitting the difficulties faced by Henderson, Bell said: "I know that you have a lot of people on your neck for the courageous and forth-right manner in which you have sought to carry out sound OPA policy. You have won the respect of millions of consumers who believe firmly that you have sought conscientiously to carry out your job with the best interest of the country at heart. In the larger scheme of things I suppose that the matter of race has been relatively unimportant compared to the other pressing problems confronting you."

The statement concluded by pointing out, however, that race is the most painful fact in the lives of 13,000,000 Americans who look hopefully to Henderson to remedy some of the flagrant evils now existing in the OPA setup.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
January 15, 1943



Many groups and individuals in the South and elsewhere are going to be entitled to ask for more than they have when this war is won. But there is not one of us who is not duty-bound to the common sense and realism of making more of what we have, of doing all that can be done with the materials at hand, including the 150 or so pounds of flesh and bone we call ourself.

* * *

He did not mention it but it seemed to us that Dr. Seibels' own work in maternal welfare among the underprivileged rural people of South Carolina, and especially among Negroes, is a similar reflection of this Southern realism, this making the most of things while waiting or working for better things. He and his associates have not waited for hospitals and doctors to be made available to these people. They have gone among them and worked for an improved sanitation, diet, care and psychology in terms of conditions existing—and the improvements they have made are immense in the statistics of their state. They don't tell them to eat Western steaks, but they do tell them to eat rabbits and fish and to buy milk rather than candy.

* * *

Similarly, it seems to us, the Jeannes teachers among the rural Negroes in so many Southern counties are engaged in this Southern realism, taking whatever home, school and community situation they find and making the utmost of it for those who live in it.

* * *

A rule of the age of plenty into which philosophers say we mortals are making our way is going to be that there must be an economy which does not waste, which makes use of whatever is at hand even as a constant more is sought. In that age there will be need of leaders who ask for more, who demand for those they lead more goods, more services, more rights, more equalities, justices, privileges. But there will be need, too, as there is today and has always been, of leaders who remind us to make good use of what we have, to make the very most of ourselves with the goods and rights at hand, to cast down our buckets where we are.

* * *

And it may be that from the South, where such a realism has been engendered through generations of dependence upon what was at hand, through much poverty and long trouble, will come some of the national impulse to this rule of the utmost.

New York Age
New York, N. Y.

College Professor In Warning That Racial Superiority Must Go

JAN 23 1943

PALO ALTO, Cal.—If America is ever to achieve a realistic peace, its citizens must do away with the philosophy of racial superiority.

This statement was made by Dr. Harold H. Fisher, historian and authority on Russia, of the Stanford University, last week.

Pointing to Russia as a practical example of a land where the "race problem" had been solved not only in theory, but in actual practice, Fisher declared:

"First, within the Soviet Union there is no superior race or nation ordained to rule over its neighbors, but all the nationalities, regardless of race, color, culture and number, have equal rights.

JAN 23 1943

"Second, there is a distinction between those activities and institutions which concern the common welfare, such as the army, the police, the courts, and the schools, and those which do not. In the former, the Soviet Union has established a democratic equality, while in the latter, it has left room for individual differences."

camps, assure that all parcels are received by those for whom they are intended.

Twenty thousand American Red Cross parcels were sent last June to the Far East on the neutral diplomatic exchange ship, the Gripsholm, for distribution by International Red Cross Committee delegates to American prisoners in Japan, Occupied China, and the Philippines. The Gripsholm also carried 1,000,000 cigarettes, 10,000 tins of smoking tobacco, $50,000 worth of medical supplies, and quantities of clothing and other necessities furnished by the Army and Navy.

Much larger quantities of supplies have been loaded on the Gripsholm in anticipation of her

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.



"Tomorrow's America will be as strong as today's children . . ."

JAN 26 1943

President Basil O'Connor, of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, made his keynote when he opened this year's fund-raising campaign which culminates on the birthday of the world's most famous sufferer. In his thought we may all thank God now that the war news promises us an American tomorrow and go forward in high heart along the miles of dimes and other donations which must make this year's drive the most successful of all. Jefferson County's quota, Chairman Russell Morgan tells us, is $18,397. Knowledge of what strong arms and legs are accomplishing in this industrial community in wartime should make for an extra solicitude and generosity toward arms and legs that are not strong.

JAN 26 1943

Today's children! We fight this war for them. We pour out our blood and treasure to win it for them. Let us not fail them at home.

* * *

Is the Solid South Cracking? A national magazine has asked us to write an article on the subject—and we don't know what to say. Certainly the "reactions" which are going on elsewhere are going on here, too, and with the vital additional impetus of Southern concern about the Negro question and Southern realization that the national Democratic party is going to be competing henceforth with the Republican party for the Negro vote. The farm revolt is as sharp here as anywhere else, and there is as much weariness with vistas of endlessly controlled economy. On the other hand Roosevelt is still esteemed by the Southern masses and the New Deal is still appreciated for immense things it did for the South. Certainly if there is a crack it is not likely to make political capital for that group of Southerners which includes the nation's most extreme reactionaries. They are out for good in this column's opinion. And there begin to be indications that the administration itself has decided not to be left behind in the current "reaction." Mr. Roosevelt was careful to disassociate himself from the anti-poll tax fight. And he has given no public encouragement to those who have been passing around word that the New Deal would be horse-and-buggy stuff to what would come after the war. And now Mr. Wallace, the most suspected of all, comes out with an amazing speech in praise of umpired competition and free enterprise as still the bases of our American system.

JAN 26 1943

Certainly if the South cracks up politically it is not going to be along the lines some of those who are proposing a crack desire. It is not going to be a crack into the hands of those who have never yet learned that Thomas Jefferson stood against Hamilton not only for liberty but also for humanity. It is obvious, too, that no separate Southern party is coming.

JAN 26 1943

People who are writing this column about Mr. Thomas Sancton's pieces on the South in the current numbers of The New Republic and who rightly say it is unfair of him to blame the race tension wholly on the prejudices and wild alarms of Southern whites, ought to read what he is writing for the national Negro press. And the front-page way the Negro press plays it up. The agitating which Mr. Sancton ignores in The New Republic, he goes in for himself in the Negro press. It is a case of not letting his right hand know what his left hand is doing—or should we say, his left-of-center his extreme left. The Washington Afro-American headlines his story on its front page thus: "New Republic Editor Says Whites Fight for 'Freedom From Nazi Slavery; Colored, Freedom From Us.'" "Speaking as one white Southerner to another," the account begins, "Thomas Sancton, editor of The New Republic, calls the liberalism of Virginius Dabney, John Temple Graves and Mark Etheridge pale dishwater . . .

JAN 26 1943

No matter how great the grievance—and railroad hearings by the FEPC. The best thinking people do not dispute the magnitude of the Negro's grievance—civil evidence is the fact that there is even obedience in wartime cannot be the talk about civil disobedience.

answer. The Government has no choice of all to solution is nonsense.—JOHN P LEWIS.

to protect itself against anything of kind. Talk like this is harmful to the effort to the country and most of all the Negro people themselves

It must be granted that a tragic take has been made in the

AN EDITORIAL
On Civil Disobedience
JAN 25 1943
When March-on-Washington leaders talk about a civil disobedience campaign they are talking foolishness.

56k-1943
Negro Labor News
Houston. Texas

AS I SEE IT

By C. W. RICE

Race Riots and Lynchings Must Be Stopped For Good of War Program; Both Races Must Help In Promoting Unity

JAN 2 - 1943

Tuskegee Institute this week, reported there were five lynchings in the United States during 1942. This is an increase over that of some previous years despite the fact that we are now at war. The press reports frequent race riots and fly-ups in various sections of the country. The most recent incident reported this week occurred at Vallejo, California, where 400 white and colored sailors fought in the street with clubs and knives.

AS I SEE IT lynching and race riots may be considered America's Number One problem. They are furnishing the Axis with fuel to destroy the last vestige of democracy. Just recently the Saturday Evening Post quoted the Japs as saying there are 15,000,000 dissatisfied and oppressed Negro citizens in this country. Axis propagandists are using racial disturbance in America to influence the darker races in South America and other parts of the world to line up with them. A long time ago Hitler told America to keep its nose out of Germany's treatment of the Jews, that the Jews were Germany's problem just as the Negroes are America's problem. He boasted that he had not yet burned any Jews.

All patriotic citizens, irrespective of race, custom or tradition, must feel that it is his individual duty to work for race tolerance, to bring about a better understanding between the races. If race hatred, lynching and riots are allowed to go rampant in this country, there will be no hope for victory. Race hatred and cruelty are much like a disease. They know no color. They may start with the Negro but no one knows where they will end. A review of the world's crisis today will show that race hatred is as much responsible for this mighty conflict as anything else.

In 1935 the race hating and dictating Benito Mussolini, marched into Ethiopia with his modern warfare, poisonous gas, planes, etc., to wage war against the helpless and defenseless people because of his race hatred and greed.

It was in 1939 that Hitler, with his hate for the Jews, started his march of war in Europe. Now, while helpless Jews, women and children, are being slaughtered by the million and the Jewish race faces annihilation, thousands of red-blooded Americans, proud Frenchmen and Englishmen are dying because of Hitler's race hate.

AS I SEE IT lynching can be averted by creating greater respect for law and order. Every citizen has the right of trial by jury, it matters not the kind of crime he may commit. Even the seven saboteurs who sneaked into this country for the sole purpose of sabotaging—to spread death and destruction to innocent people, were given their day in court. Growing complaints are being made now that the assassin of Admiral Jean Darlan should have had a fair trial. A trial by Jury is the surest and fairest way of meting out justice to the accused. There is certainly no excuse for us in America to permit lynching particularly at a time when all races are fighting and giving their lives to maintain and preserve our American way of life. The sheriffs and law enforcing bodies must become more rigid in excuting their duties for the protection of prisoners. If local officers can not protect the prisoners, then the federal government will be forced to take over and pass laws as a war measure to curb lynching.

JAN 2 - 1943

AS I SEE IT most of these race riots can be avoided if the citizens of both races practice tolerance and fair treatment to each other. Each group must put a stop to race baiters and agitators within. City police and sheriff departments must cease brutality on citizens irrespective of race. Employers and workers must iron out their differences in a more harmonious way. No employer should keep "pistol-toting or bull-dozing" foremen who use brutal methods to drive workers around. Nor should an employer keep agitating or trouble making workers who are always ready to make trouble on the job. Both races must adjust themselves to the transportation problem. They must become accustomed to crowded buses and guard against "loose talk" about the race or about the war.

Newspapers, white and colored, can do a lot to improve racial relations by being cautious of the type of news published and the way news stories pertaining to interracial matters are colored. Influential individuals and committees from various organizations should make the proper contact and correct approach to adjust interracial problems in their respective communities.

AS I SEE IT the American people in every section in this country can beat the Axis at their game of "dividing and conquering the American people" by adjusting their own race problems. The white and colored races have lived together in this country for nearly 300 years. We have worked together to build the greatest country the world has ever known. The two races have fought and died together to defend this country. Surely we will not allow the Japs or Hitler to separate us now. We can not allow lynchers or agitators to destroy us all.

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Develop Superior Children for Leadership, Pearl Buck Advises

JAN 30 1943

The development of superior colored children to furnish needed aleadership to fight discrimination and inequality is suggested by Pearl Buck, noted author, in the recent issue of Negro Digest, a new magazine of comment, published in Chicago.

Writing on the subject "If I Were a Negro. . .," Miss Buck says that colored people hark back too much to the people who are dead. "We need living heroes of our people," she says.

JAN 30 1943

Can't Expect Aid

According to Miss Buck, colored people cannot look for understanding treatment to a government made up exclusively of persons who belong to a race ridden with prejudice against color.

"Indeed," she says, "they must look to their own great individuals. They must seek them out and help them to grow and not allow them to be lost in the grind of poverty and the lack of opportunity."

Kansas City Call
Kansas City, Mo.

'Negro' With Capital Letter Springfield Paper Now Spells

JAN 2 1943

Springfield, Mo.—As a result of the efforts of the Springfield branch of the N.A.A.C.P. the Springfield News and Leader, daily paper, has adopted the policy of spelling the word "Negro" with a capital "N."

B. F. Adams, chairman of the educational committee of the N.A.A.C.P branch, wrote the editor of this country's enemies, Japanese, Germans, and Italians are spelled with capital letters while "Negro" representing; millions of jersons loyal to the Democracies with a small letter.

Adams called the editor's attention to the proud record of the Negro, beginning with Crispus Attucks was first to die in defense of his country in 1775. He pointed out that the Negro was with George Washington at Valley Forge, with Jackson t New Orleans, with Teddy Roosevelt at San Juan Hill, at Argonne Forest in World War 1, and at Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941.

The N.A.A.C.P., chairman said that the history of America would be incomplete without favorable mention of the achievements of Negroes and the part they have played in the onward march of progress.

JAN 2 1943

As a result of this effort, the Springfield News and Leader has joined hundreds of other papers which spell "Negro" with a capital letter.

By Albert Deutsch:

Race Prejudice

. . . Arises From Social Sources, Not 'Human Nature"

Considering that the majority of people under the United Nations banner belong to the colored races, it's a good bet that the race question will play a part in the peace discussions after the Axis is beaten. We'd be better prepared to draft a just peace if we frankly explored this subject of race prejudice now instead of waiting till it's flush upon us.

What causes race prejudice?

Does it arise from a natural, instinctive aversion between people of different races? Both science and common sense answer no.

Let's see, If there was a natural antipathy among races, making it impossible for them to get along on an equal neighborly basis, then that antipathy would be shown toward the same races at all times.

History proves the contrary. Large sections of the white race have never displayed any prejudice toward Negroes, for instance. Racial discrimination is almost entirely absent among the Portuguese. In Brazil, Negroes and whites mingle on terms of perfect equality. The French as a people show no aversion toward colored people in social life. Prejudice against Negroes diminishes the farther north one gets from the Mason-Dixon line and the farther west from the Mississippi River.

Race prejudice on the West Coast is strongest against the yellow race, much less pronounced against the Negroes. Along the southwest border, the Mexicans—wrongly regarded as belonging to a race other than white Americans—are the objects of greatest discrimination. Paradoxically, many outstanding leaders in social and political life in that very area of Mexican descent.

In most Northern states Mexicans are accepted as equals in every respect, socially and otherwise. Along the Eastern Seaboard there is relatively little open discrimination against Asiatics, much against Negroes.

Incidentally, the blabbertalk by certain brass hats and dimwitter politicians about "the little yellow monkeys" makes fine grist for the Japanese propaganda mill trying to convince our Asiatic allies that this is really a race war.

There is no scientific or physical basis for race discrimination, in terms of "natural aversion." Race prejudice has other sources. It arises partly from economic motives, from a desire to exploit a subject people on a depressed-wage basis, or to remove a minority from economic competition. Cultural tradition is another factor. Then there is the tendency of what Franz Boas called the "in-group"—the party in power, identifiable by racial, religious, social or political differences—to maintain its ascendency over the "out-group."

There are other factors. None is sufficient to give substance to the claim that race prejudice is an inevitable and permanent feature of human nature.

Every individual has a right to certainity of prejudices, however irrational or unfair, soto long as his prejudices do not hurt or hinder others in the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness. If a person does not want to eat or dance or visit with a Negro, Chinese, Indian, Eskimo, Southerner or Yankee, Catholic, Jew or Protestant, Mexican or Yugoslavian—why, that is his privilege in a democracy.

Prejudice should be a private matter, not a matter of public policy. No individual or group of individuals has the right to impose his or their particular prejudices on others by legislating them into law. Not in a true democracy.

ABOUT SEGREGATION

Bp Alice Simmons Cox
Savannah, Ga.

One of the most important statements made during the past year in regard to race relations in America came from the pen of Elmer Anderson Carter, a member of the Unemployment Insurance Appeal Board, New York City State Department of Labzor, as he wrote for the special color issue of Survey Graphic in November:

"The majority of Americans are not deliberately hostile to the participation of the Negro in the benefits of democracy . . What the majority of Americans do not realize is that equality in these benefits which in a democracy should be the heritage of all men, never can be attained under a system of racial segregation."

This statement is as sound and true as it is audacious and clear. In the facts and reasoning which Mr. Carter presents to prove his point, he will surely strengthen the new tide of opinion among leaders of both colored and white races disfavoring segregation in any of its forms. Until very recently even sincere workers for advancement of the Negro, whether white or colored, were most of them protagonists of biracial progress,—the parallel way, or whatever they chose to call it. They now begin to see that progress in perpendicular or parallel paths has had its day of service in proving the capacity of the Negro to himself and to others.

Baha' is, reading Mr. Carter's article entitled "Shadows of the Slave Tradition," see with gratitude this evidence of a coming understanding that the welfare of all humanity lies in the processes that contribute to unity rather than to separation. It is no in separae cultures, adjacent to one another by virtue of a common country or locality, but in the development of an inter-dependent and co-operative civilization in which barriers of race, class and creedal prejudice are swept away and the virtues of peoples blended, that America is destined to emerge from its present crisis, Baha'is are assured. The present awakening in our nation and the present struggle of conflictin gideas and birth agony of an unprecedented and universal age of brotherhood, peace and human progress. Such an age bring the Jingdom of God to earth cannot accept segregation with its limitation and warping of the human soul. From the Baha's viewpoint Mr. Carter has cut through the muddled thinking on race problems to see a ray of that light of unity which is the spirit of the new age.

From the present condition of prejudice and injustice in the world at this hour to wide recognition of the basic oneness of humanity and achievement of unity in living together, there are difficult problems to be faced—many old and long-outmoded patterns of society, now breaking under the strain, to be replaced by new, with wisdom and care. Setting the goal clearly, however, and without compromise as we have begin-

ning to do, brings ever nearer the day of achievement. With the press of condition and the greater cooperation and deeper thinking forced upon us, we can dare to hope the shadow of the [illegible] tradition may long last be growing thin.

The Worker
New York, N. Y.

NEGRO RIGHTS PARLEY HEARS MRS. ROOSEVELT

NEW HAVEN, Conn.

Equal opportunity in employment and education, equality before the law, and above all the full right to participate in American democracy free from such obstacles as the poll tax were the four prinicibles which Mrs. Roosevelt told a representative audience here must be guaranteed to the Negro people, if America is to put forth its full strength in the world-wide struggle against the Axis.

The First Lady spoke to a delegation of almost 100 Negro and white community leaders which assembled here under the auspices of the Conference to End Discrimination in New Haven. Official representatives of the AFL and CIO, joined with leaders of almost every community agency and group to lend weight to the conference's call for an end to all forms of discrimination.

In her opening remarks, Miss Ruth Banks, Negro social worker, chairman of the Conference to End Discrimination in New Haven, told of the formation of the group and its efforts to abolish all forms of discrimination as contrary to the Constitution and as being a great and perilous weakening of America's total mobilization for war. Among the accomplishments of the group, Miss Banks listed the passage of a unanimous resolution in the New Haven Board of Aldermen calling for repeal of the Poll Tax.

Mrs. Roosevelt spoke warmly of the formation of the conference and expressed the hope that its work will continue and be successful. Basing all her remarks on the necessities of the all-out war against the Axis, she put great emphasis on the need to overcome all barriers preventing the fullest utilization of the Negro people in the war effort. We can not truly say that we are fighting a war for democracy and the freedom of all peoples, she said, unless we honestly and sincerely fight for these things in our own communities.

56k-1943
Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

Asserts Steady Pressure Needed

JAN 9 1943
JAN 10 1943

NEW YORK—(ANP)—That the Negro will not "get any right or freedom which he does not fight for" plus a conviction that he must rely upon his "own strength, organization and self-reliance" to achieve his inalienable rights is the view expressed by Thomas Sancton, a white southern writer, in the January issue of the Negro Quarterly.

JAN 10 1943

Sancton's article entitled, "A Southern View of the Race Question" asked: "What Negro reader wants to hear me taking gentle issue with Virginius Dabney, Mark Ethridge and John Temple Graves when he himself feels fierce resentment that these men, in the midst of this four freedoms war, can state badly that the Negro must always expect to be jim crowded in the south? I have a profound respect for these men, although I consider their current writings pale, dishwater liberalism.

"I have respect for them, especially for the liberal scholarship of Virginius Dabney of past years, because as a white southerner I have an awareness of great service they have performed in lending the weight of their names and characters and intellects to the growth of a liberal tradition in the south."

JAN 10 1943

NOT FAR ENOUGH

Sancton accused the southern liberals referred to of being guilty of the crime of "intellectual heredity" although he admitted they had gone far past the generation of their fathers in their views and attitudes on the race question. They, however, have not gone far enough he thinks.

"In varying degrees, they have spoken for years for better treatment of the Negro; they have wanted better schools for him, they have asked for greater justice in the courts, they have written in behalf of his economic welfare. Actually there is nothing remarkable about their efforts; but in a south which produces Vardamans, Bilboes and Talmadges, the humanitarian southerner could only be thankful for the emergence of Dabneys, Graves and Ethridges. But their liberalism has always been the liberalism of yielding, not dynamic."

JAN 9 1943

FEAR OPEN REVOLT

The article states further that southern leaders fear that open revolt against long-standing jim-crow regulations will result in violence against the Negro. Sancton points out, however, that if he were a Negro he would not be swayed by the liberal who whispered "take it easy" although he recognized that a minority group was inevitably the "mathematical" victim of the majority group.

"Here is the cruelest sigma that I or any southern white man has ever faced. I know that the Negro is his own best friend and that he is never going to get any right or freedom which he does not fight for. If I were a Negro no hunger and bitterness inside me would be eased by the promises of a white liberal telling me forever to 'take it easy,' 'take it easy.' And yet the Negro is a minority group and as such he is the mathematical victim of the majority.

JAN 10 1943

"The majority will usually be swayed by a constant and steady pressure, because the very constancy and permanency of this pressure prevents any sudden and violent awareness of it on the majority's part; it is a pressure of many components whose total effect is to produce political preparation and education for change.

CITES TALMADGE

"Gov. Talmadge and his friends best to set this reaction in motion. The fact that he did not succeed would seem to indicate that the Negro has kept his race militancy below the danger point but reactions have peculiar laws of their own and pick their own place and time of appearance."

JAN 10 1943

The white liberal has a definite role to play in the question of democracy for the Negro believes Sancton who statesfi "I think a southern liberal, if his liberalism is to be dynamic rather than yielding, should place his reliance on twin forces to bring about a solution of the Negro's plight in America; first, the Negro's own strength, organization and self-reliance; and second, the political education of whites and blacks alike for cooperation and trust; bringing about this second force is the true liberal's job."

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Only a few sentences from the inaugural address of Governor Sparks are required to show the trend of his thinking, and the direction of his ambitions as he enters upon his four-year term as the state's highest executive officer.

JAN 19 1943

"There is today a world revolution; we are fighting in that revolution; we cannot withdraw our domestic affairs from its influence," the governor said. Thus in the very beginning Alabama's new executive recognizes the full obligations of his office in domestic matters even though the state's first obligation is to contribute every ounce of its energy to the great task of winning the war. Here are some sentences evidencing the forward vision of the governor:

"We shall not be afraid to adopt new conceptions and ideas. Democracy will progress and we will accept that progress for the benefit of national welfare...

"Our way of life is undergoing a tremendous revision...

"There shall be strains on our democratic operations, private enterprise, the way of life we have enjoyed for so many generations...

"We must try and maintain a standard of service through government which will not let either our political welfare diminish, or our economic progress halt....

"Those of us left at home should maintain a high standard of government, of service, of progress..."

JAN 19 1943

First of all the governor recognizes his obligation to dedicate himself to effective prosecution of the war on behalf of his state. Next, his dedication to service embraces these primary essentials:

"...to the education of our children, to the establishment of internal justice, to rendering essential service to the needy among us, and to the preservation of democracy and the private enterprise system which retains to our people the accomplishments and heritage of the past."

The governor does not make blanket promises. He even suggests that in these war times it may not be possible with decreased revenues to maintain a school standard of eight months. He suggests that losses of revenue may make it necessary to shift funds temporarily for the preservation of the state's magnificent highway system. He insists that private health is no longer an individual matter and that the public health is a collective responsibility. Moral welfare of the people is as important in government as is their security and protection in life, liberty and property.

As for dealing with alcoholic beverages the law's enacted purpose is "protection of the public welfare, health, peace and morals of the people of the state" and this will be the new governor's guiding principle in dealing with the subject. He will regard it as a duty to ask the legislature to let the people say whether the laws are accomplishing that purpose. One suggestion made by the governor is on a broad plane of statesmanship, but will be received with mixed feelings by those dependent upon various state agencies. He said:

"There should be considered also the necessity of pooling resources, perhaps permanently, to the end that all the agencies of the state may have reasonable and equal support; that some may not be abundantly provided for, while others are lean and in dire distress."

JAN 19 1943

Upon the race question the governor is sane and sound as only a man can be who loves his state intensely. He said: "The genius of the people of Alabama has been sufficient to meet domestic problems satisfactorily, and to adopt policies that are effective. I have confidence in that genius. It will continue to do and accomplish what it has in the past, quietly, peacefully and unostentatiously...The negro and the white man can live in peace in Alabama if they recognize and lay down as fundamentals two principles which are inviolable. First, complete racial segregation; second, independent racial development. With these fundamentals there can be builded in the South a relationship which carries with it justice, fair dealing, equal opportunity on the part of each race to acquire rights to which it is entitled, and which the laws will grant to it when achieved."

Altogether it is a most heartening and inspiring address especially effective because delivered at a time when men's minds are more or less confused, and when some

follow would be to
use the word Negro
only under circum-
stances which call
for identification
names appeared in the
news except where
there might be some
specific reason for
news araddtional data.
The paper suggest
ed to its workers
that a good rule to
would not use the
word Negro in identi-
fying persons whose
swept from their
abandoning the old
landmarks.
Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
TO ABANDON USE OF
WORD "NEGRO" 2
PHILADELPHIA--
(ANP)--The Phila-
delphia Daily News
nounced last week
that henceforth it

Race Prejudice Is Called A Disease Contrary To All The Teachings And Convictions Of Christianity

JAN 16 1943

Race prejudice is a "disease that has spread through the body of humanity" and is contrary to all the teachings and convictions of Christianity, science, democ.acy and commonsense, the Federal Council of Churches declared Monday in a race relations message to the churches of America.

Issued as part of the Council's 21st annual observance of Race Relations Sunday, February 14, and its fourth annual observance of Brotherhood Month, the message asserted that "man must be treated as man, apart from race and birth and color."

"These principles and practices regarding race have not yet been fully accepted among us," said the message. "Negro citizens have been consigned to the edges of civilization, denied manyl of its rights and privileges. They have been hedged about and oppressed. Other racial minorities have been denied humanity. We are all affected by their due rights and opportunities it as Americans."

JAN 16 1943

Emphasizing that "we cannot say we are fighting for democracy abroad and refuse to practice it at home," the message urged that our behavior at home be changed.

"The question of race is no longer a domestic issue."

Reaffirming the Christian principle that all men are brothers and "must be so treated," the message added:

'In the early Christian Church there was no racial segregation among the people of the European, Asiatic and African world. Fellowship between races and equality of racial opportunity expressed itself in the fact that one of the four leaders who specially commissioned the apostle Paul at Antioch was a black man. The man of color was not merely tolerated on the edges of the Christian movement. He was at the center of the fellowship."

Suggestions For Action

JAN 16 1943

Accompanying the message are a number of suggestions for action. Included among these are that strong support be given to President Roosevelt's Executive Order against discrimination in industry, and that such deragatory terms as "darky", "nigger," "wops," and "yellow monkeys," be banished from our speech. Also included are recommendations intended to enlarge the racial fellowship within the churches themselves.

In releasing the message, Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary of the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council, says that this year, as shown by advance orders for program material, the churches of the United States are redoubling their interest in these observances and their activities for better white-Negro relations, Mexican-white relations, Japanese-American-white relations, American Indians-white relations.

The complete text of the message follows:

JAN 16 1943

"Race prejudice is a disease that has spread through the body of humanity. We are all affected by it. Humanity is sick.

"Has Christianity any remedy? If we mean by Christianity everything that has been associated with the name during the centuries, then the answer would be that Christianity itself shares the infection. If, however, we mean essential Christianity, then the complete answer is YES!

"Essential Christianity has taught and practised that God is the Father of all, that all men are therefore brothers and must be so treated. In Jesus Christ, there cannot be discrimination based upon race.

JAN 16 1943

"In the early Christian Church, there was no racial segregation among people of the European, Asiatic and African world. Fellowship between races and equality of racial oportunity expressed itself in the fact that one of the four leaders who specially commissioned the apostle Paul at Antioch, was a black man. The man of color was not merely tolerated on the edges of the Christian movement. He was at the center of the fellowship.

"These Christian attitudes and convictions regarding race are gaining general acceptance:

"(1) Science agrees. It say that the blood of humanity is one; that the same types of blood are in all races. The brain of humanity is one. There are no permanently inferior or superior races. There are only more developed and less developed races.

JAN 16 1943

(2) Democracy approves. Its basic principle is equality of opportunity for all. That "all" must mean ALL or it means nothing.

"(3) Common sense sanctions. It teaches us that the color of the skin, the slant of the eye, or the shape of the head are absurd and precarious bases for claims to racial superiority.

"Christianity, Science, Democracy, and Common Sense converge on one conclusion: Man must be treated as man, apart from race and birth and color. These principles and practices regarding race have not yet been fully accepted among us. Negro citizens have been consigned to the edges of our civilization, denied many of its rights and privileges. They have been hedged about and oppressed. Other racial minorities have been denied their due rights and opportunities as Americans.

JAN 16 1943

"These conditions must be changed. The question of race is no longer a domestic issue. It has been thrust into the center of the world's consciousness; it is a world issue. We cannot say we are fighting for democracy abroad and refuse to practice it at home.

"The Christian gospel of love is the remedy for sick humanity. The challenge of the hour is for Christians to apply it to race relations.

MR. RANKIN LAMENTS

Mr. Rankin of Mississippi thinks that national unity was dealt a terrific blow when, as he put it "—the so-called Committee on Fair Employment Practices" issued an order forcing the Capital Transit Company of Washington to accept employees for all positions without regard to race, creed, color, national origin, or citizenship. He feels that Congress should take up this matter and deal with it immediately. Remember, however, Congress would be over-running the Constitution to tell the States what to do about Poll Tax requirements.

1943

Someone needs to remind the able (?) representative that employment on the basis of race, etc., has adversely affected the Negro race more than any racial group in America, and that if national unity can be disrupted by simply according opportunities to work to persons on basis of ability, there isn't much that one could do to save it anyhow. It seems that Rankin and his kind would be content with the privations which they impose upon Negroes in their own states without trying to further spread their infectious race hatreds to as many states as they can persuade, and to as many persons who read what goes on in our Congress.

1943

Magistrate Surpless On a Limb

MAGISTRATE ABNER SURPLESS, sitting in a Brooklyn court, went out of his way recently to attack the Negro race in the case involving the alleged assault of a Brooklyn mother on a white schoolteacher she accused of attacking her child. The magistrate told Mrs. Alice Thompson, the mother, that she had done her race a disservice." This attitude on the part of the court was entirely uncalled for and Magistrate Surpless will be held strictly accountable for the effect his remark may have in the heretofore amicable relationship between colored parents and teachers. It may be noted here for the benefit of Magistrate Surpless that the Italian race was not indicted by the judge trying the "Zoot Suit" killers of a Brooklyn teacher. They were not accused of doing their race a disservice," and Italy is at war with the United States.

JAN 16 1943

Had the court been so inclined, it might have called in the principal of P. S. 93 in Brooklyn and asked a few pertinent questions. Magistrate Surpless can, if he is interested, find in the bylaws of the Board of Education rules to the effect that the principal of each school is in sole and complete charge of all matters relating to discipline. He will also learn that no outside person has any business in a school, let alone a classroom without the express permission of the principal. If a school is properly organized, no person can go to any classroom without the knowledge of the principal. The moment a person enters a school building, monitors are supposed to be on hand to find out what he wants and then to direct him to the principal's office. If there is an occasion for the visitor to go to a classroom, then it is the express duty of the principal to accompany him or her there. The usual procedure is for the principal to summon the teacher to the office and discuss matters relating to the welfare of the pupils. In fact, it is against the rules of the Board of Education to allow a process server to serve a subpoena on a teacher. Does Magistrate Surpless know that?

It is indeed strange that Magistrate Surpless should make a racial issue out of the matter instead of asking why Mrs. Thompson was allowed to enter a classroom. It is strange that the Magistrate used this incident as an excuse to attack Mayor LaGuardia as "uncooperative" when the Mayor refused to assign police officers to schools. Policemen have no place in public schools and the Mayor knows it. Evidently, the Magistrate does not. For several years, there has been a regular detachment of police at the Wadleigh High School on duty at the night sessions. This is another clear violation of the Board of Education rules. Police should have no access to a school unless a crime has or is being committed. Yet, inquirers have been informed that police are "necessary." Why? Because a school is attended largely by Negroes? Because a school is located in a colored community? Because there is a complete breakdown in organization of the school, naturally involving the principal and there appears to be no other way out than to call in the bluecoats?

Mayor LaGuardia is aware of the law and his attitude against the use of police in our school system befits that of a competent, honest and capable head of a city administration. Instead of Magistrate Surpless assailing Mrs. Thompson because she happens to be a Negro, he might have told the teacher and principal of public school 93 that they had done whatever race they belonged to a "disservice" because of the breakdown in discipline that allowed a mother to wander through a building until she found the room where her child was assigned.

In a Temple Israel Friday night, White said:

"Unless we begin to find a solution, not after the war, but right now, to this question of race only in our own country, but throughout the world it is conceivable that we shall not win this war, but instead lose it.

"Even if we do win military victory, but fail to face this question, we shall merely purchase for ourselves a brief interlude between this war and even more disastrous one."

"Racial hatred curses not only

February 14, 1943

Race War Threatened Unless Solution Is Found, Says White

BOSTON [AP]—Walter White, secretary of the National Asso-

ciation for the Advancement of

56k-1943

BASE RACIAL TENSION SURVEY ON PRESS DATA

MAR 13 1943 Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh Pa.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 11—The preliminary report on the survey of racial tension areas by Dr. Charles S. Johnson and a group of workers trained in the Fisk University Social Science Department, of which he is the head, presents traditional patterns of race discrimination in industrial employment, race segregation, abuse of colored soldiers, and other evils.

The findings have been largely culled from the colored press. They are expertly grouped so that each part of the survey covers a particular phase of discriminatory or segregative practices.

CHALLENGE OVERLOOKED

With respect to the total war effort, stronger emphasis might have been placed upon the consequences of failure to utilize fully colored manpower in war industries and to correct the undemocratic practices about which colored people have so generally complained.

Nor does the survey take into account the efforts made by governmental agencies to insure participation of colored people in the war effort since President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941. Moreover, the creation of the War Manpower Commission on April 18, 1942, marked the first effort to deal on a co-ordinated basis with the problems of recruiting, placing and training manpower for war production simultaneously with a great expansion of the armed forces.

There is no evaluation of the steps taken by the Federal Government to lessen discrimination in any of the areas of racial tension. MAR 13 1943

WAYWARD PHILOSOPHY

The recommendation that colored workers join labor unions and that white workers organize them into mixed or Jim Crow unions belongs to the Booker T. Washington era. The efficacy of collective bargaining is no longer open to dispute.

But in many areas, responsibility for discrimination against colored workers still rests with organized labor. Robert C. Weaver, assistant to the director of operations, War Manpower Commission, at hearings before the Tolan Committee investigating national defense migration, listed 18 unions, mostly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which restrict membership to white workers.

A more modern view is that the National Labor Relation Act should be amended so as to exclude from its definition of the term "labor organization" any organization which denies persons membership on account of race or color. A second proposal is that the Wagner Act be further amended so as to make it an unfair labor practice for an employer to discharge or refuse to hire any person solely on account of his race or color.

The sruvey places considerable emphasis on placement figures of the United States Employment Service. MAR 13 1943

Extension of training programs is recommended in the survey.

One proviso prohibits discrimination on account of race, color or sex in the selection of trainees for vocational courses and requires where Jim Crow schools are maintained by law that equitable provision be made for facilities and training of white and colored population groups. A joke in the law, however, requires the selection of trainees to be based "upon the existing and anticipated need for defense workers in occupations essential to the national defense."

The section of the survey covering racial tensions in the armed forces is composed largely of generalities. The survey asserts that there have been differentials in the administration of the draft and in accepting enlistments.

It is generally believed that the Selective Service and Training Act has been well administered. Under this quota system, colored registrants have been passed over in the process of induction instead of being called when their names were reached in the selective process. MAR 13 1943

Whether this procedure violates the provision in the Selective Training and Service Act, which requires "that in the selection and training of men under this act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color," is yet to be presented to and determined by the courts. MAR 13 1943

Birmingham Post

Mrs. Ferguson

Birmingham, Alabama

It Is High Time For The White Man To Treat Indians Justly

MAY 10 1943



By Mrs. Walter Ferguson

Not for a long while have I seen anything more pathetic than the letters in several New Mexico newspapers written by the governors and council members of the San Felipe and San Ildefenso pueblos. They were written to protest a bill in Congress which, if passed, would start a vast reclamation and flood control project on Indian lands in New Mexico. This of course threatens the extinction of these historic places. Sixteen pueblos from Zuni to Taos are disturbed and fearful. O 1943

Their fears have been set to these words: "We do not want our villages destroyed and our sacred places ruined. We do not want to lose our land, the only thing we have to make our living by. This land was used by our forefathers, and our boys are now overseas fighting to save it for us; we had hoped to grow old upon it. Our ancestors planted the roots of our pueblos in a ceremonial way. We have our sacred places here, where we worship and where our young people are taught to worship."

Why go on? The person who has visited those pueblos gets a lump in the throat. Memories of the slow gracious life there crowd in upon me. The dazzlingly bright skies, the little green fields, the children sleeping in the sunshine—here is the only place in the nation where one meets the peace of primitive people, and can look down long vistas to a past so remote it is beyond imagination.

I know nothing about the merits of this project. They may be many. I only know that the white man has always treated the Indian unjustly. In the name of progress he has brought evil and sorrow; one by one he has taken away those territories he once gave to the red men with noble words of friendship and written treaties. MAY 10 19

If the most ancient citizens of New Mexico are forcibly moved from their beloved lands it will be only another black chapter in the history of our dealings with the Indians, a history which no honest white person can read without shame.

Columbia, S. C., State
July 22, 1943

Negro Group Protests Speech Of Governor

Governor Olin D. Johnston has received from the Negro Baptist Ministers' Alliance of Columbia a letter in which he was requested to "let us know your attitude towards our racial group," in which reference was made to a speech the governor delivered last week to the state guard in camp at Fort Jackson.

The letter was somewhat along the lines of a previous communication sent in by the Negro Citizens committee of South Carolina.

"If the people of South Carolina will read my speech in its entirety, they will see how I stand on this question—that's my answer to all these letters," the governor said. "I made my statement and my statement was for the best interest of all concerned."

In the speech the governor told the home guard he would call on them to expel any outsiders agitating "social equality" and asserted that "South Carolina is fully able to take care of the race question without outside interference."

Columbia, S. C., State
July 20, 1943

Negroes Say Race Seeks Equal Chance

(BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS)

Denying they sought "social equality" and asserting their race wanted only "equal opportunities ....and the right to fully participate in our state government," the Negro Citizens committee of South Carolina replied yesterday to Governor Olin D. Johnston's recent assertion that he would call on the Home Defense force to expel from the state "any outsiders" who might "come into our state and agitate social equality."

The governor said he had received the letter, made available to the press by the committee which is composed of local Negro citizens committees in 42 towns, but that he had no comment.

"The Negroes of South Carolina are not impunging the motives of his excellency in his address," the letter told the governor, "but the references made can serve no good purpose to either race.

"The Negroes of South Carolina are living in hopes (of).... the ending of the 'inequalities' now practiced against her minority group, for such inequalities feed our common enemies with tangible propaganda."

The committee said it sought pay for Negro teachers equal to that received by whites, equal educational facilities, and an extension "democracy."

Text of Letter

The full text of the letter follows:

"Hon. Olin D. Johnston,
"Governor of South Carolina,
"State Capitol, Columbia South Carolina.
"Honorable Governor:

"The Negro Citizens' committee of South Carolina deplores the references made in your address at Fort Jackson, Friday, July 16, as unfortunate, in that it gives the impression that Negroes of South Carolina advocate the mixing of the races in schools, and churches and dwelling houses. Cool level-headed leaders of our racial groups have never advocated, nor desire, the much talked of, 'social equality,' which has been used to breed unrest, and even hate among the rances.

What They Want

"The Negroes of South Carolina only want equal opportunities, equal educational facilities, equalization of teachers' pay, and the right to fully participate in our state government, that, the very thing for which our boys are dying, 'democracy,' might extend to them and to those of us left at home. We give of our means, (as limited as they might be), and certainly we give of our men, who are performing admirably on the many battle fronts, and does it not seem fair, that, 'The American Way of Life,' might fully expand to give equal opportunities to Negroes, who ask nothing more, and should expect nothing less?

"The Negroes of South Carolina are living in hopes that Governor Johnston will dedicate a portion of his 'progressive administration,' to the ending of 'the inqualities,' now practiced against her minority group, for such inequalities feed our common enemies with tangible propaganda.

Law Abiding

"The Negroes of South Carolina are loyal and law abiding, and truly Americans in thought, ar actions, yet they are human, and operated by whites. We are like others, and they desire the appealing to them for 'equalizagood things of life, like others, tion of teachers' pay,' and we will but instead of rioting and creat- abide by the ruling of the courts ing unrest, they have and are re- of justice.

sorting to the only way open and "The appealing to any form of left to them, 'our courts,' and if mob violence, or the creating of we lose there, we can but try hate and tensions are not only again. We are sure that the un-American, but un-Godly, and right thinking whites could not such acts can only bring unrest, think hard of Negroes for ap- and heartaches to both races. plying to the courts made, ruled "The Negroes of South Caro-

The letter is signed by E. A. Adams, president, and J. M. Hinton, secretary of the Citizen's committee. Both live in Colum-

Across The Desk

By LUDLOW W. WERNER

MAY 8 1943 MAY 8 1943

I AM AN AMERICAN—On Sunday, May 16, the people of the United States will celebrate "I Am An American Day" in accordance with President Roosevelt's proclamation of March 13 fixing that date for observances throughout the nation in honor of new citizens. According to Attorney General Biddle, "This year's celebration will have a special significance, for never before has American citizenship been so precious a possession. The values and responsibilities of that citizenship represent the greater part of all that we are fighting for."

MAY 8 1943



Ludlow W. Werner

Roughly, 2,750,000 persons have become citizens in the past year — about 250,000 of these are foreign-born who have been naturalized, another 10,000 are members of the armed forces who have been granted citizenship under the Second War Powers Act, and the largest group is composed of young men and women who, during the past year, reached the age of twenty-one.

Which brings to mind a column which I wrote for the May 10, 1941 issue. I shall repeat that column as it appeared then. Parenthetical statements will bring the column up to date:

MAY 8 1943

I Am an American, but I cannot, if I want to, enlist in the United States Marine Corp. (There is now a Negro unit in training at New River, N. C.)

I am an American, but I cannot, if I want to, join the Navy except as a cook, messman or kitchen scullion. (The Navy has had a change of heart and does now give other ratings to Negroes and this year plans that 15 per cent of the men inducted into the Navy will be Negroes.)

I am an American, but if I am drafted, I must be sent to a Negro regiment for service.

MAY 8 1943

I am an Americacn, but even though I am qualified as a pilot, I cannot fly with a regular army unit but must become part of the 99th Pursuit Squadron which is now in process of formation. (The 99th Squadron is no longer at Tuskegee and two new squadrons are in process of formation.)

I am an American, but if I live in the Southland, I cannot vote in primary elections and I must pay a poll tax and be able to interpret the Constitution of the United States before I am permitted to vote.

MAY 8 1943

I am an American, but if I live in the Southland, I cannot go into a first class department store and try on a hat or suit of clothes in the store to see if they fit me before I buy it.

I am an American, but if I live in the nation's capital I must go to a Negro school, from primary grade to college.

I am an American, but if I live in the nation's capital I cannot go to a movie house operated either independently or by one of the large chains, which caters to whites.

I am an American, but if I live in the nation's capital I cannot attend concerts in the D.A.R. Hall. (Marian Anderson sang there last winter in a war relief concert and Negroes were permitted to attend THAT concert.)

MAY 8 1943

I am an American, but if I live in Baltimore, Md., I am subject to be insulted by white storekeepers.

I am an American, but if I live in Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love, I am also subject to insults.

I am an American, but if I live in New York City, I cannot get work at one of the largest industrial plants which hold contracts to build vital defense materials for the United States Government. (We're at war now and there is a shortage of labor, so Negroes are now being employed in most plants, even though there is far too much token employment.)

I am an American, but if I live in New York City, I pay higher rents and I live in more squalid quarters than other citizens.

MAY 8 1943

I am an American, but if I live in New York City, I may not be employed in private industry along with other citizens except as porter, elevator operator or in a menial capacity for the most part. (War has changed this picture, too.)

I am an American, but if I live in New York City I may take out membership only in the Negro Y.M.C.A.'s.

I am an American, but if I am a skilled worker, I may not become a member of any A.F. of L. Union except in a few rare instances.

MAY 8 1943

I am an American, but if I am accused of a crime in the North I am always guilty before I am tried.

I am an American, but if I am accused of a crime in the South, I may not even face trial — I may be lynched.

I am an American, but if I ride in Pullman cars I must change to ill-smelling day coaches when I cross certain state lines.

MAY 8 1943

I am an American, but no one has ever questioned my loyalty to the United States.

I am an American, but no one has ever heard of a Negro Benedict Arnold and Quisling.

I am an American, but I am a Negro.

Slurs Reds, Jews Before Congress

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh PA

Calls Congressman Celler a "Scavenger" And Says Negroes Fare Better In Mississippi Than in Washington

WASHINGTON, April 22—(ANP)—Congressman John E. Rankin of Mississippi, who needs no introduction, slurred and slandered Negroes, Jews and Communists last Thursday on the floor of congress, and cried like a baby, figuratively, for the suffering of gentile mothers and fathers whose sons are on fighting battlefronts of the world in the name of democracy.

APR 24 1943

He was given an hour in which to carry out the attack which started as a personal protest to remarks which he attributed to Rep. Emanual Collier who two weeks ago he sarcastically referred to as the "Jewish gentleman from New York." This time he called Collier a "scavenger" and accused him of smearing him (Rankin), a good, American patriot.

FOUR SOLUTIONS TO NEGRO PROBLEM

Rankin blamed the Communists for using the Negro as a front for all that is insidious, and of trying to foment racial strife in the South and in Washington in particular.

The Mississippian said there are only four solutions to the Negro question. "One of them is extermination," he declared. "No man would think of that. Another one is deportation, which is impossible, especially at this time. Another one would be amalgation, which would destroy the white man's civilization, and the Negro's too. You go to those countries that have amalgamated with them and they go down. They fail to pregnate and the civilization disappears."

APR 24 1943

Segregation is the way he would solve the matter. Through segregation, he stated, the "Negro will have a better time, and you will too." He added, "It has been said that we mistreat them at home. That is all false; the Negro has a better time where I live than he does in Washington, because he behaves himself and gets protection. We see that he is not disturbed.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

EVERYTHING IS SERENE IN MISSISSIPPI

"Now they live in peace down there. They are living in harmony, and yet those communistic agitators are doing everything they can to stir up this trouble for them and for us.

"Throughout the world war, and today in this war, my own people are on every front in the world, fighting for what? To preserve this republic, to preesrve our form of government and our way of life, and no scavenger is going to get up on this floor and smear me or any other patriotic Americans from now on if I can help it."

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
June 9, 1943

Zoot Suit

During the last war, the sartorial phenomenon was the silk shirt. It was the rarest shipyard worker who failed to bedeck himself in silk. That was evidence of extravagance. But it was worse than that. It was evidence of the wretchedest taste. It was a social aberration, and a temporary one, because, came the peace, and overblown industry was quickly deflated, and workers who had wasted their excessive pay on luxuries soon had not even cotton shirts to cover their backs.

This war it is the zoot suit which is the rage. Whoever has seen this costume of kneelength coat and pleated trousers, accentuated by a flat, wide-brimmed topper, will understand why soldiers and sailors in Los Angeles last Monday night declared war on all wearing this weird combination. It involves an affectation calculated to irritate men in uniform. As a matter of fact, it irritates civilians, who like the

Meanwhile, believers in law and order can scarcely rejoice, sorely though they are tempted to do so, in the rough measures which in Los Angeles have made the zoot suit a dangerous costume.

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Southern Negroes Act on Key Issues

"Daily Worker" N.Y.
JAN 9 - 1943

By James W. Ford

The enormous importance of the South in the nation's war for survival has been repeatedly signalized in the columns of the Daily Worker. At the close of 1942 the attention of the nation was called to the South by a highly important document, dealing with the Negro people and the war and Negro-white relations. It is regrettable, however, that the press gave scant attention to the document; the large Negro weeklies passed it over in almost complete silence.



James W. Ford

Of first rate importance was the fact that "the statement by Southern Negroes" went all-out for the war. It was carried in full by **The Black Despatch**, leading Negro journal of the Southwest, in its issue of Dec. 26.

It is no accident that the issue of Negro-white relations is coming up for wide discussion during this people's war of national liberation, and significantly enough, in the Southland where democratic rights are at a low level for both, the Negro and white population.

There is a growing recognition that this war is a people's war by labor, sections of industrialists, new political currents, liberal groups and soldiers of the South. They are being awakened to Axis danger to the special interests of the South as a part of the threat to the national existence of the entire naion. Southerners are more and more influenced by the global character of the war, and the consequent effect our actions have on the millions of colored peoples who are associated with us in this war. All of this accounts for the weighty importance of the statement.

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RESURGENT SPIRIT

Not since the Civil War have Negro leaders of the South spoken so boldly and forthright on fundamental issues affecting the entire Southland, as well as the nation. They have set forth a charter of Negro rights and have taken a step to ameliorate Negro-white relations as a war measure. The statement of the Negro leaders formulates pressing requirements for uniting the Negro people for their most effective participation in the war.

The statement was the result of the deliberations of a conference of adult and youth leaders at Durham, N. C., in October, 1942. The sponsoring committee of the conference consisted of the following:

Dr. Ellison, President of Virginia Union University; Dr. John Gandy, former President of Virginia State College; Dr. F. D. Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute; Dr. James Sheppard, President of North Carolina State College for Negroes; Mr. C. C. Spaulding, President of the North Carolina Life Insurance Co.; Mr. F. B. Young, Jr., Publisher of the Norfolk Journal-Guide; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Richmond, Va.; Dr. James E. Jackson, Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Conference; Dr. Benjamin E. Mays; Dr. Rufus E. Clement; Prof. Horace Mann Bond; Mr. William M. Cooper and Dr Charles S. Johnson, Director of Social Sciences, Fisk University.

WEAKNESS OF COMMITTEE

This is a fine cross-section of Southern Negro opinion. The weakness of the committee lies in the three important phases, viz. (1) absence of direct representation of Negro labor; (2) absence of Negro women; (3) its non-delegates character, that is, from the many Southern organizations, churches fraternal, youth clubs, agrarian associations and trade unions.

The fact that there was no special representation of northern Negro groups or individuals made by some circles is not to be deplored since there are many well formulated programs in such groups, which inevitably will find forms of collaboration and unity with the Southern movement.

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Another criticism of the Durham Conference was the absence of fraternal white representation of which there is a growing section especially of labor which is vitally concerned with breaking down discrimination and the amelioration of Negro-white relations to win the war. We can pass over some of these details of criticism in the light of the broad perspectives set forth at the conference.

The Durham conference, as the statement shows, concerned itself with the burning issues of the Negro people and the war. It placed the war as paramount, even though it did not always deal with each item of the program in actual terms of the war. It outlined a positive program to fight the most serious discriminations which confront the Negro people and hamper their effectiveness in the war effort, and took a stand against segregation in the conditions of the South. On this point the conference might have formulated its position more strongly by saying: "We are against all segregation and therefore we address ourselves to immediate grievances as the most effective way to mobilize our people together with the win-the-war whites, for that objective, the abolition of Jim Crow, which itself is vital to national unity and victory in the war."

All told, the statement of Southern Negroes which must receive a more elaborate analysis is a positive and important document. It is already being responded to by large sections of the Southern white population. It is bound to have a salutory effect on the war effort providing it is followed up energetically and providing certain white liberal elements of the South, take note that the interests of the entire South and the war effort demand, not a moratorium on the abolition of Jim Crow during the war, but that they align themselves more fully with the people's sentiments and character of this war which are in the direction of "seeking true democracy," necessary to win the war.

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

The Darker Races And The New Year

NEW YORK, N. Y.—This is a crucial year for the Negro. It is crucial for American democracy; it is crucial for world democracy.

JAN 2 - 1943

The action of the United Nations must triumph over the Axis forces, but the victory of the armies of the United Nations is not enough.

There must also be the victory of democracy. A victory of democracy not only for the five million white peoples of the world but also for the 1,700,000,000 peoples of color in the world.

DEMOCRACY MUST PREVAIL

There can be no victory of democracy, however, after the war unless the forces of democracy prevail during the war.

It is quite possible that this war may be won in Burma, Singapore, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic and be lost in Washington, D. C., Georgia and Chicago.

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The greatest assurance people have that the four freedoms, the Atlantic Charter and the declarations that this is a century of the common man is that the peoples of color in the United States of America, the West Indies and India, Africa and China be accorded freedom, independence and democratic rights now.

Since the United Nations have the power to grant freedom and independence to the darker races now, if they don't do it, it may serve to disillusion them as to their securing freedom and independence even if the United Nations win.

OUTLOOK OF DARKER RACES

There is nothing in the history of the attitude of the United Nations and the Anglo-American empire system toward the darker races to cause the people of India, Africa, the West Indies and the United States of America to have any faith in their professions.

But it would be a mistake for the darker races to expect the gift of freedom from the United Nations. Freedom is never given; it is won. Justice is never granted: it is exacted.

It is written in the stars that the darker races will never be free until they make themselves free. This is their task in the coming year.

Thomasville, Ga., Times-Enterprise
February 13, 1943

SOLUTION TO RACE QUESTION MUST BE FOUND SOON

Boston, Feb. 13 (AP) — Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, says that unless efforts are begun immediately to solve the race question "we shall merely purchase a brief interlude between this war and an even more disastrous one."

In a Lincoln Day address at Temple Israel last night, White said: "Unless we begin to find a solution, not after the war, but right now, to this question of race not only in our own country, but throughout the world, it is conceivable that we shall not win this war, but instead lose it.

"Even if we do win military victory, but fail to face this question, we shall merely purchase for ourselves a brief interlude between this war and even more disastrous one."

"Racial hatred curses not only our own country, but stands between the United Nations and victory because of what has been done to colored people of India, Malaya, Burma, Africa and the West Indies.

"Lincoln would be willing, if not anxious, to return to his grave if he returned now to see how little his advice had been heeded."

Criticizing southern congressmen, white said they were using the negro "as a scapegoat to perpetuate lynching, disfranchisement, segregation and discrimination even in the armed forces of a nation dedicated to the four freedoms."

"Poll taxes and the democratic white primary', may deny the right to vote to millions of negroes and white southerners," he added, "make possible the election of these southern congressmen who today are jeopardizing all the social gains of the past decade."

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

"As a Citizen"

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal.

It is almost unbelievable that, in the face of the fact that young men, white and Negro, are dying today on many battlefields for the avowed purpose of enabling peoples of all races to live on God's earth with equality of educational and economic opportunity, O. C. Seevers penned these lines: "The fact is, pretty generally, white people would be glad to continue their development as a separate race. Moreover, they show no envy, but in every way a practical desire to see the Negro, as a Negro, advance."

It might interest O. C. Seevers to know that the Negro is not interested in advancing as a Negro, but demands the merited recognition of the Negro as a native-born American citizen, entitled to whatever protection and opportunities other citizens receive, and will continue fighting for abolition of Jim-Crowism in all of its forms, for equal wages and chance for advancement in industry, for justice in the courts and for greater recognition in government.

There is no objection to white people his fellow man if he bows in gratitude to developing as a separate race, if it can those who desire to see "the Negro as a be done; but authoritatively the United Negro, advance." States has the largest contingent of mixed- It may be true that millions of white blood peoples of any country in the world people live in poverty and illiteracy, but each one of them would rather be his poverty-ridden self than a Dumas, because deep in the heart of his mores he is superior to the Negro and has not realized that his greatest progress is also tied up with that of the Negro.

APR 30 1943

AMELIA B. RAY.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

PEOPLE AND PLACES

By WALTER WHITE

The Ways of White Folks

SOME EXAMPLES, selected at random, of the mentality of white folks:

MEMORANDUM to John Temple Graves, who says that Negroes should be "loyal" and wait until after the war for their rights: JAN 9 - 194

James MacDonald, London correspondent of the New York Times, cabled December 17, "A hidden fire that has been smoldering over the prospect of postwar competition between United States and British civil aviation companies for control of the world's most important skyways flared up in the House of Commons today when W. R. D. Perkins, M.P., who is a mechanical engineer, complained that the Pan American Airways was already 'spreading its tentacles all over the world.' Said Mr. Perkins, 'I am not antagonistic to the great American nation. I believe it is vital that we will have to cooperate with it in the future. I can foresee that as soon as the armistice is over there will be a race between the Americans and ourselves to control the air trade routes of the world. We will have practically no airplanes to compete with except those loaned to us by lend-lease. If we try to do it with them I believe friction is inevitable. . . .and we might have another Boston tea party'."



Walter White

That Mr. Perkins was not voicing fears he alone nourished was immediately apparent when the Under-Secretary for Air cryptically answered that the British government was prepared to take "a bold decision on the future of British civil aviation," the details of which he discreetly refrained from revealing. Following so closely on Churchill's blunt statement that "I was not named the King's First Minister to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire" and that Great Britain proposed to hold on to all she has, it would seem to indicate that Mr. Graves of the Birmingham Age-Herald needs to read a few riot acts to Churchill and Great Britain also to the effect that "we should win the war first."

Making Lincoln Illegal JAN 9 - 194

THE SOUTH CAROLINA State Legislature will receive soon a petition now being industriously circulated in that state demanding that the public display of a picture of Abraham Lincoln be made a crime punishable by a fine of $50 or thirty days in prison or both. "You wouldn't hang a picture of Hitler or Tojo in a public building, would you?" the Anderson Independent asks. "Any person guilty of such a thing would be tarred and feathered. But neither Tojo nor Hitler has done as much damage to the South as Abe Lincoln did." The man who started the petition incidentally, is named Lynchfield, according to "The Nation."

Anybody who takes a five dollar bill out of his pocket with Lincoln's picture on it would break the law, we presume, if it is passed. And since most of the South Carolinians who have as much as five dollars would normally be white, the jails will be filled with them instead of Negroes. Is this a part of the "new secession" Governor Dixon of Alabama threatened in New York in speaking before the Southern Society?

Slandering Mrs. F.D.R JAN 9 - 1943

FOR TIME immemorial the Southern white man has boasted of his chivalry and his concern for white women. But a new low is now being reached in smearing Mrs. Roosevelt because she has championed Negroes as being human beings and citizens entitled to the protection of the Constitution. Despite repeated publication of the report of the FBI that there is no such thing as an "Eleanor Club," the story appears to be spreading like an August fire in a wheat field with a high wind blowing.

And now the noble defenders of white womanhood have spread the story that Mrs. Roosevelt "made luncheon engagements at Washington hotels" for three or four Negroes! And these are the least dirty of the stories thick Southern accents are industriously telling over cocktail tables in Washington and throughout the cane-brakes of the South.

Honor of Honors JAN 9 - 1943

TOM CONNALLY of Texas and James Byrnes of South Carolina—both voluble opponents of "social equality"—had better watch their step lest the wrath of their sub-Potomac constituents descend upon them. Sam Rayburn, also of Texas, may be in the same fix the next time he runs.

Imagine these three going to a party given for a colored man! And in Washington too! All three were announced by the White House as having been among those present at a stag for Fulgencio Batista president of Cuba.

But because the White House thoughtfully limited attendance to males, maybe the curse was taken off a little bit by the fact that the wives of the three Southerners did not have to associate with a colored gentleman!

Dixon, Dies, Rankin And Lester Granger As Talmadge Denounced By More Dangerous Than Axis Troops

TAMPA Fla.—Several hundred Tampa citizens of both races, Wednesday night attended the twentieth annual meeting of the Tampa Urban League and listened to an address by the guest speaker, Lester B. Granger executive secretary of the National Urban League. They heard the speaker indict Congressmen Rankin of Mississippi and Dies of Texas, Governor Dixon of Alabama and ex-Governor Talmadge of Georgia as "professional hate-breeders who are more dangerous to the cause of democratic victory than several divisions of Nazi or Japanese troops."

Granger declared that "these self-seeking politcians are deliberately stirring up hatred and suspicion between white and colored Americans at a time when mutual confidence and cooperation are essential to national victory. They are so far beneath the respect of patriotic and intelligent Americans that they should be ruled off the list of persons whose opinions are even heard. Democracy can never be safe while persons like these are elected to positions of national power and leadership."

The speaker also expressed satisfaction over the exposure and conviction of Robert Jordan, Negro pro-Japanese agitator of Harlem who was recently sentenced with his followers for treasonable activities. He declared that Jordan and his kind are just as dangerous to the interest of Negro Americans as the most rabid Negro baiters, North or South.

"It is tragically foolish for any of us to suppose that, merely because of their color, Japanese soldiers, ten thousand miles away, have our racial interests closer at heart than our fellow Americans who live next door to us, even if their race is different from our own. It is one of our serious national dangers that such an appeal can even be made," he said.

Scores Anti-Semites

Granger also excoriated those "simple-minded Negroes who fall prey to anti-Jewish propaganda. Such colored persons forfeit their status as partners in real American democracy, for democracy scorns religious as well as racial prejudice. What we must learn is that social environment is as important as character in shaping a group's opinion and habits. For every southern Negro who suffers from discrimination and denial of citizenship rghts, there is a southern white man similarly exploited. When we have joined our efforts to improving opportunities for all the people, we shall find that our relations with our white fellow citizens are improved over-night."

The speaker described the Urban League program as Democracy-at-work, in that the League brings together white and colored Americans to work patiently and courageously on problems of importance to the whole community. "Until Negroes in Florida and every state in the Union have the right to vote, work and live as other Americans, democracy is not real and our nation is not secure. Until that time comes, we must fight unceasingly for the citizenship rights that are ours. We must speak out boldly on questions of public importance, and when we do less than this we are failing in our duty to defend democracy. Democracy comes alive when we make its meaning so clear that even the most ignorant can understand."

Wanta, Ga. Constitution
February 7, 1943

Welcome Rally Set at College For Dr. Pittman

Return to Statesboro Monday Is To Be Celebrated.

STATESBORO, Ga., Feb. 6.—(AP)—A welcome-rally Monday, sponsored by residents of Statesboro, will welcome back Dr. Marvin S. Pittman as president of Georgia Teachers' College.

Dr. Pittman, ousted last summer by a revamped board of regents after a controversy over alleged advocacy of racial co-education and charges of irregularities in operation of the college farm, was to return here today, but did not plan to resume office until Monday.

The celebration was arranged for the college auditorium. Regent J. L. Renfroe, of Statesboro, also will be welcomed. Dean Z. S. Henderson will preside at the meeting, and members of the faculty and student body are to be present.

The college newspaper has announced plans for a special edition.

Dr. Pittman was dismissed at the same time as Dean Walter Cocking, of the University of Georgia school of education. Each now with a law setting up a "non-political" board of regents. The new board rehired Dr. Pittman. Dr. Cocking, the charges brought them by Governor Talmadge, declined a similar offer of reinstatement.

Accredited status was restored to the university system last week, after the general assembly enacted

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Nation
New York, N. Y

Japan's Racial War

FEB 6 - 1943

BY SELDEN C. MENEFEE

JAPAN is fighting a racial war. Race riots and other instances of race prejudice in the United States are highlighted in Japanese broadcasts to Asia and the Americas. Even before Pearl Harbor, Radio Tokyo campaigned for "Asia for the Asiatics" by narrating the story of the lynching of Cleo Wright at Sikeston, Missouri. Every scrap of evidence that the colored races of this country are subject to discrimination is grist to the Japanese propaganda mill. Our immigration laws are held up before the Chinese and Indians to prove our dishonesty in claiming to fight for a free world. The evacuation of West Coast Japanese Americans is frequently referred to—India has heard wild tales of Japanese Americans hacked to pieces by white mobs, their houses entered, and their women attacked.

FEB 6 - 1943

A Manchurian broadcast beamed to Asia sums up the Japanese propaganda line: "Democracy as preached by the Anglo-Americans may be an ideal and noble system of life, but democracy as practiced by Anglo-Americans is stained with the bloody guilt of racial persecution and exploitation."

One aspect of Japan's racial war is the attempt to incite Negroes in this country against the government. It is estimated that agitation of this kind has affected in some degree at least 50,000 American Negroes. In Chicago three pro-Japanese Negro organizations were recently uncovered, and eighty of their members were arrested for draft evasion. In New York, in December, four leaders of the "Ethiopian Pacific movement" were convicted of sedition and conspiracy to commit sedition. The ringleader, Robert O. Jordan, was quoted as saying, "The war Japan is fighting is one of divine order, and Negroes should tie up with Japan."

There are several ways in which we can deal with Japan's racial propaganda. We can ignore it, which would be an easy way but a dangerous one. The racial problem will not solve itself. Or we can emphasize in our own propaganda the part the colored races are playing in the United Nations war effort. General MacArthur recently decorated three Southern Negroes for plunging through gasoline flames to save an injured pilot, and the fact might well be widely publicized. Or, thirdly, we can expose the intolerance and cruelty of the Japanese themselves. This is obvious enough in their attitude toward the Koreans and Chinese and in their treatment of their own *etas*, or untouchables. But propaganda of this kind leaves us vulnerable to counter-charges such as that made by the Japanese-operated Hsinking radio last summer: "The American propaganda machine has recently spread stories of Japanese mistreatment of Koreans. They should look at home first. Their Negroes do not enjoy the life of citizens."

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The best propaganda anywhere and always is that of the deed; in this case, it would be to give greater equality of opportunity to Negroes. The President's prohibition of any discrimination based on race, creed, color, or national origin, which has been written into all war contracts, is one long step, and the work of the Committee on Fair Employment Practices is another. But many large defense plants still refuse to hire Negroes except for unskilled or custodial work because of union barriers, employer prejudices, or local tradition.

The admission of Negroes to the regular ranks of the navy, marines, air corps, and Waacs, and their admission to the army in numbers proportioned to the size of the Negro population are admirable moves. But Negroes are still segregated in the army, navy, and Waacs. In the marines they are accepted only as privates for the duration of the war. And they are excluded from the Waves.

We must have cleaner hands if we hope to convince the people of occupied Asia that they have something to gain by a United Nations victory.

Globe and Independent
Nashville, Tenn.
JAN 1 - 1943

SEND ROOSEVELT PETITION WITH THOUSAND NAMES

President Advised Scheme To Stir Up Race Trouble, Made By Poll Tax Demagogues, Is Attack On His Leadership

Birmingham, Ala.--A petition with a thousand signatures of Negro and white Southerners from all walks of life, was forwarded to President Roosevelt this week. The petition called upon the Commander-in-Chief to take firm measures to smash the mounting revolt of Southern political reaction against the essential win-the war measures of the Administration. The statement charged a noisy band of Poll Tax demagogues with attempting to incite the white people of the South against Negroes in order to destroy national unity.

The petition accused these men of leading attacks on labor, provoking violence against Negros organizing phoney "grass roots" opposition to the rationing and price fixing system--all in a mad effort to discredit the President's leadership. I pointed out that these selfish men are motivated by political reforms (such as the abolition of the Poll tax) which are being born in the course of this People's War and which operate grip on the national life. The statement warned that these men have grown in their boldness and that the security of our country and the success of our war effort demands that they be removed from political life. Further stating that their actions in organizing Leagues for White Supremacy has already linked them with the Hitler enemy and has branded them with lurid marks of traitor, the petitioners called for an offensive on the part of the Administration to root out and destroy his arrogant band of Dixie Fifth Columnists. Among the inciters of disunity specifically named are Horace Wilkinson, Gessner T. McCorvey, Governor Frank M. Dixon, Congressman Joseph Starnes, Martin Dies and Gov-

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ernor Eugene Talmadge.

authorities must now be supplemented by an unnumbered series of incidents of the same character. The lynching of two Negro children and one man in the State of Mississippi; the intimidation of and attacks upon Negro soldiers in the South, having their ugly fruition in large-scale rioting; the "solution" of the problems of our overburdened transportation system through increased discrimination and abuse of Negro passengers; the continued denial of training and skilled employment for Negro men and women in vital defense industries; the shameful spectacle of an organized filibuster in the United States Senate to prevent the passage of legislation which would enable disfranchised white and Negro southerners to choose their federal representatives—all these things have occurred in rapid succession under the stimulus of a campaign conducted by men who place the maintenance of the feudal, undemocratic relations, which have for so long characterized the South as the "nation's number one economic problem," above the requirements of victory. These men have found ready access to the public attention through numerous organs of prestige and influence. Protected by our sacred doctrine of freedom of speech, they have used the press and the radio to further an effort whose success will endanger our victory which is a precondition for the maintenance of the four freedoms in America and throughout the world

"But they have done even more than this. In the name of states' rights they have launched a campaign of "secession" from the policies of the Administration which have won the support of our citizenry as being essential to victory. These actions are not localized in Alabama. The conspirators against unity are working zealously to recruit to their ranks from all parts of the South and the nation. The Governor of Louisiana, Samuel Jones, has but recently announced his complicity in the plan of secession.

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"This open, organized revolt is only incidentally a revolt against the leadership of the Democratic Party. As such it would hold only an academic interest for the millions of Negro and white people of the South who are ecectively disfranchised by pernicious practices which Southern Democrats in collaboration with many Northern Republicans, have successfully maintained to date. It is, however, a revolt against

JAN Mar 1943

"We call upon you, therefore, Mr. President, to crush this conspiracy with firm hand. The signatories to this petition, you may be sure, are only a token sampling of millions of Southerners who stand ready to rally to your leadership in the conduct of the nation's war to a speedy and successful conclusion. These Southerners are white and Negro men and women."

Nashville, Tenn. Banner
February 20 1943

Methodist Women Cite Race Problems

Atlanta, Feb. 20—(AP)—A group of 80 Southern women leaders of the Methodist Church declared in a report today "we believe that the denial of equality of opportunity between races in America, particularly in the South, is a denial of the Christian faith in the unity of all mankind.

"We believe white citizens should pledge themselves to a program working toward fair participation for Negroes in American life."

The women, representing the leadership of the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, came from the states of Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and Kentucky. They concluded a four-day conference on Christian social relations and local church activities.

Their "findings report discussed "economics," "race tensions," "education," and "alcohol."

Under economics, the report asserted "the discussions proved that as a permanent policy it is the clear responsibility of all government, and of our national government primarily to adopt vigorous affirmative plans for maintaining a just, an ordered, and a balanced economic life for all of our people. We realize that in these nine Southern states the economic status of the South is the cause of many of our major problems.

Declaring that "closely allied to the economic problem of the South is that of racial tensions," the conference report said "it is apparent that these racial tensions issue from certain definite sources, such as discrimination in housing, education, sanitation, facilities, health, policing, courts of justice, industry, war productions, and the right to share equally in fighting for freedom."

The report declared "we give approval to every measure possible working toward equal opportunity in all phases of education for all people; the federal aid bill for education in the south, equalization of salaries without discrimination as to race; a more adequate social health program in the schools, communities, camps and defense areas and any other places where local situations require it."

Of liquor, the report said "we realize that in spite of a statement to the contrary, there are serious drinking problems in and around our Army camps.

"We deplore the fact that space is being used on our cargo ships to and from America for the transportation of alcoholic beverages instead of greatly needed war supplies."

The report added "we deplore the cooperation of the government in supporting the sale of liquor in dry areas."

Kansas City Call
Kansas City, Mo.

'World Cooperation or Extermination of White Race,' Says Dr. Embree

JAN 29 1943

Head of Rosenwald Fund Warns That Darker Peoples Must Be Given Full Equality; Forecasts World Congress

NEW ORLEANS, La. — The world is heading, after this war, toward a United Nations of the World patterned much after the United States of America, with wide powers centralized in a world congress.

Each individual nation will retain autonomy except in certain specific realms, such as military power, where authority will be centered in the union government. Further, the world's white nations, and particularly the United States and Britain who as leaders are therefore the bulwarks of white supremacy, will be compelled to concede full equality and full representation in the coalition to the overwhelmingly more numerous non-white peoples of the earth's population.

Either this, or the entire white race faces literal extermination "within the next 25 to 50 years" by dark races now fast learning the white man's formula for domination.

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This grim warning was sounded by Dr. Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, in a speech delivered at Dillard university Wednesday, January 20.

On the same program appeared Dr. Will Alexander, one of the co-founders with Dr. Embree of Dillard and the institution's first head, having served as acting president, until the appointment of Dr. Stuart Nelson in 1936.

Dr. Embree illustrated his talk with a map of the eastern hemisphere, and pictured graphically how and where and why civilizations had risen and fallen during the past 100,000 years.

The rise of each civilization, said Dr. Embree, had been generated by similar factor combinations: (1) rich, vitalizing blood admixtures; (2) exposures to ideas from external sources; (3) favorabl ephysical surroundings, and (4), a vital new invention.

After each rise of a special civilization there was a leveling off as other peoples learned to use the vital new invention with equal skill and more aggressive effectiveness.

This was true of Egypt, which invented farming; of Greece, which invented writing; of Rome, which invented the science of organization; and history was destined to repeat itself in the case of the phesent great Western European civilization which had surged upward into world domination on its high development of power machinery unless that civilization had the wisdom to enter into an era of cooperation on a basis of full equility with the more numerous non-white peoples who had now solved their riddle of greatness.

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"There is no support, either anthropoligically or biologically for the belief that a white skin denotes innate superiority," emphasized Dr. Embree.

"All the peoples of the world stem from one common human family and superficial differences such as colors of eyes and skin and length of arms and size of feet, which accrued as the result of living thousands of years under different environmental conditions and eating different foods and the like, are jujst what they are, mere superficial differences.

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"Fundamentally, physically and mentally, all races are equal in capacities. And the recognition of this truth by the white peoples, the complete awareness that the dark races are fast acquiring wide skills in handling the devices which gave white nations dominance for four hundred years and permitted them, a small minority, to conquer and hold in servitude virtually the whole world, are the only reasonable postulation for a new world order of permanence and common sense and progress.

In the other direction lie world chaos, and extermination for the white races within the next 25 to 50 years."

Globe and Independent
Nashville, Tenn.

TOWARD DEMOCRACY

Frances Harriet Williams, in OPPORTUNITY Magazine for April, gives evidences of progress toward democracy, resulting from the present war, some of which are as follows:

MAR 26 1943

"In Washington, D. C., where Marian Anderson could not sing in a white high school, white people stood patiently in line to receive their sugar books from Negro school teachers, sitting at desks in a Negro school.. Why? Well, we all just went to the nearest school.

"In Alabama, a county superintendent called together the teachers who were to register the people for their War Ration Book 1. He did not have a sign to guide the seating, this side for white, this side for colored. No, he had a meeting about registration for sugar rationing and small, petty acts of segregation were forgotten.

"A tired Negro school teacher in Harlem, after working all day to see that all got their sugar books, wrote Mr. Leon Henderson, former administrator, Office of Price Administration, 'It was good to work so hard when for once being a Negro didn't count. Today we are Americans'."

56k-1943
Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y

United Sons of America Kluxers Under Skin; National Worker League Defends Der Phew-er

JAN 16 1943

By LLEWELLYN RANSOM

Scratch a member of the United Sons of America and you will reveal a disciple of the race-hating principles of the Ku Klux Klan. Last June the Klan, 40,000 strong in Michigan, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana, went underground, apparently disbanded. Its properties were put in the hands of three trustees.

About two months ago these trustees called delegates from various branches of the Klan in the above four states to a secret convention. A constitution and a declaration of creed were adopted and the organization was named the United Sons of America.

Management of the organization's affairs was placed in the hands of the three former Klan trustees and steps have been taken to incorporate. One of the trustees is Charles Spair.

A very stiff ritual has been adopted and affairs are to be conducted in strict secrecy. The trustees are not known to the general membership today. The organization is growing rapidly though. Approximately 18,000 members were taken in in Michigan alone.

Much of this is due to the fact that many Southern workers are moving into that area, among them a large number of former Klansmen. It is reported that the United Sons of America have plans under consideration to concentrate on the armed forces for membership.

Another home-grown fascist, Negro-hating organization is the National Workers' League, founded in 1938. Heads of this group were in communication with a large number of the people recently indicted by the federal government for conspiracy to undermine morale in the armed forces (George Deatherage, head of the Knights of the White Camellia, the *NYEnquirer*, etc.)

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PUTS OUT LITERATURE

The National Workers' League (NWL) publishes a *Nationalist Newsletter* from Detroit, adopts also the KKK plan of operating in industries by inserting literature in locker rooms, workmen's overalls and on home and factory windows.

Four of its leaders, Parker Sage, Virgil Chandler, Garland Alderman and William R. Lyman jr, were indicted last year for seditious conspiracy to hinder, delay and prevent the execution of the laws of the US and for violation of civil rights by preventing citizens from occupying federal owned premises. There is no record, however, of any of them being brought to trial as yet.

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It was the NWL that launched the boycott against Negroes and Jews. Chandler, vice-president, speaking about the Sojourner Truth Houses in Detroit, said: "We are going to throw a picket line around the place until Negroes are barred from moving in."

Russell N. Robert, who owns Sterling Engineering company at 21700 Beaconsfield road, St. Clair Shores, Mich., and does a lot of government war work, helped found the NWL. He and his wife worked diligently with the League until 1940. Roberts is violently anti-Semitic and anti-Negro, is a firm believer in Italian fascism.

In 1939 he visted George Deatherage and regularly received literature from Edmonson, Pelley, Asher and Hudson, all of whom have been indicted for sedition.

SYMPATHIZED WITH HITLER

Here are a few quotes from NWL *Newsletters:*

● June 7, 1939: Boxing matches between whites and blacks should not be allowed . . .

● July 12, 1939: Bell Island overrun by Negroes. There should be separate parks for whites and blacks .

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● July 26, 1939: Jews move in and destroy a neighborhood and they are followed by Negroes. That has happened in Detroit. No sane white man wants to live beside a Negro. So there is nothing for a white man to do but to sell his property at a loss and move out. Two solutions to the problem (a) zoning land, (b) race riots as in St. Louis and some foreign countries. Zoning laws are preferable but some leaders among the Negroes and Jews foolishly object to these laws . . .

● August 12, 1939: Negroes are breeding faster than whites. It is time for the formation of an organization to protect white people . . .

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● Sept. 21, 1939: Effigies of hitler were strung on telephone poles in the city. Why not a few of John Bull? Any impartial observer of world events must agree that hitler has been probably the most smeared and maligned character in history . . .

General coordinator for the plan to establish a system or a federation with key men in important cities and sections of the country to organize and prepare for the day when they could take over was George Deatherage. He and his contact men were checking on important leaders of the nation susceptible to their propaganda. Even army men were sounded out and organizations contacted. Everything was to have a nationalist, white and Christian appearance.

SOUGHT ARMY

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Major-General George Van Horn Moseley of Atlanta, Ga. was picked to be the "man on the white horse" who was to lead the movement. When it was revealed that Moseley had spoken in 1938 at a secret meeting at the home of Mrs. Rudyard Uzzell in Long Island, where Fritz Kuhn, bund leader since jailed, was also a speaker before about 50 violent fascists, he was dropped by Deatherage.

However, in Springfield, Ill, on April 26, 1939, Moseley included in a speech the following:

"Studies of our manpower which have been made over a long period of time, show very conclusively and from every point of view we are breeding the race down. That condition must be more corrected. As human beings we are subject to all the laws of breeding that affect the animal kingdom. We are violating those laws because it is not good politics to stand up in a meeting and face the facts; to provide corrective measures by adopting a system for selective breeding, sterilization, the elimination of the unfit and the elimination of those types which are inimical to the general welfare of the nation.

Birmingham, Ala. News
January 1, 1943

Ban On U. S. Workers' Activities In Politics Is Urged By Attorney

Wilkinson Advocates Idea In Attack On Reformers In Connection With Negro

Another blow had been struck at Washington social reformers Friday by Horace Wilkinson, Birmingham attorney, in a speech on racial relations in which he called for amplification of Hatch act principles to bar federal officials and employes in Alabama from voting or politicking in presidential campaigns.

In an address Thursday before the Ensley Kiwanis Club on what he termed "the Mulatoo Menace," Wilkinson, lawyer-politico, vitriolically denounced "equality and ultimate amalgamation" of the white and Negro races, which he asserted was the aim of "mulatto escapists and their white companions" in Washington.

He urged submission of a constitutional amendment in Alabama to "make it a felony for any employe or appointive officer of the federal government to vote for or undertake to directly or indirectly influence the election of electors for president of the United States during their connection with the government and within six months after the same shall have been terminated."

inter-marriage and the destruction of segregation is the ultimate aim and secret ambition of these pressure groups whose activities are centered in Washington, where they are undertaking to make the federal government accessory to the crime."

The lawyer averred that Washington "advisers and leaders" are leaving no stone unturned to make the Negro an economic menace and went on to add that "the reason we exclude the Asiatics from America is an economic reason."

"The reason we will exclude the Negro from America, if that ever becomes necessary, will be an economic reason," Wilkinson said, in suggesting that Negroes might have to be emigrated to a "Negro republic" of their own before a successful solution of the problem is worked out.

Wilkinson said annihilation, emigration or amalgamation are the only three solutions and that the white people would not stand for either annihilation or amalgamation.

"If we are to plan the peace before we end the war, perhaps we might well begin consideration of a Negro republic in some advantageous place following the war and for the incorporation of the American Negro into the new nation where he can be free to work out his destiny."

Declaring such voting restriction should be made uniform throughout America, the attorney said, "It will make the national government more considerate of the wishes of the people of the several states, check the tendency to obliterate state's rights and place the election of the chief executive of this nation in the hands of the taxpayers instead of the tax-eaters, and minimize the influence of the agitating mulatoo."

Wilkinson not only called for such voting restriction, but declared "The next objective of the white people of America must be to throw the election of the president into the House of Representatives as the Constitution of the Unied States provides."

Wilkinson told the civic club that continuous efforts are being made to convince the Negro he is abused. He went on to add that it is claimed that we must state our war aims and that these must exclude any element of race consciousness.

"Unhappy and unattainable ideas of social equality and ultimate amalgamation are being urged upon the Negro. Inter-mixture and

As far the "demagogues among the whites" we leave

GOVERNOR SPARKS' RED HERRING

"We should be free from the demagogues among the Negroes" to their race. With reference to "social climbers among whites and we should be free from the social climbers among the Negroes" it may be construed as an attempt to portray among the Negroes." This is an utterance of Governor Sparks of Alabama, in a rebuke to those who attempt to the same "red herring" that always gets into the picture play the leaks in the dike of democracy without removing the cause, segregation and racial discrimination. whenever the rights of the Negro are mentioned.

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Afro Man Ousted from Minute Men for Exposing Conditions

JAN 2 - 1943

BALTIMORE — Arrested on the drill floor at Richmond Market Armory, escorted to State guard military police headquarters and interrogated by Lieutenant Jones, Josephus Simpson was ousted from the Maryland Minute Men Friday because he wrote a story on conditions within the organization.

While he was being questioned, Simpson said, the officer who detained him stood guard at the door until he had turned over his arm band and identification card. He had refused to turn these over to Major Creigler or Captain Westcott until given a written discharge.

Mr. Simpson's story, which appeared in the November 21 issue of the AFRO-AMERICAN, aroused the ire of Captain Westcott, recently commissioned captain of the outfit, and Major William Creigler, commanding officer of the organization.

Called Upon the Carpet

While the volunteer members of the organization were discussing the article and wondering out loud whether it would bring any improvement in conditions, the author of the article was called into the office of Captain Westcott and asked to explain why he wrote the story.

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Simpson explained that he wrote the story simply in his capacity as a newspaperman, inspired by conditions which he saw himself and by what other members of the organization had said to him. Many of the men, he explained, were dissatisfied.

"Errors" Not Defined

Although he did not point specifically to any errors in the story, Captain Westcott stated that he did not "think much" of the article, declaring that, in his opinion, it was very bad and that the whole thing was full of errors.

He defended an order previously given colored minute men to leave their weapons at home "until you are ordered to bring them out" by stating that it was given because some of the men had "played damn fools with their guns."

Later that same night, Mr. Simpson was called before Major Creigler who told him that the story demonstrated that his days of service to the organization were at an end, stating that it "borders on treason" because of a reference to the race issue and questioned the necessity for separate organizations.

Ordered to "Get Out"

Simpson was told by the major that since he was dissatisfied with the manner in which the organization was being conducted, the best thing for him to do would be to get out, then he could write anything "you want to write, but you can't do it in here." Mr. Simpson refused.

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Instead, he stated that he would remain in the organization until he was given a written discharge stating the reason for his dismissal. Major Creigler promised to provide such a discharge, stating, however, that it would only say he was discharged for the "good of the service." This Mr. Simpson has not yet received.

Three or four weeks later, Mr. Simpson was shown a paper on which appeared the names of several men who had been discharged at their own request. His name was also on the list, but the reason for his discharge was indicated as "undesirable."

He still refused to give up the arm band and identification card, but the clerk did not call his name during roll calls after that meeting. He continued to attend, however, and wrote a letter to Governor Herbert R. O'Conor on December 9 asking relief.

Governor Ignores Letter

The governor had not replied to his letter on the night of his arrest, but one of the men stated that night he would "do like that fellow up town. I'll write to the governor."

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Mr. Simpson, night news editor for the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers, told the governor that "I have been a member of the organization since April," have attended most of the meetings and have "done nothing to merit this humiliating treatment at the hands of my superior officers."

He has not yet received any acknowledgment or reply to his letter to Governor O'Conor, Simpson told the AFRO this week.

AT EASE:

JAN 23 1943

No Eleanor Clubs, FBI Informer

Houston, Texas

Washington, D. C.—Attorney General Francis Biddle released this week a Federal Bureau of Investigation statement asserting that it has had no success in verifying the persistent rumor that "Eleanor Clubs" exist in the South or that they are inspired by Axis propaganda.

Biddle's announcement came in answer to an NAACP request for further investigation of the existence of these clubs which are alleged to have very militant Negro domestic memberships. Biddle quoted to the NAACP the following statement of conclusions reached by the Bureau:

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Only Rumors

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation received an allegation that the rumors of the existence of 'Eleanor Clubs' originated from Nazi sources for the purpose of causing dissension. Accordingly, in each instance in which there has been brough to attention a report or an allegation of the existence of such a club, steps have been taken to trace the report or allegation to its source for the purpose of determining whether forces inimical to the best interests of the United States government were involved. In no instance has an 'Eleanor Club' nebdeien has an 'Eleanor Club' been identified as actually existing or has the rumor been traced to any foreign source."

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

In Retrospect And Prospect

JAN 1 19

As the broad sweep of events for 1942 culminates in America's first anniversary of total war, Negro Americans may, with profit, pause long enough to recount their gains and to chart new pathways for the future.

The quickening pace with which Negroes have been prientated into American economic life has been one of the healthy sign post of the past year. Urged on first by the pinch of the President's executive Order 8802, then by the swelling and sweeping tide of sentiments, favoring democracy's extension to the Negro by white journals and periodicals, heightened by appeals from high-ranking government officials, social leaders and individuals, together with the crusading of Negro organizations, press and pulpit, this mirage of influences has been one mighty force in the Negro's advance.

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In the Army and Navy, conditions for Negro promotions are at least, more assuring than a year ago. Thousands of Negro workers are being orientated into defense plants and factories. The industrial status of the Negro worker is materially better than a year ago. Labor unions are beginning to discard their total exclusion policies and admit Negroes in limited numbers. And in all, we might safely conclude that the economic side of the ledger offers more hope than any other single phase of the year's activities.

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But try hard as we may, we cannot paint a rosy picture, either to American Negroes nor to the mass of our white population. The dark clouds of interracial tension and discord loom upon the horizon to chill our hopes and to destroy our gains.

Witness fo. example the numerous outbreaks of violence between our Army and civilian populations. Consider the beating of the world's best known and most beloved tenor singer, Roland Hayes, by a Rome, Georgia policeman. Consider to, the attack administered to two Negro ministers on a convention-bound train. Worse, consider the double lynchings of two Negro youths by a Mississippi mob. Note finally, the disruptive influence of Governor Talmadge in our own state, of Horace Wilkerson and Governor Dixon of Alabama, of Bilbo and Rankins of Mississippi, together with many others in their passionate appeals to prejudice and riot.

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This tragic price of American race prejudice, operating to curdle the morale of one tenth of the American nation, together with the insidious frustration of our war program, constitutes a most dangerous threat to democracy.

1943 presents us with many opportunities and challenges. A total war, requiring resolute courage, demands the loyalties of all. Extreme sacrifice and possible deprivation, await all. No half-hearted support nor irritating frictions can win the war nor write the peace that is to follow. All of us are engaged in a struggle to defend and espouse a cause by which humanity at large can translate its hopes and aspirations in terms of human freedom and universal brotherhood. But we cannot with consistency deny this freedom to those who fight valiantly for its defense. It must not be a war to confer freedom upon some and impose subordination upon others.

JOSEPH E. MAJOR
——A Colored Jurist——

Knowing that the Negro has so very much in common, I would recommend an organization of pressed, regardless of color. If these methods were carried out, they could form a democratic nation that cannot be impeded by any selfish person or per sons, who would try to destroy a nation for and by the people.

MAY 2 3 1943

Tribune
Philadelphia, Pa.
Cites Education
As Greatest Need
MAY 2 2 1943

urning the unity as a more effective instru- ment for use in the struggle against discrimination in all walks of life. We shall not close off the white brother who is fighting our battle, for we are not alone in this fight against injustice which threatens all the op- seek knowledge by burning "night oil" to an advantage. I do know that every Negro is face me and other Negroes. coming very slowly, although progress is definitely being made. Being a Negro, I put education for my people ahead of all things, and encourage them to

I am Negro. Yet, being a Negro, I cannot give you the answer to all the problems that

ro. No.th, can well ding if he method. ll then be blems in a derstanding.

56k-1943

Relentless Fight Against Jim Crow Labor Unions Brings Slanderous Attack By Lester M. Hunt

The Northwest Enterprise
Seattle, Washington

Editor,
The International Teamster
222 East Michigan Street
Indianapolis, Ind.
Dear Sir:

I have just read proof sheets of an article in the International Teamster which is headed: "NEGRO 'LEADER' STIRS RACE HATRED — RANDOLPH CIRCULATES AXIS PROPAGANDA". This article is a slanderous attack on myself and the March On Washington Movement, and I ask for the democratic right to present my side of the case to your readers.

The author of the article, one Lester M. Hunt, makes some serious charges, so serious that it would seem to be his duty as a citizen not to merely write a little article, but to set the F. B. I. on my trail. Specifically, Hunt charges that a pamphlet recently issued by the March On Washington Movement, of which I have the honor of be National Director, (1) "sows the seed of insurrection by inflaming the black race against the white," (2) "will be another great propaganda victory for Goebbels" if successful, (3) "attempts to persuade Negroes to resist induction into the armed forces," and (4) "tries to arouse the Negroes of America against their government." These are big words, but I don't think Hunt means them very seriously. For if he did, as I noted above, and if he could back them up, the F. B. I. and not The International Teamster would be the place to address himself to. So, I think we must conclude that Hunt is engaging in some irresponsible political reasons.

The pamphlet that so aroused mud-throwing for factional and Hunt is called "The War's Greatest Scandal — The Story of Jim-Crow in Uniform." It has been out for several months and had been warmly approved by many liberals, labor and Negro groups and publications. We had expected that reactionaries like Congressman Rankin, Dies, and Cox would attack the pamphlet, but I must confess I was rather taken aback to find the first full-dress onslaught coming from a labor paper. For the pamphlet is simply a detailed and hard-hitting expose of the shameful treatment of the colored people of America by the military authorities: the humiliating refusal of opportunity to Negroes to rise to the posts trey are fitted for; the policy of 100 per cent jim-crow segregation in all branches of the service, with its terrible consequences in sharpening racial antagonisms; the segregation of colored blood in the Red Cross' blood banks; etc. etc. It also puts the responsibility for the continuance of this condition squarely where it belongs: on the present Administration, and on President Roosevelt as Commander-in-Chief of the Army (and also — a less dignified title — Appeaser Extraordinary to the Southern Congressional Bloc.) And it finally describes the results of this policy: the sowing of the seeds of postwar fasicsm; the growing feeling of millions of Negroes that this is a "white man's war", and that there is little to choose between the democracies and the Nazies.

The military jim-crow is smoothing the path of postwar reaction, that the above state of mind is widespread among Negroes — these are facts, whether Lester M. Hunt likes them or not. Our pamphlet didn't create these facts; it merely recorded them. However, to Hunt there is no difference between recognizing the existence of something and advocating it. The very passages he quotes, however, show that the pamphlet condemns racial antagonism and fascism, and that it advocates treating Negro soldiers like human beings precisely because that is the best way to prevent racialism and postwar fascism.

How does Hunt propose to deal with these problems? In his entire article there is not a single expression of sympathy for the Negro people, not a single word of condemnation of the reactionary un-American jim-crow policies now being pursued by the American navy and army. There is not a word of support for the struggle the Negroes of America are waging for their democratic rights — and Lester M. Hunt is not very bright as a trade unionist, if he imagines that future fascist demagogues will not exploit the present tragic division between Negroes and whites in order to fasten their yoke on the entire American working class regardless of color. The Negro's fight is also labor's fight.

Support the fight against jim-crow? On the contrary, Hunt sneers at "magnified grievances." He even objects to the test case now in the Federal courts in which Winfred Lynn, a Negro draftee, is bringing suit to compel the military authorities to obey the National Draft Act which specifically forbids racial discrimination. "The pamphlet," he writes indignantly, "supports the action of a Negro draftee who refused to serve in any black military unit, probably considering himself superior to his race." Yes, the pamphlet supports the Lynn Case, as does the American Civil iLberties Union, as does the noted labor lawyer, Arthur Garfield Hays, who has stated he will fight the case through to the U. S. Supreme Court. And what kind of talk is this, to accuse Winfred Lynn of "considering himself superior of his race"? So Negroes who fight against jim-crow segregation are snobs who want to associate with the superior white race! These are peculiar sentiments to find in a labor journal!

Finally, I want to make my attitude, and the attitude of the March On Washington Movement clear on hte question of the war. Hunt points out that the Burmese fared worse under the Japanese than under the British, and he claims the Negroes will also suffer much worse if Hitler wins than if the democracies do. The pamphlet makes no secret of its profound hostility towards fascism and all its works, nor do I need any instruction from Lester M. Hunt as to the horrors of Hitlerism. No, what separates the March On Washington Movement from 'labor' spokesmen like Hunt is not the question of whether fascism is worse than what we have now in this country, or whether the war should be supported or opposed, but simply this: does a war in defense of democracy require that we suspend the struggle for democratic rights at home? Hunt thinks it does, and he writes approvingly that the white workingmen of America — unlike the uppity Negroes — claim no "special privileges" in this war, do not "defy the government". Instead, "they went where they were assigned and did what they were told to do." My definition of the proper behavior for labor, both white and Negro, in this war is not this kind of regimented, unquestioning blind obedience to orders from above which smacks more of totalitarian than of democratic procedure — but rather a constant sharp and vigilant insistence on full democracy here and now. Both labor and colored people of America have enemies, and pretty much the same enemies, too, right here at home. I have workd and am now working for the victory of the United Nations. My organization — the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters have bought $50,000 worth of War Bonds. Our members are buying hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of War Bonds. But we know that it does not follow that the victory of the United Nations means the victory of the democracy or the Peace. If labor does not fight for democracy now, it may have fascism and not democracy when the War ends. These enemies are not suspending their fight during the war. Why should labor? Why should the Negro?

The criticisms of military policy made in our pamphlet, "Jim-Crow in Uniform," are fair criticisms. Hunt does not attempt to deny their validity. Far from it being "Axis propaganda" to expose these injustices and try to get them remedied, it is precisely the failure to date, to treat the Negro as a human being in the armed forces that has provided the Axis with its best propaganda. The shoe is on the other foot. When I raised my voice against jim-crow practices in the trade union movement last fall at the AFL Convention, I got an "answer" of a sort, from Hunt's boss, Daniel J. Tobin. "Sooner or later this kind of stuff will have to be stoped," said Tobin — and Hunt quotes his words approvingly. "This kind of stuff" can be stopped, pamphlets like "Jim-Crow in Uniform" can be suppressed, every progressive voice that speaks out from the ranks of labor or of the colored epople can be stifled — all this can be done. But the injustice will remain, the grievances will fester — and the Axis propagandists will have more, and not less, to feed on. You don't solve labor problems very successfully by locking up "agitators" and you don't solve social problems by suppressing criticism.

A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters.

THIS IS
The Informer
FREEDOM
Houston, Texas
CALLING

By H. A. BULLOCK

THE NEGRO PROBLEM IS DIFFERENT—

Recent Fourth of July celebrations, filled with the idea that all men are created equal and have certain inalienable rights, reawakened a consciousness of the immigrants or children of immigrants, they thought of themselves as belonging to one nation-al society in which the privileges and immunities of citizenship were either granted to all or denied to all. Since all of them were not Christian sense of fair play that there was no race problem as we now know it. America must have been in the minds of the creators of the Declaration of Independence. Those men who wrote of each one were as great as those this document during the era of the other. Such Negroes as 1776 lived a very simple life. There were here were accepted as slaves was very little sense of class differ- —beasts of burden—and were not ence among them and the peole thought of as human beings even whom they represented. when the constitution was framed.

Race Problem and Negro Problem Different

This feeling of democracy for all aspects of our national life. It has caused the American people to view the problem of other races as being one thing and that of the Negro as another. The truth of the matter is very clearly brought out when we consider the difference in the attitude of Americans toward the treatment of racial groups living outside of or within

the United States and the treatment of Negroes at home.

By employing a few current instances, sharp contrasts of attitudes may be drawn. It is clear to all of us that the German theory of racial superiority resulting in the persecution of Jews and the enslavement of what she called non-Aryan people aroused American wrath and sent us into war. In no instances are there signs that the persecution of Negroes in such American cities as Detroit and Beaumont will call out an equal amount of American wrath and send us into action against racial injustices at home.

The rape of China by the Japanese drew us into closer friendship with this nation. It made us give up some of our trade rights in this country, and it so popularized the Chinese with Americans that one of our most exclusive southern white colleges gladly granted honorary degrees to outstanding Chinese women. This same school not only would not admit Negro women students—although citizens of their own country—but would not allow Negro residents within the environs of the college grounds.

Within the boundaries of our own country non-white immigrants soon acquire the same privileges extended to whites. Through these opportunities they soon take places in American life—after a few years of habitation—above and beyond that of Negroes who were born here and who enriched the lands and industries with their labor. These instances and many others like them tend to show that the attitude of Americans toward other colored people is one thing and that toward American Negroes is another.

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Reasons for Differences

The reasons for this difference in attitude are obvious. Although the problems of both are based on differences in race reenforced by differences in customs and ways of living, to American whites the problem of these non-white groups that are not Negroes is a foreign one. On the other hand, to them, the problem of the American Negro is a domestic issue. As a rule, the people for whose freedom Americans plead are inhabitants of foreign countries. Whether living here or abroad, they have governments of their own.

Except in a few instances, these foreigners are not direct competitors of Americans at home. The things they want, such as the right of self-determination, an equal place in the world society of nations, and an escape from being a source of cheap labor, seem very far away to Americans. Consequently, they do not fight them. To the contrary, they help to bring them about.

In the minds of Americans, freedom for the Negro is an entirely different thing. It means—to them—upsetting things at home. It means opening closed doors of educational opportunities; it means opening residential areas heretofore closed to Negroes; and in all, it means a revolution in thinking—a change from thinking of the Negro as an animal to thinking of him as a citizen within the pale of our national life.

These changes do not call for national readjustment as much as they call for individual readjustment. Therefore, the individual American sees the Negro as an immediate competitor, and he builds up attitudes and reactions designed to protect himself against this competition.

Contrasts in Solution

It is wise for us to guard ourselves from being confused by all the cries that are being raised against the treatment of racial minorities throughout the world. All of these cries are not on our behalf. The Negro problem will remain for many years after the problems of other minority groups have been solved.

Even the solutions are entirely different. The solution of the problems of other minorities is really an impersonal matter while the solution of Negro problems is a personal one. Solving the problem of China, Philippine Islands, India, etc., calls for changes of government policies and involves agreements between governments. Even changes in the treatment of immigrants here are dependent upon changes in agreements between governments.

The opportunities which Negroes seek may be extended by the government through law, but they can be enforced only when attitudes, feelings, and beliefs of rank and file individuals of this nation change. Let us not forget that the Negro bill of rights placed in the United States' constitution after the Civil War is still a bill. It is a bill yet to be paid. The Negro problem is one thing and that of other minority groups is another.

Tribune
Savannah, Ga.

NEGROES MUST IMPROVE IN PUBLIC BEHAVIOR

By Dr. Ralph Mark Gilbert, Pres., NAACP

JUL 2 - 1943

I have just received a letter from the Pittsburgh Courier, a circular letter which is sent out by the Religious Editor of that journal. I believe we all will recognize the Pittsburgh Courier as being a journal that militantly champions the cause of our people, and is regarded by our enemies as being "radical." Yet this paper, through its religious editor, recognizes a situation that exists within our group, and in its effort to do something about it has sent out a circular letter to all the pastors of the country whose addresses they have, asking that they do something about correcting the situation of bad manners that exist on the part of so many members of our race.

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May we quote from their letter—"Our people must be taught to place before their neighbors the good deeds that our people have done and are doing, to help make America a better place in which to live. Then too, our people must learn that all white people are not our enemies. Also that 'carrying chip on our shoulder,' bad public manners indolence inefficiency, absenteeism, and lack of cooperative effort in community welfare, do not make friends for us among other racial groups . . We believe that if the pulpit and press give the light, the peopie will find their way through these uncertain times."

Certainly, something needs to be done. We all agree that some of the conduct of our people is so unbecoming as to in itself become the occasion for some deplorable incident. Certainly, we do suffer from the curse of race prejudice and from the narrow-minded bigotry of some members of the predominant race who hate us purely upon the grounds of color. We also know that when Negroes are judged, they are not usually judged by those who are trying to abide by the highest standards of character, but by those who advertise their ignorance by displaying their ill-breeding. Knowing what obstacles we must overcome even when we meet the highest qualifications of character and intelligence, we are doubly handicapped when we are forced to undergo the opprobrium created for us by those thoughtless and discourteous members of our race who insist upon calling attention to themselves through the medium of their inglorious public behavior.

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Certainly, we shall continue to make a courageous fight for whatever belongs to our race; but we are handicapped in that fight, by the bad manners of some of our people who seem to be intent by their behavior, in tearing down everything we seek to build up. We shall not win this battle by protest and demands alone; while we are presenting our case, as ably as we know how, we must also build up good-will sufficient to support that case. Public opinion must sustain any contentions for fair play that we may make; and public opinion will be seriously undermined so long as some boisterous Negroes will break with all established good usage and taste.

In plain words, our people must be taught that in all public gatherings. it is the part of good taste to sit quietly in the audience and enjoy what is going on from the platform, pulpit, or screen, with dignity and poise, and that when laughter is in order, that it should be subdued and not prolonged beyond the limits of propriety. They must be taught that during this period when there is work enough for all, that indolence is nothing short of criminal. They must be taught that when a man employs them, they owe that man something besides being on hand to collect wage on pay-day. This is the time to make one's self indispensible; it is not the time to assert a false sense of "independence,' simply because labor is scarce. Whatever the category of labor into which you find employment, dignify your end of the job, and seek ways in which to improve the calibre of your work. Ineficiency hurts the man who indulges in it, far more than it hurts his employer. We've got to cut out laying off the job because somebody's funeral is to be held or because of "the morning after the night before." Our people are being employed in many capacities that they have never had opportunity to work in before; in the name of heaven, LET US MAKE GOOD ON THOSE JOBS!

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It is the duty of our leadership to keep these things before our people. This is no time for churches to be dwelling at length on denominational doctrines and dead theological propositions; in the name of heaven let us from the pulpit advise our people on these practical values of every-day things they need to learn. We have in Savannah, over 150 civic social, and fraternal organizations among our people. By all that is sacred and holy, stop just holding meetings, and get busy in trying to correct some of the ills that afflict our people FROM WITHIN OUR OWN GROUP! And as soon as school opens, let our teachers spend some time, religiously, day after day, consciously teaching our people to do something else than what is in the text books; let the youth learn these things from our teachers during the formative period of their lives.

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One word more. Thrift will always commend any set of people, no matter what forces operate against them. In these days when you are so resrticted as to what you may buy, and when money is so plentiful, just how some of our people can manage to throw away every dime they make, and save absolutely nothing, is a mystery to me. And to have absolutely nothing to show for what they have spent! This is the time to pay off that mortgage from your home; pay off all you owe on the furniture; pay up all old outstanding debts, and for heaven's sake, get a hold of some war bonds Unless I miss my guess, the man in the postewar world who has no war bonds in his possession, is going to be in a seriously handicapped

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Don't us, and you can't expect to storm blows over; there be any praise, if there be any virtue, think on things." And if you are ing individual, for heavsake, figure out something you, in your corner, can out it!

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Race Riot Leaves Ugly Scars On Alexandria Life

APR 3 1943

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

By ENOC P. WATERS

(Defender Staff Correspondent)

(Second of Two Articles)

ALEXANDRIA, La.—A soldier from Philadelphia told me the only way to save yourself when you fall into the hands of Alexandria's sadist police is to tell them you're from Mississippi or Georgia.

"I think that when they heard Negro soldiers from the north were coming here, they made up their minds that we needed to be taught a lesson and so used every excuse to show us that the white man is in control," he said.

"Naturally not only the northern Negro soldiers but all Negro soldiers were embittered. The Negro soldiers get along together all right regardless of what part of the country we come from and I don't know of any trouble anybody's had with white soldiers. All of us soldiers get along as well as you'd expect. I don't even blame those white M.P.'s for the riot."

Touchy Attitude

He was talking of the explosive clash some months back in which some reports said ten soldiers were killed Collier's magazine called the riot "Little Pearl Harbor."

Virtually everyone seemed to place responsibility for the battle on local police.

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As the result of an experience I had, I got the impression that everyone is touchy, and it might be because of the racial tenseness. Walking toward me on the other side of Lee street, shortly after my arrival in Alexandria, I saw a young woman wearing a pair of those cute white boots — except hers were no longer cute, being soiled and wilted.

I might have stared at her because for a moment I thought she looked familiar. Catching my eye she crossed the street and walked to meet me. I stopped and spoke to her. Ignoring my greeting she asked why I was looking at her so hard.

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Just a Glare

"I thought I knew you," I said.

"Well. do you?" she challenged.

Still not too sure of it, I answered "No. I don't think I do."

"Well then, what's the idea of walking around here staring at people you don't know!" It was one of those rhetorical questions punctuated with profanity. I said nothing and moved on. I looked back after a few paces and she was glaring at me.

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A young woman who was born here and has been teaching in another community for several years compared the two Alexandrias for me.

"I can't figure out what it's all about," she said. "Of course the whites have never been too friendly here, but now they act as if the sight of a Negro makes them mad And it's not always the strangers either," she pointed out.

Attitudes Change

She then told of a clerk in a Third street dress shop she has known for several years. "She always called me by my first name, as all of them do, but she was very nice and helpful, so much so that I would wait for her rather than have another clerk service me. When I came back here in February, I went to the shop to get a dress and though she recognized me right off, she was so short-tempered and indifferent that I couldn't believe it was the same woman.

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Perhaps no better example of the dislocation of a community because of war conditions can be found than Alexandria. One of the biggest problems of the community — and of which most people are aware — is being allowed to go from bad to worse with no effort to correct it.

It has to do with the demoralization of the young women — perhaps girls is the better word, for those most affected are of high school age.

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Girls Leave School

Prof. David Iles, principal of Peabody high school, reported that large numbers of the girls are leaving school to work at the army camps where they are used in the canteens and laundries. Their pay ranging from $70 to $80 per month is more than they ever expected to earn here. Domestics are still getting a maximum of $7 or $8 per week.

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Some of the more romantic ones, he said, are marrying soldiers they barely know, believing in this way that they are doing something fine and patriotic. Some others, he said—and in a few cases encouraged by their parents — marry soldiers with their eyes more on his allotment check than on the man. A few, he said, are gradually drifting into prostitution.

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Rev. E. C. Curtis, who admitted that women of loose morals are increasing in large numbers, attributed it to an influx of "common women from the outside." Some, he said, have come to Alexandria to prey on the soldiers. Others have come either as the wives of soldiers, or have been lured here by promises of marriage and have been deserted, so turn to the easiest way of sustaining themselves.

Young Girls In Joints

"Few of our local girls have been contaminated," he said. "Parents, knowing the problem, have kept close check on their girls and so prevented them from succumbing to the temptations about them."

I was impressed by the youthfulness of the girls I saw in the joints along Lee street. They were obviously minors and really had no business being in the establishments, but the few police officers I saw paid them no attention.

As far as I could discover there is no community movement concerned about these girls. The city has provided very poorly for the recreational facilities for Negroes and the USO which is doing a splendid job, has its hands full providing a wholesome program for the soldiers.

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A professional man declared that the community was so engaged in making money that it hadn't time to look about and see what is going on.

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High Venereal Rate

One of the most appalling conditions is the high venereal disease rate among the civilian and military population. For Negro troops there are two prophylactic stations which according to the check I made with attendants working in them serve only 300 to 400 men over a weekend. Because the number of soldiers visiting the city over the average weekend is four or five times or maybe more that number, one is led to believe that the stations aren't fully utilized.

A physician with whom I talked said that he was treating more venereal cases than ever before in the history of his practice, but that he was convinced that most of the cases are not brought to the attention of doctors, victims relying heavily upon home remedies and drug store preparations. Medical facilities provided by the city are inadequate and cater only to those who can prove themselves indigent.

It is not clear what people are doing with their money. There is no wave of home buying and there has been but a slight increase in insurance and church collections. There is a demand for medical and dental services, which some of the doctors attribute to the increase in population instead of increased income.

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High Living Cost

It is quite likely that most of the excess over what people have been earning is taken up by increases in the costs of living, for food is sky high, and rent in most instances has been advanced.

Biggest earners in the community are carpenters and bricklayers, most of whom are now engaged in working on Carver Village, a Negro housing project, but who have earned as high as $100 per week during construction of the camps. Where whites have moved out of private industry, a few vacancies have been made which are being filled by Negroes.

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A Negro woman, Cleo Newman, has recently been employed as clerk at Franklin's dress shop and Estelle Jase is in charge of stock for Schnack's jewelry store. There are a few other exceptions of this type, but are not indicative of the general trend in Negro employment.

It is roughly estimated that the general income of Negroes has advanced from about $15 per week to $20.

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Alexandria is certainly no better off — or even as well off — as it was before the war. What few positive gains might have been realized by the presence of thousands of troops in the area are offset by a number of negative factors of such serious consequence as to put Alexandria in the list of war casualties.

Atlanta Georgia Constitution
APR 8

ONE WORD MORE

By RALPH McGILL.

BOOK BY WILLKIE Today, as one contemplates the fact that the old-line reactionary Republicans are laying plans for a 1944 victory, said plans to be backed by the most tremendous campaign fund in the history of our nation, one cannot do other than fear and hope.

The hope of the Republican party lies chiefly in one man, although there are one or two others who may stand side by side with him and fight.

That one man is Wendell Willkie.

He knows that the old-line Republicans would seek to turn back. He knows that this country, to survive, must go forward. It cannot be negative, reactionary, and it cannot isolate itself from the world.

Therefore, a book by Wendell Willkie is of unusual importance. Such a book is on the bookshelves of the nation today.

It is not a book in which Willkie deals with his political beliefs. That is, it is not such a book per se. It is a book of his trip around the world as an unofficial representative of this government.

In it one may read Willkie's ideas.

The old-line Republicans long ago gave up on Willkie. They





THEY DIDN'T GO TO ALEXANDRIA

Not all soldiers go to Alexandria for their recreation. Some, like the above, stay at Camp Livingstone to swap yarns and stories about a roaring camp fire. These men are from the 46th Brigade.

supported him before because he was opposing Roosevelt. They were not for Willkie. They were against Roosevelt. Since the stand Willkie took in the tremendous events of the war and of international policy, Willkie is listed but slightly below Roosevelt in the venomous hate which some persons have for the administration.

They will not like his book.

Those who shudder when they contemplate what might happen should an old-line Republican win in 1944 will find comfort in the book, even though they may not agree entirely with Mr. Willkie.

"ONE WORLD" Wendell Willkie calls his book "One World." The title alone is enough to make an isolationist shriek and scratch.

The book is not much more than a highly personalized report of his travels. He talks intimately, of his meetings with Stalin, Chiang Kai-shek, America's General Chenault and England's General Montgomery, who even now is leading the attack on Rommel in Africa.

His publishers (the book is by Simon & Schuster, $2) say that they believe it to be a book which will be a contribution to the cause of true victory.

What he says of Russia is of really tremendous importance. Here was a man who was head of one of the nation's largest utility corporations before he resigned to become a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

He was—and is today—a product of the capitalistic system in which we Americans believe. He was hailed by his fellow heads of corporations as a man who may be depended upon to support that system.

That is true of him today. You must discount those men who have permitted an unreasoning hate to make them blind.

Here is Willkie, former president of Commonwealth & Southern, speaking on Russia:

"First, Russia is an effective society. It works. It has survival value. The record of Soviet resistance to Hitler has been proof enough of this to most of us, but I must admit in all frankness that I was not prepared to believe before I went to Russia what I now know about its strength as a great organization of men and women.

"Secondly, Russia is our ally in this war. The Russians, more sorely tested by Hitler's might even than the British, have met the test magnificently. Their hatred of Fascism and the Nazi system is real and deep and bitter. And this hatred makes them determined to eliminate Hitler and exterminate the Nazi blight from Europe and the world.

"Thirdly, we must work with Russia after the war. At least it seems to me that there can be no continued peace unless we learn to do so."

I put those few paragraphs down as among the more important of his observations on Russia.

CONTRIBUTION One trouble with discussing Russia or the Negro question, or any other question about which there are deep-set prejudices and emotions, is the difficulty of obtaining sane and sensible discussion.

There are always those who are quick to whisper that so and so is getting a little "leftish." Or to say they are "pinko" who discuss the possibility of dealing with Russia on a whole-hearted basis of co-operation after the war.

Mr. Willkie's book is a contribution to the proper cause because of his comments. It is also a contribution because he is a corporation man and a Wall Street lawyer who is not afraid of facts. And to say them out loud.

Too many persons fondly regard themselves as realists because they close their minds and eyes to all the things they do not want to believe or see.

Mr. Willkie is my idea of the real realist.

His book has the wholesome atmosphere of honesty. He went, not as a newspaperman, not as a State Department man, but as a highly intelligent, curious person. He blunders. He talks out of turn. He makes mistakes. But all through his course one feels the man is honest in wanting to know. He goes and sees. He learns. He does not live by a daily reassembling of old and unworthy prejudices.

I hope millions of Americans will read this book.

And tomorrow I want to do another piece about it, a sort of second chapter of this discussion and review of Wendell Willkie's "One World."

Sanford U. Professor Says 'Solve Race Problem by Studying Soviets'

PALO ALTO, Cal. — (ANP) — America and her British allies must renounce their attitudes of racial supremacy if they hope to formulate a realistic and a lasting peace, declared Dr. Harold H. Fisher, an authority on Russia and history instructor at Sanford university, this week.

Dr. Fisher stated that the passing of imperialism in a requisite to a lasting peace said the united nations must find ways to give aid to countries needing it for rehabilitation, without reviving the outmoded system of superior and inferior races.

The professor served as a captain in the first World war and witnessed the reconstruction period in Europe and Russia as a member of the American Relief administration. He is official historian of that organization and vice chairman of the Hoover library on war, revolution and peace.

America and her allies might take lessons from the Soviets, says Dr. Fisher, who points out that Russia has solved her problem of race by treating all the hundred-odd national and social minorities with complete equality.

"Soviet policy toward the nationalities is based on two general principles, he said. "First, within the Soviet Union there is no superior race or nation ordained to rule over its neighbors, but all the nationalities, regardless of race, color, culture and number, have equal rights.

"Second, there is a distinction between those activities and institutions which concern the common interests of all the people of the union, and those activities and interests which chiefly concern the people of a particular nationality living in a particular area.

"This first principle," explained Dr. Fisher, "not only permits, but encourages national groups to preserve their languages and traditions and develop their distinctive culture, but not at the expense of other national groups.

"The second principle promotes and facilitates the cooperation of all these groups, regardless of differences in language, national tradition and size, in those economic and other enterprises such as communications which transcend the boundaries of nationality and on which the well being of the people rests."

Because of these progressive ideas toward race Dr. Fisher says Russia has no race problem in her country or in her dealings with the people of Asia and suggests that America and Europe adopt this policy to solve their nationality problems.

"The peoples of Asia", declared Dr. Fisher, "are saying that the Atlantic charter is not enough. They are asking what is going to happen to them after the axis is licked. Do we propose to rescue the colored peoples from one set of master races in order to act like master races ourselves?

"The day of the old relationship of white and colored races is passing with this war and the working out of a new relationship is one of the most critical issues of the war and the peace."

Young people in American schools are asking for a clearer statement of united nations war aims, said the educator, and are arguing that the four freedoms sound grand but that too often a bitter world of reality has been discovered behind a screen of high-sounding phrases.

"Fine words won't do for a generation that has been taught to look for and too often has found an ugly reality behind a screen of eloquent phrases.

"These boys and girls sense better than their elders the tremendous possibilities in the natural, scientific and technological resources of the world community.

"They want some proof that the leaders of the united nations know how to win the war and not to maintain privilege and power among nations and men, but to build a better world in which there will be real freedom from fear and from want and an equal opportunity for all."

China Does Not See America's Race Problem

Missionary Says People Fight For Four Freedoms

By WILLIAM M. GILMORE

MT. OLIVE, N. C.—"China does not see why America has a race problem," declared Merlin A. Bishop of Foochow, China, in a recent talk to students at Carver High School here. Mr. and Mrs. Bishop, both of whom are missionaries, were guests of Mr. and Mrs. C. H. McLendon.

Mrs. Bishop was born in China. She has been a teacher-trainer on Chinese kindergarten teachers for several years. Mr. Bishop has been in China since 1935, and will be head of the industrial arts department of Fukien Christian University when he returns. He is a native of Georgia.

Mr. Bishop said that the Chinese are puzzled on the presence of missionaries from America in their homeland when there remains so much work, Christian work, in America, especially in the South.

The Bishops revealed that the Chinese are fighting for the Four Freedoms as enunciated in the Atlantic Charter. However, they look upon Britain as an imperialistic nation. They have great faith in America, but think Americans, too, are imperialistic. The atttitude of the two great powers toward India is watched closely by the Chinese people.

INVITED JAPS TO TEA

Mr. Bishop related a few of his experiences with the Japanese. He told of their attempt to take his school. After threatening to shoot one Jap rushed him at bayonet point. The missionary ducked and looked the soldier in the eye. He later invited the soldiers into the school for tea, and they became friends.

The speaker said the Chinese did not hate the Japanese. In the Chinese viewpoint, he pointed out, "one loses energy hating an enemy which leaves just that much

less energy with which to fight."

Following the visit here by Arthur B. Spingarn, president of the NAACP, in the May issue of the Negro Digest, published in Chicago and South Parkway.

"If I were a Negro I sincerely believe that my present attitude toward the war would not be materially changed. I probably would be a little more bitter about the hollow hypocrisies of our democracy, that democracy as practiced in America is infinitely better than any system that I would prevail if the axis won.

"I would keep my soul alive with the conviction that sooner or later that ideal of democracy which America proclaims and so often fails to live up to, will some day be not merely the hope of the world but a reality."

Spingarn says:

Writing on the subject, "If I were a Negro," Spingarn says:

at 3507 South

CHICAGO.—(ANP)—"There is a proper time to work and fight for

Fight For Equality, Says NAACP Chief

us who pra

56k-1943

Pursuit Of Democracy

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

BY MARJORIE McKENZIE

THE RACE PROBLEM IS NO LONGER THE CONCERN OF THE SOUTH — IT'S NATIONAL

FEB 1943

THE physical isolation of the Negro in the South has produced as its logical by-product an alarming degree of mental isolation. The people habitually say, in explaining some local jim crow phenomenon such as a housing unit or a school building, "If only the appropriation had been equal," or else remark defensively, "We don't want to mix with the whites any more than they want to mix with us, but we do want an equal opportunity." Either they do not recognize or will not admit that equal opportunity under a system of enforced separateness is an unattainable goal. Many desirable and necessary things, such as justice and freedom, are not capable of division. Clearly, if a man is only half-free, then he is also half-slave.



Miss McKenzie

SOUTHERNERS SEEK DUAL EQUALITY

The report of the Southern Conference on Race Relations makes no attack on segregation. It suggests a plan of operation within that framework. The defenders of the report have indicated that this is an off-the-record technique, in which they plan to show the white man the impossibility of the doctrine of dual equality by insisting that he live up to the letter of his own theory. The co-operation of our total leadership is an urgent matter in this crisis, but surely southern leaders see in such reasoning a piece of sophistry that can lead to no development more ultimate than a bigger and better jim crow world.

HOW can the creation of more barriers and institutions lead to the elimination of barriers and institutions? We ought not to be thinking about having MORE Negro schools, but rather about the utilization of one system of state-supported schools by all citizens alike. Negro high school students when asked about their plans for college will ponder the desirability of going to Hampton or Tuskegee, to Fisk or Talladega, and the more enterprising are thinking about Howard. Their failure to consider attending white universities and colleges is not based entirely on economic limitations. It is a form of mental isolation that does not make them see the mid-western state universities as being available to them.

RACE PROBLEM A NATIONAL ISSUE

The realists in the situation, both black and white, comment that it is folly to talk now about the elimination of segregation. It is folly not to talk about it, courageously and uncompromisingly, as an evil that must go, not when the United Nations overcome fascism, but now, so that there will be a real opportunity to overcome fascism.

LAST Thursday, Madame Chiang Kai-Shek spoke to the 78th Congress in terms of world cooperation and the universal freedom of all peoples. At every other sentence she was halted by enthusiastic applause. If our lawmakers feel a oneness with China in the expression of her war aims, why don't they translate these noble principles into action for their own country? The race problem is no longer the South's concern; she has lost her right to claim it. The race problem is a national issue and should be so accepted and handled.

SIGNS SHOW WE ARE GETTING NOWHERE

The horrors and barbarism of segregation and all its social complements seem more visible to people whose sight has not been clouded by frequent gazing upon these evils. Otherwise, more of the Negroes who live in states with laws providing for the separation of the races would heed Edwin Embree's advice to move to the North and West. There are Negro intellectuals who will argue very reasonably that a trip into the Black Belt will illustrate to the uninitiated traveler why the white man insists upon segregation. Surely if the Negro peasant of Alabama and Mississippi and Georgia is an objectionable creature, his descendants several generations hence will not become more desirable by being subjected to the system which creates peasants.

THE insecurity of Negro advisers, the unfulfilled promises of parity, the grudging concessions hastily withdrawn—all these things are warning enough that we are getting nowhere.

WAR CAN BE LOST

The problem is fundamental and must be attacked at a fundamental level. It is foolish to say that we don't want to mix with white people. We must mix with them, in the labor unions, in industry and the professions, on the streets, in schoolrooms, at voting booths, if we are to survive. We must mix with them, not because we find their company desirable, but because it is our RIGHT to do it and because the future of democracy in the United States depends upon the resolution of this issue.

THE United Nations can lose this war and will face another even more terrible one by their failure to permit the participation in the war of all of the available manpower—of the colored people of the United States, of India, Malaya, and Africa. Who was it who said, "You could have saved us, but you cut us down; one day you will be cut down and we will not be there to save you."

Bystander
Des Moines, Iowa
FEB 25 1943

DEFINITE ACTION WARRANTED

With the increasing number of racial clashes between white civilian and the military in the South and Negroes, it becomes more evident each day that authorities in Washington cannot continue to ignore the situation and at the same time maintain the morale of the Negroes in America.

JUN 17 1943

These clashes are being called to the attention of officials in Washington from many sources. And as far as we have been able to see, a deaf ear is being turned by the officials. There is an abundance of evidence that the boys are being mistreated both in and off of government property. An attempt is made to treat many of the men like dogs and when they resent that treatment, trouble arises.

Reports of these conflicts go all over the world. They go to Germany and Japan; they go to the darker races in other countries. And what happens? The axis use them to show the darker races that America's highsounding principles don't apply where it comes to them; they make the darker races suspicious of America.

Just why officials are unwilling to take a hand in bringing some order out of these conflicts, we cannot understand, unless it is in line with the policy of letting problems get into a very bad state before taking any action.

We hold no brief for the criminal who violates the law. He ought to be tried and punished according to law. But this constant insult, molesting, intimidating beating and murdering must be stopped. To keep silent about them encourages the law less to keep up such conduct.

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Harlem Looks to the Future:

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

For Full Citizenship Rights When Victory Is Finally Won

Harlem was sombre this week. Almost all of the traces of the outbreak that cost the community six lives and $5,000,000 worth of damage were wiped from her face. And her citizens were going back and forth to work just as they did before that terrible night of August 1.

But the quiet was only a surface quiet. Deep in the hearts of Harlemites pounded one all-important question: What was to be done to guarantee that New York was to be a city of unity for a future free from needless strife and destruction?

The **People's Voice** asked a number of men and women of both races what they thought of the following six-point program:

- no more jimcrow in the armed forces;
- no more second-class citizens;
- equal job opportunity;
- no more riots;
- price enforcement;
- unity for victory at home and abroad.

Following are some of their answers:

PAUL ROBESON, great people's artist: The N. Y. disturbances offer the occasion for immediate and far-reaching efforts to deal with their causes. My observations and conversations with my own people on many trips across the continent make clear to me what those causes are. In N. Y., as throughout the country, Negro people do not like the jimcro practices in our armed forces and the discriminatory and sometimes brutal treatment accorded our boys in and around Southern camps. That is a major complaint. Further, difficulties on the job, which handicap production and make for disunity, continued bad housing and often insufficient recreational outlets, these also are sore points with Negroes everywhere. I would like to see authorities in every key city in the country face this critical situation immediately and with determination. We need more unity; we need **greater production; we need all of our energies with which to defeat nazi and fascist forces—the enemy of us all.**

DR. GEORGE MARSHALL, chairman, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties: Last week's disturbance in Harlem was a shocking indictment of our national consciousness and understanding of the requirements for victory in this peoples' war. As a nation we have permitted flagrant abuses of rent gouging, skyrocketing of living costs, widespread job discrimination, miles of sub-standard housing and related conditions in the largest city in America to go virtually unchallenged. We have permitted our armed forces which fight for the four freedoms to continue a policy of jimcrow. . . . The requirements of decency, of national unity, of strength to achieve a peoples' victory, demand that we move at once to remedy these vicious practices in Harlem which are obvious to all.

WILLIAM HASTIE, dean of the Law School, Howard University: There must be agreement among Negroes and all right thinking Americans on the plank of such a platform.

VIVIAN CARTER MASON, president, National Council of Negro Women: We, who are trying to do something about securing full citizenship for Negroes are fighting on two fronts, (1) to secure cooperation, understanding and articulation of all people in spirit and in fact, who are fighting for full citizenship rights for everyone, and (2) to develop the Negro, himself, so that he may

REV. SHELTON HALE BISHOP, executive director, St. Philip's P. E. Church: This is a simple and essential program. Let us all unite behind it. Carver School for Harlem: The above program. They represent the moment, the needs of Harlem and the matter what our fundamental differences are, on one simple pro-lated on presenting to the public

GWENDOLYN BENNETT, director, Washington Carver School for Harlem: The all groups functioning on gram points to peaceful methods of settling our difficulties.

CARL RUTHVEN OFFORD, author, The White Face: I heartily endorse the aims set forth in the

MABEL STAUPERS, executive secretary, National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses: At this time

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a program that will unify the Negro people in their effort to fight prejudice and jim-crow at the same time that they assume their full part in the war for the freedom of all mankind. Any program that has as its aim the betterment of the status of the Negro, contributes to the betterment of all mankind.

ARTHUR OSMAN, president, Wholesale and Warehouse Workers Union, Local 65, CIO: Our union welcomes the campaign undertaken by the People's Voice. We are confident it will contribute to that growing unity between Negroes and whites which has already strengthened America's war effort. The life and death struggle which we are waging against the forces of fascism, makes it imperative that no remnants of prejudice be permitted to obstruct the common struggle. In our own union, thousands of Negroes are now working side by side with white workers shipping vital goods both to the soldiers of production and those at the front. Neither employer discrimination nor hang-over of old habits were permitted to interfere with our service to the nation—a service strengthened by the solidarity of all our members—Negro and white.

GEORGE J. MINTZER, former chief assistant United States District Attorney: Negroes should have the same rights as white citizens—no more and no less. I am opposed to jimcrowism in the armed forces and in civilian life. Negroes should have equal economic opportunities with white people. I am in favor of strict enforcement of price and rent regulation by the OPA everywhere. The absence of these conditions makes for dissatisfaction and disorder.

REV. ADAM C. POWELL, jr., City Councilman: The riot is over. But the conditions which caused it are still with us. These six ways to correct these evils represent the will of the people. They must be adopted by Negroes and whites for the betterment of Harlem and America.

FERDINAND SMITH, national secretary, National Maritime Union: This is the kind of a program we must unite on and fight to achieve. We know by now that merely to aim for something is not sufficient. We must organize and struggle to win our aims. And this we must do in a constructive way, pooling our strength and energies rather than pitting them against each other.

Granger Denounces F.D.'s 'White Cabinet'

Defender
Chicago Ill.

WASHINGTON. — (ANP) —Lester B. Granger this week again struck out at the "white cabinet," this time calling names.

The executive secretary of the National Urban league, for the second time in six months, lashed out at the "little group of men here in the capital who take upon themselves the responsibility of advising on the handling of Negro problems without the help of Negroes themselves.

Granger did not presume that he was giving a complete list when he pointed the finger at the following individuals:

Victor Rotnem, chief of the civil rights section, department of justice.

Miss Eleanor Bontecou, also of the department of justice, and said to be a ghost writer for the speeches made by Atty. Gen. Francis P. Biddle. She is former dean of women at Bryn Mawr college, Pennsylvania.

Milton Starr, assistant chief of the stockpile division, War Production board, formerly with the Office of War Information, and currently an owner of chain of "second rate" movie houses playing "third-rate pictures," and catering to Negroes in the south.

Malcolm Ross, assistant to the chairman of the Fair Employment Practice committee.

William Leland, senior employment specialist in the labor utilization division, war department.

Star-Chamber Set-up

"It is not especially important whether the members of this latest group are competent or not to plan for the welfare of Negroes," Granger warned. "To be sure, Mr. Starr's activities in OWI are apt to make any thoughtful Negro hesitate before entrusting the future of the race to the soundness of his opinions.

"But the important point about this whole business is the star-chamber nature of the proceedings. The Government of the United States belongs to all the people. Public servants are the servants of Negro as well as white citizens.

"Somewhere in the United States, out of 13 million Negro citizens, the President and members of his cabinet should be able to find thoughtful, honest and experienced Negro leadership to help the government devise a plan of action that will not only meet present emergency situations, but will also set our American democracy back on the road toward interracial understanding and equality of opportunity."

Appeal to F.D.R.

Last February Granger used the background of the capital itself to denounce the growing influence of "white cabinet," and called for a revitalizing of the "black cabinet," to perform the service it did in years gone by. At that time he cited Starr, then a consultant on minority problems in the OWI, as a particular obstruction. Other voices joined the protests, and shortly thereafter, Starr was fired by the government propaganda agency.

Because of previous associations and relationships among the persons named, Granger explained, it would appear that the Justice Department is trying to carry the weight of the activities for the moment, but that the FEPC—that is, the white side—might ultimately play the leading role.

For months, Granger said, representative Negroes have sought unsuccessfully to reach the President to discuss this "serious problem" of public morale. "This silence and apparent lack of action on the part of the White House has been unfortunate,' 'he added, for it has "encouraged the rise of back-door cliques, each with its own plan for 'solving the race problem,' and all together able to frustrate the attempts of responsible Negro leadership to develop cooperation with their government."

The Urban league executive secretary clearly intimated that efforts are currently afoot to reshape the membership of this "white cabinet" and to improve its scope of effectiveness. He admitted that he had personal knowledge that a group of this sort "had been functioning since Pearl Harbor."

Granger pointed out that it is not always the department in which the individual works, or the title he may carry, that qualifies him for a place in the "white cabinet." Typical is the case of Starr, a WPB official dealing in the storing of vital war materials. Some persons, he added, might "strain" to see how the dean of women at Bryn Mawr college might fit into the picture.

It is Granger's hope that "the disturbing tendency now prevailing in Washington to organize white cabinets on Negro affairs will be checked promptly," not only by the protests of Negroes themselves, but also by "thoughtful reconsideration of our wisest government leaders."

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SOUTHERN SAY-SO

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

Social Equality Doctrine an Economic Scourge for Negroes

BY M. S. STUART

Mr. O. B. Keenan,
Paris, Texas

Sir:—Intended to be of a sincere and friendly nature and free of sarcasm and recriminations, this piece is by way of reply to your letter—"Stop Race Do-Gooders"—appearing in the Memphis Commercial Appeal, July 18.



While in the very title of your letter there seems to be a slight odor of irony, there yet appears to be a glint of fairness and encouragement in some of your expressions; and, therefore, these observations are ventured in the hope that with more light on the subject you may be inclined to offer some assistance.



Mr. Stuart

Many expressions of the same general tenor as your letter appear in the daily white press of the South; but because they all seem to reflect an attitude hopelessly frozen in bias and imperious dogmatism, most intelligent Negroes regard them as just a stereotyped method of evading a discussion of the real issue in which their material, even vital rights are involved; and so pass them by with discreet silence, shrugs and sighs. They know that the matter is not helped by evasion: but with most white people in the South unwilling to analyze and discuss the question with them, what can they do? Nothing, but pretend agreement.

THE CLOAK OF INERTNESS

A generality is a loose fitting garment. It is the cloak of either the inert or the stubborn. Lacking either the disposition or the energy to go to the heart of a complicated issue, these two classes find it easy to just wrap it up in a generality and say it is settled. Thus you say, "The self-respecting Negro does not want social equality." That oft-repeated expression is nothing more than convenient vagueness; and while you might have used it with the best of intentions, it contributes nothing of value to the solution of the question at issue.

TO YOU it might mean one thing, and to the Negro quite something else. If by it you mean just parlor privileges, just society per se, just the privilege of dining and dancing together or other activities entirely within the sphere of amorousness and diversions, then, indeed, most "sensible-thinking Negroes" would not find agreement with your views requiring too much material sacrifice. But the question raised by the term "social equality" is not so simple as that. It is very doubtful if that is all that most Southern white people intend to accomplish, and are accomplishing, by implementing the implications of the doctrine as interpreted by them.

A CRUEL ECONOMIC ENEMY

The value of the "bread and butter" jobs and opportunities, which Negroes must sacrifice every year so that the cherished domains of "social exclusiveness" may remain uninvaded and inviolate will run into tens of millions of dollars. Tens of thousands of jobs created in part, many almost wholly, by the money Negroes spend for the necessities of life are tied up in the maze of "social equality" ramifications and constantly denied to young colored men and women; because, it is contended, it would be a violation of the social traditions for Negroes to have a chance at them. Now, can you say how deserving Negroes may get their jobs out of there? Is anybody smart enough to disentangle the jobs rightfully due them from the strangulating tentacles of the so-called social octopus which stubborn mind-its processes are accused of being enmesh them? Multiply the number of these places by any reasonable yearly figure, and there you have a

AN ARITHMETICAL VISION

IF THE figure of "social equality" Negro populations and communities where the social opportunities they seek. Visualize the financial implications of it. Think of the thousands of jobs of all kinds and the just proportion of Negro population is an important part of the whole. Think of the tens of thousands of jobs of all kinds being lost to the Negro in these places because of social traditions. Multiply the number of these jobs by any reasonable yearly figure, and there you have a

A TOUGH ADVERSARY

Because of its dual, elusive nature, it is hard to combat. Posing as now implemented, and is not true. It is their material opportunities they seek. You say, Mr. Keenan, that "sensible-thinking" Negroes do not want social equality." Let us see as "sensible-thinking" Negroes would disclaim wanting

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MADAME CHIANG

China's First Lady
Missed Opportunity to
Draw Negroes to Cause

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
APR 17 1943

SOME OF the things which Madame Chiang Kai-Shek said and some of the things she left unsaid on her cross-country speaking tour have left me puzzled and a bit annoyed. Of course the Madame is here to sell America on the idea of protecting itself by giving material aid to China. She isn't here to solve the American race problem and one shouldn't expect her to be making speeches denouncing lynching. However, as far as I can determine, she has so far avoided the entire issue of the American Negro. I think that is pretty dangerous for a country that has suffered from white prejudice as has China.



Mr. Cayton

According to some reporters, Madame Chiang Kai-Shek was pretty difficult to see in New York. In Chicago when she was asked if she had any message or greeting for the Negro people of America she answered that she couldn't differentiate between Negroes and any other Americans. That, after all, America was a cauldron of democracy and all of its people had the same ideals and aims. The Madame was educated in Georgia. She knew better than that but rolled with the punch.

HAD DIFFERENT VIEWS ON INDIA

More recently in Los Angeles at a press conference she was quoted in the daily press as having told a Negro woman reporter, who asked her about the poll tax which denies the vote to millions of Negroes in the South, that before giving her views on the poll tax she would want to know how much the Negro people were contributing to the war effort and how they would expect to use their voting power. That, was a pretty frail answer. If she meant it the way it was reported and if she actually said it as it was reported, it leads me to believe that the Madame took over some of her Georgia classmates' racial prejudice toward Negroes.

THE IMPORT of her remarks was that if Negroes were not all out for the war effort or could not be depended upon to vote the "right way," the poll tax should not be abolished. That isn't what she and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek told Nehru in India. When the British said that the Indians were not in a position to rule themselves, even though it meant the possibility of strengthening the Japanese to an extent, the Chiang Kai-Sheks told Nehru to stand his ground. They saw some identification between their struggle for liberation from the Japanese and India's struggle for liberation from the British Empire. The Madame's alleged remarks, however, sound very much like those of a British tory. "India isn't ready for self-rule" they say—says the Madame in effect. "We will have to know how Negroes are going to vote before abolishing the poll tax."

RAISED FUNDS FOR CHINA

Madame Chiang Kai-Shek is no Wendell Willkie. She certainly did not point out that she recognized any similarity between the Chinese fight for liberation and that of the American Negro. I don't want to impute to her ideas that she does not have but at both her Chicago and Los Angeles press conferences, her attitude was one of avoidance, glossing over, and minimizing the Negro question.

RECENTLY I spoke at a small Baptist church. Five collections were taken up—the first for the minister, the second for the first mortgage, the third for the second mortgage, etc. The sixth collection however, was to raise $10 to be given for China Relief. These Negro Baptists saw a relationship between their problem as non-white people and that of the Chinese which escaped the Madame.

MADAME MISSED AN OPPORTUNITY

In not addressing a simple statement of sympathy and understanding to the American Negro, I think the Madame lost an opportunity to draw more tightly to the cause of China ten per cent of the American people. Mrs. Roosevelt has done it. Wendell Willkie has done it. Pearl Buck has done it. Herbert Agar has done it. But Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, whose country has suffered more and longer from white imperialism than perhaps any other, did not.

MAYBE THAT is not the way one gets lend-lease materials and maybe that is not the astute political way to behave. In my opinion, however, China and the United Nations lost an opportunity to demonstrate to the American Negro that this is not a "color war" and that we are fighting with yellow Chinese allies who understand and appreciate the problem of the American black man.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois
JUL 17 1943

Mississippi Negroes Moving North Daily

Mississippi is winding up a campaign for governor. There are four prominent aspirants. Race feeling has reached a high tension from the discussion on the political stump and through the daily and weekly press, the topics are "White Supremacy" — "Social Equality," "Communism" — "State Rights," etc.

One candidate, Lester Franklin, spoke Saturday at Laurel, Miss., and denounced the governor for calling out the militia and the FBI to investigate the lynching of a Negro who had been tried for killing a white man — jury could not agree on punishment. He was in jail awaiting another trial and the mob "overpowered the jailer," took him out and lynched him near town.

On the same day, former governor Conner spoke at Carthage in Leake County and stirred up the whole state by declaring that if he is elected governor again (having served from 1932 to 1936) one of the first things he will do is to organize a state militia to be composed of every able-bodied white man in the state, fully armed and equipped to protect the white race against any effort Negroes make to secure political or social equality with whites. He said, "I will fight for this and to keep Mississippi white as long as I breathe."

Colored people are moving North daily. The leaders who try to stop them are being criticized and nominated "WHITE MAN'S NIGGER" —the only kind that former governor Conner likes — so declared in his opening campaign speech and repeated it all over the state. Both white and black labor agents are combing the rural sections and the larger cities and towns for Negro workers to go North on free passes for men, women and children. As they arrive in industrial centers and secure jobs, they are writing back for friends and relatives. The slogan is "MOVE FROM MISSISSIPPI BEFORE COTTON PICKING BEGINS." Leaders are helpless — appeals useless — no noise is made, but these Mississippi colored people are quietly "sawing wood and saying nothing." — Charles J. Coleman, Carthage, Miss.

The Negro Should Be In His Place Alongside Of Us Declares Hempstead Minister

New York Age
JUL 24 1943
New York, N. Y.

HEMPSTEAD, L. I., N.Y.—"The Negro should be kept in his place. I agree." "His place is along side of us."

Thus spoke Rev. Theodore C. Bobilin, pastor of the Hempstead Methodist Episcopal Church (white) at his church on Sunday morning, July 11, 1943. The occasion was an inter-racial goodwill service, arranged by the USO Extension Service, James C. Thomas, director.

Participating in the services was Rev. Lonnie Thompsoh, of the Baptist Church of Hempstead, who delivered the opening prayer. Prior to the sermon, the USO director was introduced, and he presented Miss Harriet Jackson of Porgy and Bess fame, who rendered 4 beautiful selections, as did Merritt Hedgeman of the Harlem YMCA. Corporal Charles Beal was the accompanist. They were enthusiastically received.

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After the announcements and Offertory, Rev. Theodore C. Bobilin, pastor o fthe church, delivered a forceful sermon on racial goodwill expressing himself in part as follows:

"The greatest problem in America today is the race problem. Some think it is food; some that it is armaments, and others that it is manpower. One of the Allies' greatest victories in this war, to date, is the victory in North Africa. I feel that if we are unable to solve the race problem in America, our loss will be greater than the loss of North Africa would have been to the Allies.

"The battle in our country has been lost in a spiritual way when we permit race riots to exist. That they are countenanced should put grief in the hearts of our people, as would the loss of North Africa. The Christiah Church must assert itself and turn the searchlight of publicity upon the whole question.

"I take no position on the question of temperance, but it seems we would rather run the risk of riots than curb the liquor traffic. Ration points are needed to buy fruit juices, but we need none to buy fermented juices if we have enough money.

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"Basically, the Negro is on the march; so are the Chinese and the Russians. The Japanese also are on the march, but they are marching in the wrong direction.

"Sometime ago, I entertained at my house, Mrs. Mary McCleod Bethune, a very cultured, and nationally known Negro educator. She has a beautiful soul. As we sat around the dinner table, she recounted so many things, inconvenient and embarrassing things, that her color had caused her to be subjected to, that I was amazed and shocked,—in fact, I wonder how she could have stood them. She told me many things about not being able to get a meal in so many places, and in others, that lodgings were out of the question; things that I would like to recount here, but time will not permit me. I asked her how she could stand them. She told me that she was the daughter of a slave, and that she had been taught that way; that she could take it. But, she added, the youngsters of a trio, which she had brought along to entertain us, would not take it.

"The Negro is on the march. Some say he should be kept in his place. I agree with that. The Negroes' place is right along side of us, marching together. Let's be honest. There are hoodlums, both black and white, but there are many wonderful examples of successes in the Negro Race which can read the life of that great Negro scientist, Dr. George Carver, without being thrilled.

"The very soul of our nation will be lost if we attempt to keep the Negro back. But the struggle can be won if those who think differently will have a lofty faith in one another, and in God. We must have faith and a will to win. We must find what is unique in America. Basically, a person is not an American if he does not believe that every individual is entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. There must be a rebirth of our devotion and love for our country.

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"I plead that we root ourselves back in our traditions. If we are Christians, these things we have been speaking about will be absolutely impossible.

"In America, there is an upper 15 per cent of thinkers, and a middle class with little interest in how things go. Then there is a lower 15 per cent class of thinkers. We need look no further than Ger-

Unitedly

After the recent disgraceful race riot in Mobile, which shocked the Nassau County, to get together on a basis of mutual understanding, a committee of Negro ministers, representing the Interdenominational Alliance met with officials of the city and the Alabama Dry Docks Shipbuilding Company where the riot occurred and formulated a program design-

Birmingham, Ala
Weekly Review
JUL 24 1943

White And Negro Leaders Should Act

ed to discourage or to prevent such happenings again.

What with racial strife as tense as it is in every section of the nation and with axis and Communists taking advantage of every opportunity to fan the flame of race hatred, the leadership of the white and colored in every community, especially in the South should not wait until a race riot breaks out and somebody is killed to start correcting the evils which cause such troubles.

I think aggressive action along this line, by sane, level headed, open-minded whites and blacks before ag tators blow things up to the explosion point can do the job. It is my opinion that fully sixty percent of the enlightened white people of the South are liberal minded — even now — in the truest sense of the word liberal. Of course, they are bound for the most part by the forty per cent who can not be listed as liberal or open minded. The sixty per cent referred to want to see the right thing done, but they are intimidated by the leaders who are the tools of the folk who profit most from strife, prejudice and racial friction. In as much as sixty per cent of the people want to do the right thing, want to see democracy work at home as well as abroad, it is my opinion that this business of curing the evils which really make for racial tension and strife is no less important han the task confronting the soldiers who are at this very moment are battling in a life and death struggle to make the world safe and decent for a better life for all.

It is a good thing to know that the ministers of Mobile moved as one in spirit and deed. If we had fifty or twenty-five ministers ministers bound together in Birmingham, Mobile and a comparable number of other cities and towns throughout the state of Alabama and the South, they could accomplish a good deal with, and for all the communities in which they might be united. More than that they would be able to get almost anything right and needed thing for their people with the cooperation of the white ministers. As bound as the white ministers might be by more traditions and unfounded prejudices, they, it is my belief would be happy to work with a united group of Negro ministers for the good of the community. Brotherhood, should and must begin at the house of God and among men of God if it is to spread out into the very souls of men in all walks o flife. A united white and Negro ministry could accomplish more than all the guns, police and spurious social control ana uplift organizations. The very gates of hell could not prevail against a united ministry determined to affect peace among men of goodwill. Talk to your pastor about this need for action on his part today.

Most of the difficulies between the races could be prevented if there were a little more PLAIN TALK and courage on the part of the leadership of both races. Too many of the leaders of both races are ignoring this situation. They seem to want to sit back and take the attitude of sitting back and enjoying the war with their heads stuck in the sand "ostrich fashion" while Rome burns at our very doors. They seem to be afraid that their personal business politically or otherwise will be hurt if they attempt to make a suggestion about the situation. You will be embarassed a lot of times, as I have, if you attempt to explain or discuss some serious racial situation with some representatives of both groups in Alabama. We hate to recognize that conditions are growing worse.

Norman Thomas of the Socialist party in a recent broadcast on the subject: "Must Race Tension Divide America?" stated: "If I were asked to name the single most alarming factor in the American domestic scene, I should say it is the growth of racial tension, especially between the white and colored Americans. I have never known it to be worse except during the height of the Ku Klux Klan."

A. Philip Randolph, a brilliant scholar and labor leader on the same program, said: "It is well nigh a matter of common knowledge that racial resentment and bitterness are arising in America and what is more disturbing, they are rising with amazing rapidity."

The editor of Negro Labor News reports that the Rev. J. L. Cross (white) pastor of the First Baptist Church of Houston read a paper before the City Pastors' Association on the subject:" "The Relation Between The Races." The emminent minister in his discussion said, "The many recent out-breaks of riots and clashes between whites and blacks in all parts of the country serve to emphasize what has been apparent with every thinking man for quite a number of years, namely: we are confronted by a most serious situation which is liable at any time to break out into fearful calamity of race wars. Rev. Cross, might have added "yea, needless racial wars of national and international implications, therefore none of us can afford to adopt an attitude back Just casually sitting back and enjoying the war." The people of each community must find a way to work, walk and live together in peace. We are not in that way at the present time. And right here let me add, we cannot afford to longer pull out philosophy of life out of the classic, traditions and mores. We can't afford to adopt a way based on what we hear or what is told by those who have axes to grind. We emust base our efforts of building a philosophy of life, in whatever community we find ourselves, upon what we know about the people who live in that community and not upon a life that was lived fifty years ago or at present in some distance place. The Negro and white people of Mobile, Birmingham, the Tennessee Valley and all over the State must base their relationship upon what they know about each other in their individual communities and they must seek to really know each other first hand to the end that they may deal rightly and securely with each other. This, is a basis upon which peace can be built, here, there and everywhere—all ove rthe world.

We have made some improvement before the war and during the war in reducing various hurtful discriminations. The so-called eracial problem, with its many sided phases is a tool for the predetory and the Axis, and it is through this medium they intend to cause disunity in our war and peace efforts. The quicker the leadership recognize this as Number I danger, the better it will be for ou rcountry. Leaders must train nthe citizenry of both races from the bombshells of diabolical propaganda of race hatred just as we are preparing to defend ourselves from the explosive bombs and poisonous gas of the enemy. The Negro people must not be mislead an dexcited by the highly paid agitators, guised as various types of leaders and claim they are on a God sent mission to help save the "poor colored people," when as a matter of fact, inwardly they are like raving wolves dressed in sheep clothing seeking to destroy the best interest of the race and country.

White citizens must not listne to the Fascist and Nazi propaganda put out by political demagogues that the Negros are seeking to destroy the white race socially. The white race must realze the "Negro's struggle in this country is to improve his economic and educational condition as much as h ecan," They only ask equal protection under the law, their constitutional rights as citizens in voting in elections and to rights as citizen sin elections and the right to work and to be paid according to their skill and ability.

These conditions can be ebest worked out by the cooperation of the two races working together in their respective communities for the one common good; that is, to win th ewar, justice toward all, and to see to it that a government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth, at home or abroad.

PM EDITOR TELLS WHAT HE WOULD DO IF OF NEGRO RACE

Chicago, May 27—(ANP)—That the Negro is not alone in the fight against injustice and has common cause with the oppressed everywhere, regardless of color, is the contention made by John Lewis, editor of the newspaper PM in an article appearing in the June issue of Negro Digest, published in Chicago at 3507 South Parkway.

"If I were a Negro," writes Lewis, who has led many crusaders for race improvement, "I would know that what happened to me was not just bound up with the Negro people, but with the progress of all little people everywhere.

"If I were a Nero, I would put education for my people first on my list of things necessary to reach the goal of real democratic equality for which all colored people and many white people are searching. Particularly, I would try to join a labor union, for all organizations, a sound labor union has its roots deepest in democracy.

"If I were a Negro, those things I would know, but there are some I would not.

"If my little girl should come to me then and ask me as little Negro girls must ask their fathers, 'Why do they treat me like this?' I don't know what I could say."

'You Are Americans Too!'--Mme. Chiang

See Picture Page 9

By E. F. JOSEPH
(Staff Correspondent)

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif., April 8—"We of China consider the Negro as an American. In our minds, we do not differentiate between the Negro and any other American. And what I say to the general press applies to you and your press and also includes your people." Thus spoke China's First Lady, Madame Chiang Kai-Shek to The Pittsburgh Courier last week at a press conference here when this correspondent addressed her as follows: "Madame Chiang, I were am a representative of the Negro press and would appreciate some timely comment by you for my publication. Are the people of your country aware of the Negroes' participation in the war and are they familiar with the Negroes' full participation in the Victory program?"

SHE HESITATED

The gracious lady hesitated a moment before she answered my query. She seemed to realize the vast implications of the response and the effect it would have on the 100 daily, radio and government press representatives who were assembled in the tapestry room of the famed Palace hotel here by special invitation. I was the only Negro newspaperman of present.

Comments on the question and her answer were made by big name commentators and columnists on the west coast the following day. Significant enough, they were all favorable.

PRESS IMPRESSED

I believe that Madame Chiang earnestly desired to impress upon the minds of the white press representatives that the Negro press as well as the Negro people are part of America and that she advocated their right to fully participate in the war effort on a basis of equality.

At the conference she wore a traditional Chinese robe jeweled with pinned over heart and

Madame Chiang emphasized to the group that she was not in her only other jewelry as a semi-circle of Madame. When Dr. Huey Ming another arrival, the newspaper rose in a body to greet the First Lady.

A LOVELY LADY

The conference was well guarded by Secret Service men before they filed into the room and took seats

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ROSE LANE SAYS:—

THE TERM "NEGRO" PRESENTS A DILEMMA IN THE FIGHT FOR HUMAN EQUALITY

BY ROSE WILDER LANE

Pittsburgh Pa. Pittsburgh Courier

SOME time ago I read Mr. George S. Schuyler's repudiation of the word, "Negro." I felt a sense of relief and release that continues. My first thought was that I had no right to express this; my second thought is that my experience is worth considering because it is typical.

The same common sense that will end the so-called "race problem" must be in the heads of individuals. Living persons create the human world by their ceaseless, innumerable acts, since the only human energy is individual energy.



Miss Lane

Every one of us acts in accordance with what he believes to be the nature of the object, or person, upon whom he acts. It is the beliefs, true or false, which are held by a majority of living persons, that create all the conditions, good or bad, called "social" and "political" and "economic" and "national" and "racial."

HEARD OF "PROBLEM" IN DESERT

It happens that the majority of Americans is now classed as "white," and I am one of them. Believe it or not, I was born and brought up and lived 40 years in this country without ever actually seeing a dark skin. Many were before my eyes, and my eyes are not blind, but my mind was. Without thinking, I accepted the myth of "the Negro race." Dark-skinned persons served me, and I was kind and courteous to them, with the damnable kindness and courtesy for which there is no forgiveness.

But do you realize that the Jim Crow wall has two sides? It segregates the pale-skinned, too.

I FIRST heard of our "race problem' on the Syrian desert, when an Englishwoman told me that "you Americans" do not know how to handle it. "We learn in India," she said. Her formula was: "Smile and carry a cane. At the least sign of impudence, use the cane. Strike; strike HARD, and smile; never stop smiling." I thought this atrocious; there is nothing like that in America, I thought.

DUPED BY LIES

Vaguely I heard of race riots, and of course I could not bear to think of lynchings. So it seemed to me very ill-advised to stir up race antagonisms in this country. The atrocities were really few, I thought, and growing fewer; let's not have any agitation.

WHEN I first saw a copy of The Courier, I was shocked. I sent for Mr. Rogers' books and read them. For a month or more I tried to squirm out of admitting that I'd been an utter fool; but it was no use. I have always known that all men are equal. Quite naturally, I had regarded Egyptians and Arabs, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Cubans, Brazilians, as people of my own kind; yet I had taken it for granted that any dark-skinned American belonged to another human species, another "race." I had been the dupe of a lie that threatens me, my country, everything I value in living.

EARNED RESPECT FOR A WORD

My American dander was up. I am no champion of the Negro race; I know, now, that there is no Negro race. What I hate is this lie, the lie that deceived me and made me act as a traitor to my country's cause, the cause of human rights.

Pittsburgh Courier

THEN I encountered the word, "Negro." I can see that this word, with its capital "N," represents a justified pride; I can see that it asserts the fact that dark-skinned Americans have more than earned the respect that is given to other persons who are grouped under capitalized names. I can see that it helps to unite a group of Americans who are fighting for human rights. But, to me, it is my side of the Jim Crow wall.

TERM PRESENTS A DILEMMA

FEB 13 1943

It not only shuts me out, personally, from the nation-within-a-nation which it represents; it also denies my assertion of human equality, which is the only basis upon which I can attack the Jim Crow wall. For if there were different KINDS of human beings; if there were "races" indicated by skin-color, then there would be inequality between those races. Then all pale-skinned persons would be either superior or inferior to all dark-skinned ones.

LOGICALLY, I can not use the word "Negro." Yet recognition of the pride in achievement, and the fellowship in the struggle for human rights, which this word represents to many Americans, and recognition of every person's right to be called whatever he pleases, compels me to use it. Every pale-skinned American who attacks the Jim Crow wall finds himself in this dilemma; and it is a genuine dilemma. For instance, the Danbury paper has twice this week editorially demanded, "How long is it going to take us all to open our eyes and see them as human beings? This is a vital question, and upon its answer may depend much of the future of our country." And this editor can overcome the obstacle of this word only by using "so-called". "The so-called Negro problem."

I realize that it is not for me to discuss the use of this word. But when a dark-skinned American, in my opinion and in that of many others the most brilliant living American writer, attacks the use of it, let me express my enthusiastic agreement with him, and my gratitude to him for (as I take it) releasing me from the necessity of using it.

WHITE COLUMNIST HITS RACISM

MAY 6 1943

New York, N. Y.—In a recent Sunday PM, a weekly column "Dear Joe" which is written as though it were a letter to an American doughboy, an imagined talk given by a southern father to his ten-year-old son is reported. Into it the writer kaleidoscopes all the slowly-learned illogical, unreasonable theories of racial superiority, giving sharpness to the false lesson of racism.

MAY 6 1943

Concluding his story, the PM columnist writes: "And so the white kids' minds and hearts are twisted slowly by seeing and feeling and living with a crooked idea that human beings with dark skins are ipso facto inferior to human beings with white skins."

MAY 6 1943

Pursuit Of Democracy

Courier

FEB 13 1943

BY MARJORIE McKENZIE

NECESSARY TO STOP ATTACKS AGAINST NEGROES

Pittsburgh Courier

TO RIGHT THE WRONG

ORGANIZATION EFFECTIVE

I HAVE been junketing around in the "Deep South" in the last with a lot of people, from an Army Colonel on a Pullman to overalled laborers in a jim-crow coach in central South Carolina. I have seen thousands of high schools and colleges, and have discussed the problems of the them as well as with older folk. The issue remains the same issue we It all adds up to a superficial un-face today and delay makes the derstanding of the situation, Iresolution more difficult.



Miss McKenzie

THE breach between the races is widening, not decreasing. No new relationships are being developed to replace the master-servant pattern. Segregation is becoming a perfect thing. In the end, there will be no contact between the races at all and people who do not know and understand each other develop nothing but mutual distrust and hostility.

OLDER FOLKS MORE MILITANT

FEB 13 1943

Although resentment is deepening within every one, militancy appears to exist chiefly in the older folk who remember when things were better. In many places, it seems that no one is teaching young people the contempt for segregation they ought to have. Resentment is written clearly on their faces, but plain resentment is a destructive force, gnawing away at the surface, but not touching the basis of racial feeling. The first lynching of 1943 occurred in northern Georgia while I "were" not far away.

In spite of the tenseness, Virginus Dabney and John Temple Graves appear to have over-estimated the probability of open warfare at an early date. All the over violence is coming from white people, who really deserve the admonitions of caution. If Negroes were meeting force with force, there would, in fact, be civil war. The phenomenon is that the Negroes are so contained. In every discussion, in every home town, people organize themselves and keep thinking why don't the people test. I know the reasons, but organization does seem to be the best temporary and lawful expedient in the situation.

THE RACIAL BREACH IS WIDENING

The thing I began to fear more than violence is the spiritual defeat of the Negro in the South. Appeasement, caution, accommodation, patience, silence—these are the things we must fear if we hope to survive. One may tiptoe around all the increasing taboos, comply with all the added sanctions, allow himself to be backed up against the final wall, but the

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Democracy's Morons

APR 15 1943

In a great and historic New England church we recently heard the preacher decry in the most deprecating terms the religion of those who profess great and abiding faith in Jesus Christ, but who neither the sense nor the grace to treat persons of other races with tolerance and equality. We have long since become inured to the fact of many people who make loud and prolonged protestations of their 100 percent Americanism and their devotion to democratic ideals. But it just occurred to us, after listening to the sermon, why there is so much outlandish hypocrisy among many Americans. When Sam Jones, governor of Louisiana, libels the American Army by saying they all would run down their guns and desert if told they were fighting for social equality, he

Star of Zion
Charlotte, N. C.

NOTHING TO STOP ORGANIZATION

A lot of the older people exhaust their resentment in heated parlor discussions. If they could bottle it up and save it for the ears of white men who can do something about conditions, it would help. I cannot believe that to us, as a people, the thousands of intelligent, cultured people of the South were if we would but organize and speak out fearlessly among ourselves. One may would fail Jones, Arnall and

draws from a nationally famous Negro preacher the retort that he is a "d—— liar;" what is more tragic, he proves what moronic and stilted minds may be found occupying places of authority and responsibility.

APR 15 1943

Carroll Kilpatrick, prominent Southern newspaper man, writing in a recent issue of Harper's on "Will the South Secede?" shows to what grotesque extent the Southerners are willing to go to defeat the New Deal, because of the administration's favorable attitude toward the Negro. And this, notwithstanding the enormous and unprecedented progress of the South under the New Deal regime. Political leadership that is so dense as to be willing to cut off its nose to spite its face is typical of the lengths to which prejudiced morons are willing to go to thwart the justifiable ambitions of other Americans, who happen not to be white and dumb. For, Mr. Kilpatrick points out that the Montgomery Advertiser said that poll tax repeal would arm dispossessed whites 'with a political power that the responsible citizens cannot afford to grant," and would "invest the pauperized thousands of our people with the balance of power in Alabama politics."

APR 15 1943

This is a good sample of the fallacy of democracy as it is pretended to be practiced in some parts of America, which is fighting a global war for freedom. It is a fair sample of the moronic political leadership which an inarticulate electorate permits. Lack of education and economic opportunity have served to perpetuate in control many demagogues, neither honest nor patrioctic, who do not possess the common sense to understand that nothing under heaven can forever withstand the march of intelligent, God-fearing people. These morons build for themselves and live in "a fool's paradise," which perforce must crumble in the light of true Christian democracy.

Toward a Clearer Perception Of a Difficult Subject

JAN 25 1943

There is little doubt that Axis propagandists have been hard at work in this country in what is obviously a fertile field for their exploitation, the whole problem of race and minority relations in the United States. And their divisive efforts have been furthered to some extent by the stand taken by radical elements in the leadership of the Negro race. The spokesmen for this minority segment of the Negro population demands that, in payment for full participation in the war effort by Negroes, all discrimination of every sort must be abolished in every part of the United States. The implication behind this attempt to drive a bargain on a simple *quid pro quo* basis has been that unless demands for full equality were met Negroes would not feel that they had any stake whatsoever in the winning of the war. The clear conclusion to this line of reasoning is that half a loaf of bread is worse than none at all, and that Negroes who suffer injustices and hardships in our society, anyhow, would be no worse off in the event of an Axis victory.

The realization that even a few Negro Americans feel that their lot would not be worsened by an Axis victory comes as a rude shock to many of us. The American dream has for too long been confused with statistics on how many people in this country have radios and bathtubs. We have enjoyed thinking of our country as a place where everybody can be as happy as a king in the midst of a kind of Robert Louis Stevenson clutter of possessions and the highest standard of living known to man. So it is sobering to realize that many Negro members of this fortunate society feel that their condition would not be worsened by an Axis victory. That this feeling is founded upon an inaccurate comprehension of what life under Nazi domination would be like for all free men, and especially for the dark-skinned members of the human race, is quite clear. But this fact cannot provide escape from the evidence that a sense of disillusionment and despair and bitter frustration is fairly widespread among Negroes.

JAN 25 1943

In so far as this feeling is based upon a lack of understanding of just what a Nazi victory would mean to them, an exceedingly effective job of enlightenment and education has just been completed by the Office of War Information through the publication of a pamphlet called *Negroes and the War*. Edited by CHANDLER OWEN, a well-known Negro publicist, this pamphlet is a contribution to national unity of real magnitude. Because here is the voice of reason speaking out about a subject which is all too often discussed in an atmosphere of prejudice, fear, and passion, with a conspicuous absence of temperance on both sides.

JAN 25 1943

In the brief and effective introductory chapter of the pamphlet which precedes a section of excellent pictures of Negro life in America, Mr. OWEN points to the advances made by Negro Americans in every field of endeavor. It is an honorable record. It is also a record made in many cases against almost insuperable odds, and that fact adds to the magnitude of the achievement. Viewed thus from a long-range standpoint the progress of the Negro race in America since slavery is something that is probably unique in human history. Without glossing over the injustices under which Negroes suffer in many instances in this country, without defending the ills of the *status quo*, Mr. OWEN has succeeded in giving a fair picture of the improvement in educational, health, and housing facilities for Negroes; he lists impressive statistics on the growth of the number of Negro men and women in professions; he calls attention to the lessening of discriminatory employment practices in industry brought about by the efforts of the President's committee created to deal with this subject. Stated in these terms, prospects for American Negroes seem bright indeed as compared with the fate that would overtake them at the hands of HITLER. In making this point, Mr. OWEN quotes the famous passage from *Mein Kampf* in which HITLER gives rein to his pathological hatred of members of the Negro race:

[redacted]

"From time to time it is demonstrated to the German petty bourgeois in illustrated periodicals that for the first time here or there a Negro has become a lawyer, teacher, even clergyman, or even a leading opera tenor or something of that kind. . . . It does not dawn upon this depraved bourgeois world that here one has actually to do with a sin against all reason; that it is a criminal absurdity to train a born half-ape until one believes a lawyer has been made of him, while millions of members of the highest culture race have to remain in entirely unworthy positions; that it is a sin against the will of the Eternal Creator to let hundreds of thousands of His most talented beings degenerate in the proletarian swamp of today; while Hottentots and Zulu Kafirs are trained for intellectual vocations.

JAN 25 1943

For it is training exactly as that of a poodle, and not a scientific "education." The same trouble and care, applied to intelligent races, would fit each individual a thousand times better for the same achievements.

The conclusion to be drawn from these comparisons is obvious indeed. But no fair-minded white man can afford to fall into complacency, or to preen himself because in this country we have given the Negro a better chance than HITLER would allow him. That is small reason for self-congratulation, indeed. Our problem of race relations is far from solved. We cannot compliment ourselves, we cannot be complacent, as long as Negroes are denied fair treatment in our courts, until their civil liberties are really guaranteed, until their health and welfare and educational facilities are made, not identical with, but equal to, those of white citizens, and until we eradicate that shame to our national honor—brutal and brutalizing lynchings.

JAN 25 1943

The O.W.I. pamphlet is a magnanimous and fair-minded appraisal of the status, in a democracy, of a minority people. It is an answer to the diversive efforts of Axis propagandists to profit by the present strained and inflammable state of race relations in this country. It is a contribution of great value to a clearer perception, both for white and Negro readers, of a difficult subject at a time when it is vastly important for all of us that sanity and fair-mindedness prevail.

The Northwest Enterprise
Seattle, Washington

White Girl Wins Oratory Prize by Hitting Jim-Crow

MAR 3 1943

ST. PAUL. — Jeanette McDonald, white, a student at Hamline University in St. Paul, won the annual women's oratorical contest Friday with an oration entitled "Democracy For Some," in which she blasted America's treatment of the Negro.

Miss McDonald used Hitler's "Mein Kampf" where he refers to the Negroes as merely half human apes, and stated:

MAR 3 1943

"But Mr. Hitler is at least frank and his treatment of the Jews and other races conforms to his statement. We, in the U. S., cannot even give the excuse of being honest we claim to believe one thing; we deliver orations about it; write about; and preach about it; but do we practice it.

"Our problem is great. With the war situation, racial discrimination has increased in every field. We are fighting a war to preserve democracy, to prove that all men are created equal; and yet socially, economically, and even in our military field, we are treating the Nergo as inferior, and as a race apart."

In citing examples of racial discrimination she mentioned the Red Cross organization in Rolla, Mo., where white southern women refuse to do Red Cross work with Negroes; the Roland Hayes attack in Georgia; the refusal of the Daughters of the American Revolution to allow Marian Anderson to sing in Constitution hall, the discriminatory elements which exist in the armed forces, the refusal of the navy to permit any Negroes shot in shipyards; is the news that fills the wires these days. Americans must, at the peril of their national soul, devote themeselves to the discovery of the cure lies therefore not only in Federal legislation and local enforce cause and cure of race tensions.

I have a hunch that the cause lies in the ment, but also in a change of heart inequalities of our society. Our whites, frustrated because the promise of American life has not been fulfilled, take out their frustrations on the blacks. And I have a hunch

MAR 3 1943

NEGRO

Fil

New York N. Y.

Round-Up

According to the orator, the advantage of the V-1 program. test of a citizen is his individual worth and not his color.

"Today we are fighting for a democracy. The Negro is helping. More race riots, another lynching, more

56k-1943

Selling The Race

WE MUST REACH THE WHITE MASS THROUGH RADIO, PRESS AND SCREEN

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

JAN 23 1943

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

SOMEHOW we have got to get our story over to white people. We've got to make white people realize that there is a serious problem called Negro and that it has a certain relationship to the war, the coming peace and the new world order. Most white people don't know this and, of the few that do, only a handful have courage enough to speak about it.

We used to talk about education as the way to solve the race problem. It's too late for that now—things are moving too swiftly. The contribution of exceptional Negroes—the talented tenth—was another dodge for solving "the problem." That won't work now. We've got to streamline a method of handling this question before America, the United Nations and the World does itself irreparable damage over whether pigmentation is more important than liberty—whether in India, China, Burma or Mississippi. We are moving closer and closer to the precipice, but it is not the one that Virginius Dabney was talking about in the Atlantic Monthly.



Mr. Cayton

NEGROES READ AND LISTEN

JAN 23 1943

We've got to make a mass assault on white public opinion—we've got to educate some white folks; get them straight on this race issue. Our brother Americans will have to be taught that the Negro is so human that he believes white people when they say that this is a war for freedom. That's really true—they believe that the war is being fought for freedom and that somehow, through some oversight, they are being left out and get all worked up about it.

THERE is nothing to do about this. Negroes, now that they can in increasing numbers, will read newspapers, listen to radios and attend public meetings. White people have to say the democratic thing is to keep China and India fighting. So Negroes listen, believe and feel frustrated about their lack of freedom, and white people have to keep on talking for the benefit of India and China, although they know the black brother is listening. This may make sense to Samuel Grafton of the New York Post and the Chicago Sun, but it doesn't to me. If it makes sense to anyone else, they haven't explained it to me.

USE NEWSPAPERS TO REACH WHITES

So what's to do about it? One paragraph ago I started by stating that we would have to make a mass assault on white public opinion. It's a tough job. We read white papers, but few white people read ours; and that, I am afraid, includes Mrs. Roosevelt, or she wouldn't have written the stuff she recently wrote about the Negro press.

JAN 23 1943

HOW are we going to get white people to read the Negro press (that is other white people than the Army's G-2, the Office of War Information, the FBI and Westbrook Pegler)? I thought I might, as an individual project, send a subscription to some few important white persons I knew, but that ran into money. But it's a good idea if someone would finance it. After a while they would start subscribing for it themselves. Anyone who wants to be informed on world events, and the role which color is playing in them, should read the Negro press, because that is the only place where the "color angle" of the global war and peace is being reported.

MOVIES WORST OFFENDER

But, more important, we've got to get our story in the white newspapers, radio and motion pictures. These instruments of mass impression are for the most part closed to us (I don't include Warren Brown, as I think I put him out of the Negro race week before last). The Negro, except on rare occasions, is presented in print, over the air and on the screen as a buffoon or semi-dangerous moron. Believe me, this doesn't make for national unity, and if the Administration in general and the Office of War Information in particular had the courage, they would move into this situation, especially in the movie industry, which at the moment is vulnerable from a number of angles.

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I HAVEN'T got the answer, but somehow we have got to reach the same 20,000,000 readers of the Reader's Digest and the hundreds of millions of movie-goers that see the drivel and racial slander that comes out of Frances Farmer's and Errol Flynn's Hollywood. A dipsomaniac and a satyr are given dignified roles, are held up as examples of American womanhood and manhood for the civilized world, but every Negro that walks on a movie set has to start "skinning them back" and showing his teeth.

Well, you get the general idea. We've got to change white people's ideas about us. How we are going to accomplish this I don't know, but I do know that it has to be done, and done soon, if this war is not to be just the prelude to a war of races.

Job Opportunities Urged to Solve Negro Problem

MAR 23 1943

Better Housing Also Is Suggested by A Social Worker

World-Telegram
New York, N. Y.

By WALTER MacDONALD,
World-Telegram Staff Writer.

Extra police and motorcycle patrols in Harlem and Brooklyn will not solve the Negro problem, but only resolute action toward providing job opportunities and more freedom of movement in an effort to get better housing with improve conditions now threatening to lead to race riots if permitted to continue, Charles C. Berkley, prominent Negro social worker and executive director of the State War Council's Committee on Discrimination in Employment, said today.

"We need to get both the Negro and white communities to take some of the chips off their shoulders. Both have their faults, but mass meetings and shouting will not help as they appeal only to the passions. We must have sound thinking," said Mr. Berkley 29-year-old Redlands (Cal.) University graduate, and father of two small daughters, as he discussed racial problems in his office in the State Building at 80 Center

MAR 23 1943

Blames Discrimination.

"Without discrimination there would be no Harlem problem," he said, as he pointed to the record of the Brooklyn Urban League, which has in the past year interviewed 8000 Negroes and placed 5000 of these in war industries in the metropolitan area, as proof of the benefits of the integration of Negro workers. However, when a man can get a job without having to go through Negro organizations, a great step forward will have been taken, he said.

Mr. Berkley thinks that getting jobs is the all-important thing. He believes this will stop petty stealing, particularly among boys, for when Negroes get jobs they quickly react and improve their living standards. Eight hours work, the necessity of getting proper sleep, some social or educational activity, will leave little time for mischief. He feels that zoot suits are a harmless craze and if boys want to buy them it is all to the good, for having money to pay their bills will surely sober them.

The removal of employment and housing barriers would stimulate young Negroes to seek industrial training and higher education, which in turn would compel them to watch their behavior and make it easier for their own leaders to counsel them. This would, Mr. Berkley believes, checkmate crime and its growth.

Before the war, Mr. Berkley said, the average Negro worker spent 35 or 45 per cent of his salary for rent, sometimes paying higher rent per room in old houses than white families in new quarters. High rents force Negro families to take in roomers, thereby developing conditions which are always bad for children. In communities lacking in health and recreational facilities it is quite usual to find three families living in space designed for one.

Problem of Negro Soldiers.

The treatment of the Negro soldier has contributed to the general bitterness of the race. Soldiers and their families complain that, although we are supposed to be fighting to free men, Negroes from the New York area have run into the segregation problem in other districts. Mothers, wives and sisters of soldiers who have never before sought employment are also running up against discrimination when seeking war jobs.

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Mr. Berkley deplores the waste of manpower through the employment of the Negro soldier in purely defensive tasks.

"Everybody—Negro and white—has exploited the Negro," said Mr. Berkley. "I know that many Negro leaders have used the backs of their people from which to crawl upward. Leadership of the race must be informed. I firmly believe the solution is the integration of workers with the same educational background and in this way let the Negro prove his worth in industry and the rest will take care of itself."

MAR 23 1943

By Albert Deutsch:

Racial Bars

PM New York, N.Y.

Chaotic Pattern . . . In State Laws Follow

The strangely conflicting attitudes toward the American Indians, or so-called Red Race, illustrate the highly unstable and irrational nature of race prejudice.

Every schoolchild has thrilled to the story of Pocahontas. Her marriage to John Rolfe is one of the great romances in American history. When Rolfe brought his Indian bride home to England, she was feted by everybody there. Nobody was shocked by a white man marrying an Indian maiden. Few are shocked to read about it today.

The Indians are the original Americans. Many prominent men are justifiably proud of the fact that the blood of Indians flows in their veins. Yet, prejudice against red men has been so intense that until recently they were denied U. S. citizenship. On reservations they still are regarded as "wards of the Nation," a humiliating category.

Miscegenation Laws

Even more shocking is the fact that at least three states of the Union bar marriages between whites and Indians. (According to Franz Boas and others there is no distinctive Indian or red race.) North Carolina forbids the marriage of whites with "persons of Negro or Indian descent to the third generation." Oregon bars whites from marrying persons "more than one-half Indian."

It is incredible that a Vice President of the U. S. A., Charles W. Curtis, would have committed a crime in any of these three states by marrying the woman he loved, because he happened to be half-Indian. Likewise with the beloved Will Rogers, who used to boast of his Cherokee Indian descent through both parents.

Alexander Hamilton, a Founding Father, would be committing a felony today if he married blue-blooded Elizabeth Schuyler in the state of Georgia, which bars the marriage of whites with "all Negroes, mulattoes, mestizos and their descendants, having any ascertainable trace of either Negro of African, West Indian or Asiatic Indian blood in their veins." Hamilton was a native of the West Indies.

3-8-43

Inter-marriage between whites and Negroes is banned in 28 states. Some states classify persons who are fifteen-sixteenths white as 'Negroes." Louisiana also forbids Negroes to marry Indians. Maryland bars marriages between Negroes and "Malays."

Sixteen states still bar marriages between whites and Asiatics, including the Chinese.

Anti-Aryan?

Arizona specifically prohibits the marriage of "whites" and Hindus—an utterly ridiculous law, since *Hindu* applies to a religion, not to a race. Hindus, in spite of their darker skin, belong biologocially to the white race. If any people have the right to call themselves "Aryans," it is the Hindus, whose ancient language, Sanskrit, is the mother of all Aryan tongues.

Race prejudice, as I've noted before, is the Nuremberg laws of the Nazis. It is ethically and politically wrong for a public matter. The geographical distribution of these laws shows they arise from local prejudices against particular minorities, not from democracy to enshrine prejudice on its

"natural aversions" on the part of people. Marriage should be a matter of free choice among citizens in a democracy. The state should interfere only on the grounds of health and decency, not prejudice.

Rogers Says:-

AMERICA'S RACE PROBLEM IS FREE OF A RACE QUESTION

JAN 23 19

BY J. A. ROGERS

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

SPEAKING on censorship a few days ago, Wendell Willkie gave what I considered to be a confirmation of the similarity I drew last week between attacks on the white press and attacks on the Negro press when either tries to correct certain evils. That is, white exploiters, liberals and reactionaries can be just as much offended and alarmed by articles in the white press trying to improve the conditions of the white masses as these same white exploiters, liberals and reactionaries are by articles in the Negro press tending to improve the status of the Negro masses. Probably they can be even more alarmed as there is more at stake.



Mr. Rogers

Mr. Willkie said: "In 1929 when I had just come to New York and was at that time counsel for a utility company I was called nto a conference with the late Samuel Insull. It was the only time I met him in my life. I was called to advise him about certain matters. Mr. Insull said that there was a growing spirit of radicalism in the United States, but that there was really no occasion for that spirit. He said it was the fault of the publications and the newspapers. He also blamed public leaders who stirred the people up. He said that if the people were told only what was best for them to know there would not be any of this growing radicalism.

JAN 23 19

WILLKIE DISAGREED

"I dissented very vigorously and Mr. Insull said to me, 'Young man, when you get older, you will know better.'"

In other words, had Mr. Willkie been an "Uncle Tom," he could have written just such an article against the white press as Warren Brown wrote against the Negro. Incidentally, Samuel Insull was one of the greediest business pirates of all time. Later, he went down to ignominious defeat and bankruptcy. However, if this business dictator, like a fascist one, had been able to muzzle the press, he might still be continuing his robberies.

THE whole trouble over this so-called race problem in America is the insistence of so many liberal and reactionary whites on one hand, and certain narrow-minded and uninformed Negroes on the other that it is a "race" question, which it emphatically is not. It is but one of the innumerable human problems which breed hate; and this hate is essentially hate whether shown by white towards black or white towards white, or black towards black.

For instance, as one who has not only read a bit but has also been around, I am convinced that the hatred that white people can have for other white people is far more deep, deadly and devastating than white people can have for black people.

DO the white people in the South have the deadly hatred for Negroes that the masses of Norwegians, Hollanders, French, Belgians, Russians have at this moment for the Germans, a people as white as themselves? Where, then, is your race question?

Again, whereas the real hostility between white and black in the South began only after the Civil War, the hatred between what is now German and French goes back before Julius Caesar, and it has increased with the centuries. In the years I lived in France I saw everywhere the implacable hatred of the white Frenchman for the white German. Nothing like it existed in the South between white and black.

JAN 23 1943

SAW JEWISH STUDENTS BEATEN

I recall once after I had just returned from a trip to Germany and was in a small town in Normandy, France, a friend took me to a cafe where several of the local intellectuals used to meet. During the course of conversati n I spoke well of the Germans, because truth to tell, they had treated me very kindly. This so angered the French people that I hurriedly left. "The idea," said the proprietor, "of your coming into my place and praising the filthy Boches. We know them well, much better than you. We had to endure them right here in Normandy for nearly four years."

IN Germany and Austria, I saw too, the hatred for the Jew, who was nearly always indistinguishable in "race" from the white Teuton. In Vienna, I saw the students at one university beating the Jewish students and throwing them through the windows of the classrooms. Once, when I took a Jewish friend to the place I stopped at in Vienna, the landlady was as indignant that I had brought a Jew, as white as herself, into her house, as many a Southerner would be at seeing a Negro gentleman coming through the front door of his home.

JAN 23 1943

HATRED FLOURISHES IN MANY LANDS

In Paris, a Jewish tailor used to make my clothes, and when I saw him and his family sitting on the cafe terrace, I would bow to them, which would make two or three of my French friends angry, one of whom, in particular, was much darker than the Jews.

HERE in America, and even in the South where "race" is a fetish, you'll find certain white Southerners hating white Jews, Catholics, Communists and white labor leaders more than they could detest any Negro. Hundreds of whites have been lynched by whites.

Go among peoples of any other "race" and you'll find the same interracial hate. There are tribes in Africa whose members would never eat with each other. As for marriage, there is far more chance of it occurring between a white American and a black one than between some of them. In India, the widest possible gulf exists between certain castes, who are often of the same color. The laws of Manu provided that the man of low caste who dared to sit on a stool belonging to one of high caste should have his buttocks slit.

White men were able to conquer America, Africa and India largely because they profited by the deep hostilities that existed among the peoples of those lands.

ONLY A FARCE

Race, especially in the United States, is a farce. After centuries of race-mixing, you'll find any number of "whites" who are "colored" and any number of "colored" who are "white." In fact, it is well-nigh impossible for any professional Southern politician, liberal or lyncher to prove that he is really "white." You can easily find any number of Negroes who are quite as white as they.

JAN 23 1943

YES, race in America is a farce! Aye, more! A clossal lie. And that's why I haven't a shred of respect for white liberals like Mark Etheridge, John Temple Graves and Virginius Dabney. That goes, too, for their spiritual brothers—the Uncle Toms among the Negroes. Like the Bilbos and the Cotton-Ed Smiths, all —regardless of "race"— are using this bare-faced lie as a meal ticket.

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
JAN 30 1943

Professor Says Russia Solved Racial Problems

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
JAN 30 1943

PALO ALTO, Cal., Jan. 28—(ANP)—America and her British allies must renounce their attitudes of racial supremacy if they hope to formulate a realistic and a lasting peace, declared Dr. Harold H. Fisher, an authority in Russian history instructor at Stanford university, last week.

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Birmingham, Alabama
Birmingham Post

RACE AGITATORS ARE WARNED BY GOVERNOR

By United Press.

COLUMBIA, S. C., July 17.—Race agitators were on notice today that Gov. Olin D. Johnston would call on the South Carolina State Guard to "expl the u state.

Johnston said that at the recent Governors' Conference in Ohio he was asked to comment on existing conditions in South Carolina between the Negro and white races. "If any leaders state and agitate social equality "I told them," Johnston said among the races," the governor warned. "that South Carolina was fully able to take care of the race question upon the State Guard to call without interference, that the white agitators from the state." people of this state and successfully run this government for generations and that we intend to run it as we had done in the past."

He said that the only way to handle the race question was [illegible] secre-

"natural aversions" on the part of people. Marriage should be a matter of free choice among citizens in a democracy. The state should interfere only on the grounds of health and decency, not prejudice.

Rogers Says:-

AMERICA'S RACE PROBLEM IS FREE OF A RACE QUESTION

JAN 23 19

BY J. A. ROGERS

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

SPEAKING on censorship a few days ago, Wendell Willkie gave what I considered to be a confirmation of the similarity I drew last week between attacks on the white press and attacks on the Negro press when either tries to correct certain evils. That is, white exploiters, liberals and reactionaries can be just as much offended and alarmed by articles in the white press trying to improve the conditions of the white masses as these same white exploiters, liberals and reactionaries are by articles in the Negro press tending to improve the status of the Negro masses. Probably they can be even more alarmed as there is more at stake.



Mr. Rogers

Mr. Willkie said: "In 1929 when I had just come to New York and was at that time counsel for a utility company I was called nto a conference with the late Samuel Insull. It was the only time I met him in my life. I was called to advise him about certain matters. Mr. Insull said that there was a growing spirit of radicalism in the United States, but that there was really no occasion for that spirit. He said it was the fault of the publications and the newspapers. He also blamed public leaders who stirred the people up. He said that if the people were told only what was best for them to know there would not be any of this growing radicalism.

JAN 23 19

WILLKIE DISAGREED

"I dissented very vigorously and Mr. Insull said to me, 'Young man, when you get older, you will know better.'"

In other words, had Mr. Willkie been an "Uncle Tom," he could have written just such an article against the white press as Warren Brown wrote against the Negro. Incidentally, Samuel Insull was one of the greediest business pirates of all time. Later, he went down to ignominious defeat and bankruptcy. However, if this business dictator, like a fascist one, had been able to muzzle the press, he might still be continuing his robberies.

THE whole trouble over this so-called race problem in America is the insistence of so many liberal and reactionary whites on one hand, and certain narrow-minded and uninformed Negroes on the other that it is a "race" question, which it emphatically is not. It is but one of the innumerable human problems which breed hate; and this hate is essentially hate whether shown by white towards black or white towards white, or black towards black.

For instance, as one who has not only read a bit but has also been around, I am convinced that the hatred that white people can have for black people.

DO the white people in the South have the deadly hatred for Negroes that the masses of Norwegians, Hollanders, French, Belgians, Russians have at this moment for the Germans, a people as white as themselves? Where, then, is your race question?

Again, whereas the real hostility between white and black in the South began only after the Civil War, the hatred between what is now German and French goes back before Julius Caesar, and it has increased with the centuries. In the years I lived in France I saw everywhere the implacable hatred of the white Frenchman for the white German. Nothing like it existed in the South between white and black.

JAN 23 1943

SAW JEWISH STUDENTS BEATEN

I recall once after I had just returned from a trip to Germany and was in a small town in Normandy, France, a friend took me to a cafe where several of the local intellectuals used to meet. During the course of conversati n I spoke well of the Germans, because truth to tell, they had treated me very kindly. This so angered the French people that I hurriedly left. "The idea," said the proprietor, "of your coming into my place and praising the filthy Boches. We know them well, much better than you. We had to endure them right here in Normandy for nearly four years."

IN Germany and Austria, I saw too, the hatred for the Jew, who was nearly always indistinguishable in "race" from the white Teuton. In Vienna, I saw the students at one university beating the Jewish students and throwing them through the windows of the classrooms. Once, when I took a Jewish friend to the place I stopped at in Vienna, the landlady was as indignant that I had brought a Jew, as white as herself, into her house, as many a Southerner would at seeing a Negro gentleman coming through the front door of his home.

JAN 23 1943

HATRED FLOURISHES IN MANY LANDS

In Paris, a Jewish tailor used to make my clothes, and when I saw him and his family sitting on the cafe terrace, I would bow to them, which would make two or three of my French friends angry, one of whom, in particular, was much darker than the Jews.

HERE in America, and even in the South where "race" is a fetish, you'll find certain white Southerners hating white Jews, Catholics, Communists and white labor leaders more than they could detest any Negro. Hundreds of whites have been lynched by whites.

Go among peoples of any other "race" and you'll find the same interracial hate. There are tribes in Africa whose members would never eat with each other. As for marriage, there is far more chance of it occurring between a white American and a black one than between some of them. In India, the widest possible gulf exists between certain castes, who are often of the same color. The laws of Manu provided that the man of low caste who dared to sit on a stool belonging to one of high caste should have his buttocks slit.

White men were able to conquer America, Africa and India largely because they profited by the deep hostilities that existed among the peoples of those lands.

ONLY A FARCE

Race, especially in the United States, is a farce. After centuries of race-mixing, you'll find any number of "whites" who are "colored" and any number of "colored" who are "white." In fact, it is well-nigh impossible for any professional Southern politician, liberal or lyncher to prove that he is really "white." You can easily find any number of Negroes who are quite as white as they

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YES, race in America is a farce! Aye, more! A clossal lie. And that's why I haven't a shred of respect for white liberals like Mark Etheridge, John Temple Graves and Virginius Dabney. That goes, too, for their spiritual brothers—the Uncle Toms among the Negroes. Like the Bilbos and the Cotton-Ed Smiths, all —regardless of "race"— are using this bare-faced lie as a meal ticket.

Professor Says Russia Solved Racial Problems

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
JAN 30 1943

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The professor served as a captain in the first World War and witnessed Atlantic charter is not enough. They are asking what is going to happen to them after the Axis is defeated. Do we propose to rescue Europe and Russia as a colored peoples from one set of the American Relief administration. He is official history of master races in order to act at organization and vice-like master races ourselves?

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Birmingham, Alabama
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"That South Carolina was fully able to take care of the race question without interference, that the white people of this state and successfully run this government for generations and that we intend to run it as we had done in the past."

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Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
JAN 8 1943

Jap Society Charged With Sabotaging Negro Loyalty

WASHINGTON, Jan. 27.—(AP)—A charge that Japan's notorious Black Dragon society launched a nationwide movement to alienate the loyalty of American negroes was made today in a sedition indictment returned by a Federal grand jury at East St. Louis, Ill.

Attorney General Biddle said the two-count indictment named the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World, Inc.; General (aa Japanese victory would secure name not a title) Lee Butler, their president of the corporation; David D. Erwin, its national adviser, and a Japanese described only as "John Doe."

The charges were conspiracy to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty in the armed forces, and conspiracy to hinder compliance with the selective service law.

In commenting on the indictment, Biddle said that "attempts by Japanese agents to infiltrate negro groups have been indignantly repudiated by responsible leaders of our negro citizens throughout the country."

The Justice Department said that Mimo de Guzman, 42, a Filipino now under sentence for forging money orders, was the actual founder of the Pacific Movement, which at one time claimed 100 members. The Department charged that de Guzman acted under the direction of Satohashi Takahashi, a retired Japanese army officer, and that negroes were promised arms and ammunition for an attacks the West Coast."

A major theme of the Pacific Movement, the government said, was to stir up racial prejudices to the war program by telling the negroes that

JAN 28 1943

JAN 16 1943

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Democracy Begins at Home, So—

What Shall We Do About the South?

"People's Voice," New York N.Y.

Langston Hughes Offers A Solution

The so-called race problem can be solved if governmental and private white citizens really want to do such. At least this is the contention of Langston Hughes, well-known poet and playwright, and advisory member of the editorial board of *Common Sense*.

In the winter issue of *Common Sense* Hughes goes all-out to answer the question, *What Shall We Do About the South?* He points out that "liberals and persons of good will, North and South, including, no doubt, our President himself, are puzzled as to what on earth to do about the South—the poll tax South, the Jim Crow South—that so effectively and openly gives a lie to democracy."

SUGGESTIONS

Using the premise that Southerners are reasonable people and that they just do not know what they are doing, Hughes offers the following suggestions: MAR 1 3 1943

- immediate and intensive federally directed program of pro-democratic education, to be put into all schools of the South from the first grade to the universities;
- evolve a way out of the jim-cro travel dilemma at once (probably the system of first, second, and third class coaches would help as in England);
- drafting all leading Negro intellectuals, sociologists, writers, and concert singers and sending them into the South to appear before white audiences, carrying messages of culture and democracy—thus offsetting the misconception that "The Negro Ain't Ready, Yet";
- re-educating men in the armed forces on how to behave toward darker peoples, and
- a federally sponsored educational program of racial decency in general for the entire South, pointing out that co-operation in labor would be to the advantage of all—rather than to the disadvantage of anyone, white or black.

KILL THE OLD BUGABOO

Hughes also points out the need to get rid of the old bugaboo of sex and social equality—"which doesn't mean a thing," as he puts it. "Nobody as a rule sleeps with or eats with or dances with or marries anybody else except by mutual consent. Millions of people in New York, Chicago and Seattle go to the same polls and vote without ever cohabiting together. Why does the South think it would be otherwise with Negroes were they permitted to vote there?" MAR 1 3 1943

The whole Southern—instead of Negro—problem, Hughes outlines, is due to some lack somewhere in our system of education. This must be corrected if the peace following the war is not to breed another war.

MAR 1 3 1943

All of which adds up to the fact that education cannot be left to so-called well-meaning but numerically weak civilian organizations. Government itself should take over—and vigorously—SWG.

'If I Were A Negro'

Pittsburgh Courier

'FIGHT FOR EQUALITY NOW,' SAYS SPINGARN

Pittsburgh, Pa.

CHICAGO, May 13—(ANP)—"There is a proper time to work and fight for the right and that time is always now." This was the conclusion drawn by Arthur B. Spingarn, president of the NAACP, in the May issue of Negro Digest, published in Chicago at 3507 South Parkway.

Writing on the subject, "If I Were a Negro," Spingarn says: "If I were a Negro I sincerely believe that my present attitude toward the war would not be materially changed. I probably would be a little more bitter about the hollow hypocrisies of the loud-mouthed fascists among us who prate about democracy without believing in or practicing it, but I would feel that with all of its faults and despite the discriminations, cruelties and injustices from which I suffer under our democracy, that democracy as practiced in America is infinitely better than any system that would prevail if the Axis won.

"I would keep my soul alive with the conviction that sooner or later that ideal of democracy which America proclaims and so often fails to live up to, will some day be not merely the hope of the world but a reality."

Dean Dixon Protests Rise Of Fascist Forces in US

New York N.Y. People's Voice

Dean Dixon, young Negro conductor who has appeared with the NBC Symphony Orchestra and other leading orchestras throughout the country, sent the following telegram to President Roosevelt last Saturday:

"Official silence can be kept no longer. In the name of humanity, we need right now a strong, powerful and mighty voice to be raised against the rising tide of race hatreds being stirred in America by the enemies in our midst. Yours is that voice, Mr. President. Millions throughout the world and the world will listen and take heed. More millions will applaud you for another great step in the direction of that true democracy for which we fight."

JUN 26 1943

Dangerous Rumors

Washington Post

MAY 1 2 1943

For a fortnight this town has been filled with ugly rumors of racial strife. These rumors themselves propagate discord, lead to distorted interpretations of commonplace incidents, promote fear, and put a chip on the shoulders of ordinary, peaceful citizens. They spread from person to person as contagiously as smallpox, and they are just about as healthy. There is no proof that these germs of dissension were planted by enemy agents, but it is indisputable that they do the enemy's work. MAY 1 2 1943

To be specific about it, rumors threatened to breed serious trouble out of an otherwise innocuous situation last Friday night. Washington Negroes held a mass meeting to protest against certain employment practices involving racial discrimination. They had every constitutional right to assemble peaceably and to petition for a redress of their grievances. The methods they pursued to press for fair employment opportunities were of a kind long accepted as thoroughly legitimate in labor disputes. MAY 1 2 1943

But rumormongers insisted on forecasting their peaceful picketing and their mass meeting as the preamble to a riot. Fortunately the District authorities, particularly the superintendent of police, Maj. Edward J. Kelly, and Commissioner John Russell Young, met the problem with sound common sense. They knew that the rumors were without foundation. Instead of attempting to ban the meeting, they gave it the encouragement and sanction of their presence. They marched with the protestants. The evening passed without the slightest disorder. MAY 1 2 1943

Praise is due equally to the Negro leaders of Washington. They knew, too, that the rumors were viciously untrue and that no violence had been planned. In this they behaved with a good deal more wisdom than many of their white fellow citizens. They saw to it that the meeting and the parade were conducted with restraint and in entire accordance with the law. Major Kelly observed: "I should like to praise the conduct of the Negro people throughout this week. They were exemplary, and conducted all their picketing and other demonstrations in a quiet manner." MAY 1 2 1943

Like any other war-swollen community where whites and Negroes live side by side, Washington has a certain amount of racial tension. Careless talking, rumormongering, can only exacerbate it. In these times of stress, there is greater need than ever before for level-headed checking of facts, for patience and tolerance in all our human relationships. You will do a service to your city if you refuse to become infected by these poisonous rumors of racial trouble and refuse to pass them on to anybody else.

Star of Zion

Charlotte, N. C.

"Half Slave And Half Free"

MAR 2 9 1943

When the American Union was in jeopardy in the middle of the 19th century it was said: "The Union cannot exist half slave and half free." It took four years of bitter fraticidal war to prove the truth of that statement, but the Union was preserved, only because the slaves were set free, even at such terrible cost. It might have been done with less cost, but it was not. MAR 29 19

We are now three-quarters of a century removed from the bloody struggles of the Civil War, but the problems of the Negro people of America of today are almost, if not quite, as acute as they were in 1861. And it is our firm conviction that the American nation cannot exist as a true democracy, which it claims to be, unless its Negro citizens are freed to enjoy all the benefits of the national government on an absolutely equal basis with non-Negro citizens.

There are those in all parts of the nation, North and South, but particularly in the South, just as there were in 1861, who evidently believe that it is possible to go on having this modified form of slavery for the Negro population and still have the great American Union of states; or failing that some would even secede, rather than grant equolity of citizenship to the Negro people of America.

We are now engaged in another war; one beside which the other seems like a stone battle between two gangs of kids. Can it be that this war is one to determine not only whether this nation can exist "half slave and half free," but

whether the world can exist in that fashion of one group taking all the resources of the earth for themselves, while leoving the other group nothing, or the very least that may keep body and soul together?

We think that God is pretty tired and disgusted with the way things have been going in this world, and whether we want it or not He has decreed that it needs some cleaning up. It is a terrible price we must pay for our stubborn resistance to His will, but if that is the only way it can happen, we must pay that price willing or unwilling.

The nations of Europe have not only enslaved and exploited the peoples of Africa, India and the isles of the seas, but American Negroes, who came here in the very beginning of the colonization of this country and helped in every way to build the nation to its present eminence and glory, have been denied full participation in the affairs of the nation. For us, at least, that is the stake in this war, and we believe it will be won on that basis.

Bystander Des Moines, Iowa

White Detroiters Picket Langston Hughes, Poet

Detroit (ANP)—Claiming that the famed poet Langston Hughes is an "atheistic communist, a self-confessed communist and a notorious blasphemous poet," the American First party of which Gerald L. Smith is national director, Wednesday noon protested against his appearance as convocation speaker at Wayne university.

Around 100 members of the organization formed a picket line in front of the university and marched back and forth waving the American flag and distributed literature condemning the school officials for permitting Huges to appear on program at Wayne, which is supported by tax-paying citizens.

Circulars stated: "Imagine bringing a man like this to our tax-supported university—of all times—one week before Holy week."

Despite it all Hughes delivered his address at the appointed hour, in the auditorium of the school, in the presence of the entire student body.

The poet said that such demonstrations were nothing unusual for him; "I have been greeted by pickets before." In expressing his point of view anent Christianity, he said. "I am for the Christianity that fights poll tax, race discrimination, lynching, injustice and inequality of the masses. I don't feel that religion should be used to beat down Jews, Negroes and to persecute other minority groups. There are churches here in America in which I would be refused the privilege to worship because of my color. Christianity should be used to make America a place in which all Americans could live and work in peace and safety and enjoy the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Many of the women out there in the picket line have sons on various battle fronts and some of these boys will doubtless lose their lives. We are fighting for democracy in America and the world, and we all hope that those who die for this cause may not die in vain."

Several of his poems which he read were in tribute to the late Dr. Carver.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE HORIZON

Southerners Who Seek Cover Under Federal Constitution Should Have Some of It Rammed Down Their Throats

BY P. L. PRATTIS

June 5, 1943

UNFORTUNATELY, issues like the poll tax and lynching bring out the very worst in our law-makers. Give the gentlemen of the South an issue which arouses their passions and their prejudices and you may prepare yourself for an exhibition of the coarsest demogoguery and most blatant denials of the rights and dignity of man, if that man happens to be black. Negroes who try to retain some confidence in the fundamental fairness and decency of the white man have their confidence put to a severe strain under the impact of assault from the m e dacious blackguards of the South. Men of intelligence (and they are intelligent . . . some of them) never stooped lower, never degraded themselves more than these Southerners do when confronted by an issue which involves simple fairness to the black man. They almost make you lose your faith in human nature.



Mr. Prattis

The anti-poll tax bill has been passed in the House of Representatives. We owe a debt of gratitude for that to such men as Vito Marcantonio, who introduced the measure, George Bender of Ohio, Thomas Scanlon of Pittsburgh, William L. Dawson of Illinois, Emanuel Celler of New York, Warren Magnuson of Washington, John McCormack of Massachusetts, Joseph Martin Jr., of Massachusetts, Frances Bolton of Ohio, and many others who courageously held the lines when the Southerners attacked and patiently submitted to the abuse heaped upon them. In a way, such men, and Mrs. Bolton, help to restore your faith in the white man. Without these, the wolves from the South would destroy all the little freedom the black man enjoys.

ABOLITION WILL NOT ENFRANCHISE NEGROES

BUT, although the bill was passed, the real issue was rarely joined. Simply, the issue was: Is the House of Representatives prepared to take the necessary steps in its power to see that all citizens, including the black ones, get a square and equal deal. From the ranks of those who voted for the bill, only Mr. Marcantonio and Mrs. Bolton were prepared and willing to treat this issue with any reason and passion. Most of the proponents of the measure tried to steer clear of the bill's significance in terms of Negro freedom, world freedom and national survival.

Everybody knows that abolition of the poll tax will not send Negroes in the South flocking to the polls. Even the Southerners admitted that. The representatives from Duval County, Florida, in which Jacksonville is located, cited figures to show that the Negro vote has not increased since the poll tax was abolished in that State. Still this law-maker from Florida was against the bill. Most of the men from the poll tax States and other Southern States opposed the bill, even though they knew they could continue to keep the Negro from the polls by force and intimidation and trickery if the bill becomes law. They were not so sure about keeping the poor whites away, however. Their opposition was not based on fear of the Negro or poor white vote. In their heart of hearts, they simply opposed an action which they knew would have the effect of giving legal support to the Negro's claim that he is a free and equal citizen. These Southerners have imprisoned the Negro in a politically, economically and socially inferior position. They know that they have done so. They know that the abolition of the poll tax won't free him. But they also know that the abolition of the poll tax puts a slight strain on the lock of the prison door. They don't want anybody messing around with the lock.

June 8, 1943

LOCK CAN BE SMASHED

IF OUR friends of the North and East and West really wanted to smash the lock, they could do so. But even they will cozen the Southerners and try to make them believe they are not trying to spring the lock. Even Mrs. Bolton, in her moving plea for the rights of the Negro, felt constrained to tell the Southerners that Northerners knew his weaknesses and had to contend with him, too. She gallantly brought the issue out in the open. But she appealed to honor where there was none, a fact which she learned as soon as she had left the microphone and had been followed by Hatton Sumners of Texas. The lock could be sprung. The grip of a handful of willful Southerners on the nation's affairs could be broken. The rest of the nation could be released from the thralldom imposed by these professional rotten borough politicians who dictate to the people of all other sections while denying to these same people a voice in the management of that part of the nation below the Potomac. Even as these Southerners falsely declaimed against the constitutionality of the anti-poll tax bill, this writer could not help but wonder where most of these demagogues would be if our friends insisted with equal vehemence that there be some regard for the fundamental law of the land. Seven thousand votes sent Rankin of Mississippi to the House. Five thousand elected Cox of Georgia. Everybody knows that the right to vote is abridged in the South. The Constitution says that it should not be. The Constitution further says that if the right to vote is abridged, representation shall be proportionately cut down. That is some bedrock Constitution upon which only one construction can be placed. It points the way clearly to relief from the blight of such men as Whitten, Sumners, Hobbs, Starnes and their ilk from the South. As Congressman Dawson truly stated, "A democratic form of government derives its power from the consent of the governed." Negroes and poor whites in the South are estopped from consenting. But the Constitution has provided a way to open the door to consent. The lock can be smashed with the Constitution, the very same constitution which these Southerners run to every time they propose to continue to deny the Negro the status of a free and equal citizen. It seems that Negroes in States where they do vote have a right to expect their representatives in Congress to use the Constitution a little, too.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
June 8, 1943

Dr. Conant says the American radical will be a "fanatic believer in equality." Mr. Willkie is so much of one that we Southerners think he badly need straightening out or ignoring one question—the Southern race problem. He thinks it is like India's or New York's when it is absolutely neither. He just simply doesn't understand it and is sentimental about it, although perfectly brave and honest. A time is coming when One Worldliness in the sense of equal opportunity for all people to develop themselves is going to have to be distinguished from One Worldliness in the sense of all of us being just alike and full of good will. Thomas Jefferson, it ought to be remembered, wanted the Negro to be free and have equal opportunities, but he was also of opinion that the two races are so little "one," differ so and will go on differing so, that they could not live together if the Negro were freed. He thought it would be necessary to re-patriate the Negro to Africa. None of us thinks of that as practical or desirable today, but it is worth remembering that Jefferson, the "early American radical," had this place in his philosopher for differences among men as well as things in common. That, after all, is one aspect of "American individualism."

Dies Blames Race Hatred On Politics

WASHINGTON, June 26. (AP)—Plans for an exhaustive, nation-wide investigation of "growing racial antagonisms in this country" were disclosed tonight by Chairman Dies of the House un-American Activities Committee.

Dies (D., Tex.) ascribed the "racial hatred" to "a combination of un-American propaganda activities and the coddling of races by politically-minded people in this country who ignore the vast differences between the protection and the coddling of a race."

The Texan said representatives of various race groups will be invited to present their problems and their suggestions for curing them, and persons responsible for spreading race trouble will be subpoenaed to public hearings.

Dies declared he will recommend his committee call in "government officials charged with the enforcement of our laws to show why prompt and vigorous action has not been taken against all people engaged in un-American propaganda activities to stop the dissemination of racial and class hatreds in this country."

Dies added he plans to ask the House for additional personnel from government departments to aid in the investigation, or more funds to augment his present staff of seven investigators.

56k-1943

PEOPLE AND PLACES

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

By WALTER WHITE

Madame Chiang

GREY SILVER CLOTH two hundred feet high draped the platform at Madison Square Garden, on which was painted the Chinese emblem for "Victory" in crimson as deep as the blood of the five million compatriots of Madame Chiang Kai-shek in the six years of battle against the Japanese invader.



Walter White

The white - and - wine-robed Westminster choir spread fan-wise in the seats above the symphony orchestra which ringed the platform seats soon to be occupied by governors and diplomats and industrialists and warriors who were to pay homage to one of the two great women and human beings of our time. Out front workmen fiddled with microphones and loud speakers as the great organ boomed out Jerome Kern and Victor Herbert melodies while the crowd gathered. "Chinatown, My Chinatown" was gaily swung on the great pipes and as suddenly was stopped as though the organist became uncertain as to how the silent Chinese in the audience would react to such a tune.

The fragrance of temple incense and a benevolence more appropriate to a place of reverence than of prize fights or circus or protest meeting filled the wide spaces of Madison Square Garden. All because a woman of deep saffron skin — a colored woman — was the cause of the meeting together of twenty thousand Americans of every race and creed and color.

Political Boners

ELECTRIC EXPECTANCY of the crowd sloughed off into fretful disappointment as the Gissimo was not seen among the platform party. Mink-coated and dinner-jacketed auditors behind us snickered at David Dubinsky's Jewish accent as he made one of the most pertinent speeches of the evening in hitting at the Chinese exclusion act which keeps Madame Chiang's countrymen out of the United States and at the failure to get planes and tanks and guns to the gallant Chinese armies.

Arrogant and smug and Aryan-superior General Arnold of the United States Air Corps was sublimely unaware of his bad taste as he told how Chungking was bombed from dawn to dusk until the Americans came.

A bumbling, pompous master of ceremonies perpetrated the prize boner of the evening as he announced that Bishop Welch of Mme. Chiang's own Methodist church would lead "a moment of prayer for the brave Japanese."

Wordy Governor Dewey of New York, sublimely conscious of his baritone voice and his clothing-store-dummy, collar-ad prettiness mouthed platitudes and banalities in introducing a sorry parade of governors, several of whom shamelessly utilized the occasion to talk petty partisan politics.

East Meets West

BUT IN A SPLIT SECOND anti-climax was transformed into superb, breath-taking climax. Mme. Chiang, restrained by her physicians to make her appearance only until she spoke, came onto the stage. Up rose the enormous crowd as though moved by a single spring of impulsion.

Shaggy, kindly Wendell Willkie — his voice deep with admiration for the woman he introduced — spoke of the **elan vital**, the passion for survival of a living democracy of which she was a symbol. East and West were joined in the two personages who had found in the bleak areas of a war-torn land that neither race nor color nor place of birth mattered when the chips were down.

Mme. Chiang spoke. The platitudes of politically minded and motivated governors and generals faded mercifully into the limbo of forgotten miseries. Of empires which had swiftly risen and as swiftly sunk into decay because pride and racial arrogance and sybaritism had eaten away that which made them strong, she spoke. Of the spirit which had enabled China to survive and remain strong long after those who had temporarily conquered her had returned to the dust from which they came, she told. The Roman Empire lasted two thousand years because "all the peoples in the Roman Empire could become citizens" and because "there was no racial discrimination as we have it today," she reminded her hearers who applauded with sublime ignorance of the obvious analogy to the problem of minorities in their own land.

Into the nervous clatter of New York after a blackout moved the crowd, strangely thoughtful and silent. A new sensation had impinged itself on the sated tastes of a sophisticated metropolis — of truth and Christian decency and courage in the face of a thousand deaths coming from the lips of a terrifyingly calm and beautiful woman whose skin was not white like theirs. How much of that will last, my wife and I wondered, as we plunged down into the subway for Harlem and home.

Palm Beach Sun
(West Palm Beach)
FLORIDA JUN 25 1943
DATE

FRONT PAGE

By V. L. S.

OUT IN CALIFORNIA and more recently in Michigan, the country began reaping what its mistaken persons have been sowing—race riots.

Never did Booker T. Washington or Dr. Carver of Tuskeegee Institute object to being known as negroes.

Seldom has any newspaper, north or south, that did not make such a distinction in its news stories.

IT WAS LEFT to the radio, under certain high encouragement, to present to the American an uncensored person, introduce that person as Mr. or Mrs., and fail to say that the listeners would be listening to a Negro.

UNDER THAT CERTAIN high encouragement that has been going on for nearly a dozen years now, both the motion picture industry and the radio industry have plugged the negro, thrust him on the public, and apparently accept him as the equal of the white.

But every time the white race has come into a break with the negro, it is the negro who suffers. Read the results—and you by no means get the total of negroes killed in every race riot. And the worst feature of such a riot is that innocent negroes, women, and children, helpful, innocent, are whites just because they are black.

That is a remembrance of the race riot at Tulsa in the summer of 1921. And the negro quarters of Tulsa were fired; and ahead of the flames rover low-down white folks with big trucks rifling forsaken houses of pianos, talking machines, rugs, or whatever else was of goodly value—and no questions ever were asked.

Regardless of what you've been reading about the rioting against zoot suits in California, the American people do not rebel against dress. Nobody in California was injured because of his dress.

With respect to many foreign-born folk CONTACT with the white race, the negro race progressed no whit, no title. They built nothing. Yet thrown contact with the white man, no nearer than slaves, only, the century or two only, the forth a Booker T. Washington and a Dr. Carver, men so that almost every white proud of their accomplishments and achievements.

Marian Anderson, like nobody's business. radio folk already wish they'll introduce her as a that would help the negro American Indian singer circumstances is also produced as an Indian, and it, white folks like it; body sails along under

t that way.

EGRO has advanced more under 150 or 200 years of contact with the white race than he in his native environment since the day he was created.

There is little more to wonder over why a universal nature would create mankind in some secluded spot than in wondering why nothing else was so created — trees and rivers and lakes everywhere —everywhere grass and rocks, fruits, all the other animals—any place anybody ever went there was always somebody there ahead

ERTAINLY THERE WAS divine purpose in making men white and in making other men black, or red, or brown, or yellow. If we knew that purpose, the rest of us would be easy.

The negro race is not the equal who in trying to fit it into his white race, and if the misbrief space left out the essentials or perhaps permitted his own views to gain ascendency, was: "I do not see the business of race prejudice as a sectional one; there is plenty of race prejudice both north and south but the

Birmingham, Ala.
Weekly Review

ora Hurston Denies

aying Negro Better

ff In The South

ISQUOTED IN WIDELY PRINT
ED INTERVIEW
March 13, 1943

DAYTONA BEACH, Fla.—(ANP) In bitter, disappointed words, ora Hurston, author of successful books and highly trained anropologist, denied the gist of n interview which purported to ve her views and which was inted by a New York daily last eek and subsequently carried y numerous colored weeklies. "The article is untrue and is wisted," Miss Hurston said. "I ave only high regard for Doug- us Gilbert who wrote the story, ut I deny categorically that I ver said that Negroes were bet- er off ni the south. Neither did I approve of segregation in the south or elsewhere.

"What I really told Mr. Gilbert,

south by opportunity of long practice had worked out a system, while the north, caught between its declarations of no prejudice and its actual feelings, when the situation came up was groping around for the same thing, but with fine phases. I told him how I laughed to myself watching the northerners, after saying to Negro individuals how distressed they were about the awful conditions down south, trying to keep Negroes from too close a contact with themselves. The south, having been perfectly frank all along, is unembarrassed. 3-13-43

"In the matter of segregation, I said that Negroes have their own theatres and places of amusement, sometimes owned by Negroes, but often owned by whites and managed by Negroes; that Negroes were happy in their own social gatherings and had no more desire to associate with the whites than the whites had to associate with them. I made this point deliverately, because this 'social equality' has been the red herring that white people like Talmadge, who do not want Negroes to have equal opportunity, drag across the issue to becloud it. Their claim is that Negroes are eager to marry into white families, and so they have to exert themselves to prevent it. They know that this is not true but it has been a useful cliche for a long time.

"Neither did I say that Negroes were better off in the south than in the north. What I did say was that there is a large body of Negroes in the south who never get mentioned. They are weathy, well-educated and generally doing good for themselves. I said that propagandists always talk about sharecroppers and the like, but never mention these people. I said they do not move north because they are making good where they are. They are respected by the whites of their communities, even highly favored, and treated quite differently from the uneducated and shiftless Negroes. They hold a sort of prestige in their communities which they would lose in the north. 3-13-43

"I hate talking about the race problem. I am a writer, and I leave sociological problems to sociologists, who know more about it than I do. Perhaps my saying that the north was prejudiced too was too far off the norm, and too distressing after all the fine phrases which have been poured over us up there. But I look behind the phrases and see that Harlem is a segregated neighborhood just like any the south. I have listened to the northern abstructions about justice, and seen the cold-hardness to the black individuals. In some instances the south is kinder than the north. Then the north adds the insult of insincerity to its coldness. My stand is that the south is wrong but the north is not guiltless. It is only a matter of opportunity and degree."

Argus

St. Louis, Missour:

NOT LIKE WHAT WE FIGHT FOR

Principals Of Democracy Lacking

NEW YORK, Apr. 15—Comparing the case of the American Bar Association, whose rules barred a famous New York Attorney from membership, to Hitlerism, George E. Sokolsky, national newspaper syndicate writer, took the famous American organization to task in no uncertain terms in his release to 200 newspapers. One prominent member of the group tendered his resignation due to bans which held out the candidate—Francis E. Rivers.

Atty. Rivers is a graduate of Yale, U., a member of the New York State Legislature and Assistant District Attorney. Sokolsky had to say in this case.

The problem that arises in this country is what is to happen to the Negro who by ability, character, training and persistence achieves a distinguished career.

In the case of Mr. Rivers, his career entitles him to membership in the American Bar Association. The fact that he is a Negro apparently excludes him. The New York County Lawyers' Association and the Bar Association have accepted him. What are the rights of this situation?

EMINENT PERSONALITY

We are not discussing a Harlem mugger nor the immediate and general solution of the Negro problem. We are discussing an eminent personalty in New York City who has been entrusted with an important public office and who has succeeded in carving out a distinguished career for himself. Is he to be excluded from association with men engaged in similar professional work only for the reason that he is a Negro? If so, exactly on what grounds is a protest against Hitler's racial doctrines tenable? Either Hitler is right or Rivers should not be excluded. If Hitler's racial doctrines are wrong, precisely what difference is there between Rivers, the successful and acknowledgely competent lawyer, and Rivers, the Negro? How does one argue on both sides of this particular question simultaneously? Apr. 16, 1943

One of the arguments against the Negro is that he is not ready for a position of the type of equality that membership in the American Bar Association represents among lawyers. But Rivers is not only ready, he has arrived.

Argus

St. Louis, Missour



Week By Week

Apr. 16 43

By SCOTT PRIDE

THE NEGRO GOES ON THE OFFENSE IN MOBILE

DOWN in Mobile, Ala., this week the Association for Tolerance in America swings into action in its initial effort to decrease color prejudice through education of the masses among our paler brethren.

The association, whose headquarters are in New York, with George S. Schuyler as director, plans to reach the "white masses" in their homes, unions, churches, clubs, factories and on the streets through printing the truth about the Negro in newspapers, magazines, pamplets, films, and on the radio, billboards, postcards, and car-cards. Apr. 16, 1943

Mobile has been chosen as the Number One target because of its location and wartime changes. Its 1940 opulation of 78,720, of whom 29,046 were Negroes, has jumped to 200,000, thanks to the opening of war industries and boom-town appendages. According to advance announcement of the Moile campaign, "inadequate housing and transportation facilities are increasing 'racial' friction. Cordial 'race' relations, formerly said to exist, are reportedly deteriorating."

"Ammunition" for the prejudice-melting campaign, which is to last three months, consists of: 126 four-color cards for the city's 106 buses, one-minute recordings for broadcast over he local radio stations several times each day; small pamplet "What Every White American Should Know" for white consumption, illustrated and simply worded, and advertisements of the pamplet to appear in the local newsapers.

FIRST SUCH ATTEMPT

Minimum cost of the opinion drive is a thousand dollars, contributed by "associates" scattered throughout the country. After Mobile has been given the "needle" of truth, the instrument will be taken to other communities for curing their misconceptions and half-knowledges.

This promises to be our first large-scale attempt of this kind. It is our initial step from a traditional ghetto-like, negative manner of propagandizing ourselves in the direction of a more positive, alert, enterprising approach. Again it represents one of our few thrusts to disentangle ourselves from the limited W. E. B. DuBois-Booker T. Washington dualistic thinking concerning our own education and to concentrate on a camaign of anti-prejudice education of the other fellow.

The Mobile experiment will hardly be considered complete, however, without some follow-up measurement of its success or failure. We know from past applications that car-cards, billboard, radio plugs, etc., have served to influence individuals' preferences, opinions, and voting. But just how much effect do these particular devices have on the prejudices and long held traditional conceptions of race that are deeply rooted in the systems of the Mobile population. Apr. 16, 1943

One would ask the white guinea pig: "Did you hear the radio short on the role of the Negro in the war? Did you read the billboard and the car-card depicting the Negro buying bonds, training for service, giving his life on the battlefield? What did they mean to you Have you been influenced to alter your prejudices as a result of them? Yes or no." In short we would want to know, as Chicago U.'s famous scientist, Anton J. Carlson would ask, "Vat is de evidence?"

NEGRO OPINION TESTED

Negro effort in the matter of public opinion testing in the past has not been altogether encouraging or convincing. The Pittsburgh Courier has been carrying results of weekly polls conducted by its Bureau of Public Sentiment for the past several months. One reads such headlines as these: "'War Exposed Extreme Discrimination'—Poll," "65.2 per cent of Polled Citizens Approve North's Methods," "Race Citizens Are Proud of War Sacrifices— Ours Are Greater Because of Bias Says 78.2 per cent Polled," "Unified Army, Navy, Air Command Advocated," "Citizens See No Chance for New Party in '44," and "NYA Should Be Expanded—Not Curtailed—Poll."

All figures in the Courier poll—like those in the monthly Negro Digest poll—are given in percentages only. The total number polled may be 100 or 100,000, who knows. The fact that the figure is not given suggests that it is small. Yet the results of the poll are given eight-column streamer headlines on the fourth page almost weekly. Sometimes the results rate front-page running. The display and the manned of reporting the results both tend to generate an "illusion of generality," a deliberate attempt to mislead the reader.

Of course, we could go on and ask more questions, such as. "How are the polls conducted? What classes of people are contacted? Does the percentage of individuals in the three or more classes correspond with the percentage of those individuals represented in the results? Are all of the answers obtained through the, mail, and if so, what assurance is there that there is no "ballot box stuffing?"

One hopes that the Mobile experiment will not be played up and magnified beyond its actual accomplishment. Apr. 16, 1943

The liberal Richmond Times-Dispatch reproduces with apparent applause the following editorial suggestion from the conservative Charleston News and Courier: "The News and Courier proposes to the societies and committees in South Carolina promoting improved relations between the white and colored races that they send a committee to New York City for the purpose of conferring with Mayor LaGuardia and other important persons and adopting measures to put an end to race conflicts among New Yorkers or, at least, to reduce them . . . Reports in the news columns of The New York Times and The New York Herald-Tribune disclose violent crimes that seem to proceed from a race prejudice shocking and distressing to the sensibilities of self-respecting white people as well as

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

Needed: Organization Of Southern Negro

The Negro in the South is begging for mass organization. He is will-the South should be done by northHolley. Portsmouth. Va
ing to follow northern leaders whoern leaders because the majority
should lose no time in so doing. sell out to the white man of southern leaders are Uncle Toms.
Race relations in the metropolis of the past years by Negro organiza- tions such as the NAACP, MOW, are born and raised under
the United States have arrived at Urban League, etc., to abolish Jim Crow laws and conditions.
a critical stage . . ." Crow laws and regulations through- nothing will ever be ac-
out the United States, yet none of complished to win the rights
these organizations have dared start Rights and the Declaration of Inde- by the Constitution, Bill of
pendence. I realize that the North- ern Negroes in the South who constitute and West are in no way perfect, but every step in the
program to organize the Negro in America is the BEGINNING of advancement of the
a mass race has been made by
radicals. Clarence
race prejudice.

56k-1943

Agitators Continue To Stir Race Issue

Washington Correspondent Says Foolhardy Agitators Busy In Washington And Elsewhere Arousing Race Hatred.

By H. E. C. Bryant

Washington, May 17.—The race issue is being aggravated by ne-gro newspapers in the North, and professional agitators. Southern friends of worthy colored people see real danger in the present sit-uation and blame misguided lead-ers. Carpetbaggers brought about intolerable conditions in the South after the War Between the States. Now, men and women of both the Democratic and Republican part-ies, for political purposes, are cre-ating friction that may result in bloodshep. That cool-headed, in-telligent negroes of the South are trying to avoid a clash is clearly seen by statements appearing in newspapers and magazines and in the halls of congress.

Straws in the wind here indicate trouble unless common sense pre-vails. Foolhardy agitators are busy in Washington and other cities of the North arousing ani-mosities that might be left dor-mant during the present emerg-ency.

Members of congress from the South are just beginning to real-ize the danger in demands press-ed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peo-ple and kindred organizations. Within recent months government-controlled dining rooms in execu-tive departments have been forced to serve white and colored per-sons alike. With but few excep-tions all such eating places have mixed patrons. Some of the din-ing rooms have had to discontinue business because of the refusal of white customers to share rooms and tables with negroes. Now, a second campaign has been launch-ed and private cafeterias and res-taurants are compelled to serve members of both races alike or suf-fer the humiliation and injury of picket lines.

The Washington Daily News of April 20th published this item: "Negroes Picketing White Restau-rants: 'Direct Actionists' from Howard University's National As-sociation for the Advancement of Colored People unit are picketing the Little Palace Cafeteria at 14th and U streets, Northwest, in an effort to force the restaurant to serve negroes as well as whites. The movement began Saturday.

"The cafeteria is one of only three exclusively white eating places in the neighborhood. With-in a half block there are eight ne-gro restaurants.

"Miss Marianne Musgrave, of Cleveland, a University sopho-more, was wearing a large Man-power Commission poster showing a negro and a white man work-ing in an airplane. Across the bottom was the statement: 'United We Win!' Another pickett's home-made poster showed a negro sol-dier charging with fixed bayonet over a pile of War Bonds and it said: 'For You Too! Why Can't We Eat Here?' Sixteen persons attended a direct action meeting Saturday and about thirty, many of whom we never saw before, at-tended a meeting at the university last night, a picket said.

"Fred Green, pre-medical stu-dent from Jersey City, said the committee had chosen the Little Palace Cafeteria because it had been decided 'to clean our neigh-borhood first.' If the picketing is successful, he said, members plan to proceed against other white eat-ing places in the neighborhood and later make the campaign city-wide."

"A large negro settlement spreads for blocks about the 14th and U street intersection and thousands of colored families are segregated there. The movement started there is to be extended to other sections not so thickly popu-lated with negroes."

The following day, April 21st, The Washington Daily News re-ported: "Cafeteria to Cater to Negro Patrons: The Little Palace Cafeteria, which has served only white customers since it was open-ed by Louis Chaconas, December 15, 1914, today will begin serving negroes as well.

"Announcement of the new pol-icy was made by Mr. Chaconas following a meeting yesterday with Arthur Douglass Gray, head of the Washington branch of the National Association for the Ad-vancement of Colored People and members of the Direct Action sub-committee of Howard Univer-sity Civil Rights Committee. They had been picketing the restaurant ever since Saturday and taking turns entering it and asking to be served.

"Up until one P. M. yesterday Mr. Chaconas had based his re-fusal to serve negroes on the ground that his ration allowance permitted him to serve regular customers only. At one P. M. negroes who had been waiting at tables went up to the counter and were served. 'We promised him' NAACP President Gray said, 'that we would take up the same pro-cedure against any other restau-rant in the neighborhood to which his white customers might go.'"

Mr. Chaconas may doubt that the United States is as full of freedom as its supporters claim it is. He has been forced to accept negro customers against his will and may be driven to bankruptcy, and other restaurant owners may be told to follow suit.

Just about the time the cam-paign was launched against the Chaconas enterprise, Rep. Robert Ramspeck, of Georgia, one of the leading members of congress from the South, was having inserted in the Congressional Record an ar-ticle by Robert Quillen, published in the Atlanta Constitution, on a well-known North Carolina busi-ness man to show that an indus-trious, capable negro can thrive in Dixie. The Quillen story is worth pasting in the band of anybody's hat. It says:

"Perhaps you have heard about Charles C. Spaulding, an elderly negro who ranks high by any standard used to measure men. Archibald Rutledge had a piece about him in the Saturday Even-ing Post some weeks ago.

"He is the head man of a $60,-000,000 insurance company, the biggest business institution in the world owned and operated by ne-groes. The business includes a bank and a bonding company, and its hundreds of employees are edu-cated, highly trained experts.

"Where is it located? If you do not know, you probably will say it could happen only in New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, or Detroit. But this great negro institution is in North Carolina.

"It was established 44 years ago by Spaulding and two other young negroes who had neither capital nor experience—nothing, in fact, except character and an idea and the courage of their ignorance. They financed it as they earned the money, and Spaulding was earn-ing only $10 a month as a dish-washer.

"Spaulding has made millions, but now his chief concern is help-ing the people of his race by teaching them to help themselves.

"He says, for example—and this will seem heresy to certain up-lifters in Washington—that equal-ity shouldn't be demanded because it can't be given. It can't be won by coercion and intrusion. And Utopian dreamers can't bestow it on anybody.

"That should be obvious to everybody. No power of law can force one man to accept another as an equal. Equality is earned. And if a man can earn equality, it is not given to him; it is simply conceded as a fact.

Spaulding says segregation doesn't keep negroes from rising, and that too is obvious. His own success is the proof. The poor of every race are segregated by economic necessity, and the rich segregate themselves.

"Of the myth of social equality, Spaulding repeats what has often been said here—that social equal-ity doesn't exist among white peo-ple. It doesn't among the colored, either. Always and everywhere people are divided into groups by their breeding, training, money, and taste.

"Negroes, given opportunity to share and absorb an established civilization, have made great prog-ress in one century. Given fair opportunity to help themselves, they will soon earn the rank to which their abilities and industry entitle them. It is the process by which all men must climb, what-ever their color may be."

RACES

After They Have Killed Us

The engineers, with their drills and tri-pods, came to New Mexico's age-encrusted Pueblo of San Felipe. They pointed to the sun-baked ceremonial plaza, place of the Corn Dance, where not even an Indian is permitted to drive his wagon. They pointed to the sacred *kiva*, where the Indians hold their secret councils.

Slowly, with great dignity, handsome Governor Don Sanchez shook his brown head. The sun glinted from his high cheek bones, from his jet-black hair, from the strip of magenta silk around his brow. He stood firm. The engineers went away.

But they returned; they had a job to do. The floor of the Rio Grande River was rising each year, ruining drainage in thou-sands of acres of New Mexico farm land. Until the river was harnessed, there was the danger of flood. Something had to be done—probably a new series of dams. The soundings might have to go through the Pueblo's sacred places. There was no helping it, said the white man. And if the dams flooded the 13,000 Pueblo Indians out of their ancient homes, there was no helping that.

Governor Sanchez always sent the men away. Finally they summoned him to the Army Engineer's office, said that if he kept refusing, the Government would merely condemn his land.

Years Are Short. They told him this progress no good."

When the Indians found out that the proposed dams might last only 200 years hethey were more certain than ever they did: were right. What was 200 years?

Said Don Sanchez quietly: "I knowstood in the way of progress. He said: "we hite Last week the white man still per-you have the strong law and guns. . . . But "We Indians don't care for this white bigsuaded and threatened. The Indians I just can't give you the permit. Neverman's progress. The white man builds andwatched the snow melt on the peaks of will I do this. My people have lived onthings. Then he goes to war and kills thesethe Sangre de Cristo range, watched the lands for hundreds of years. Thewhat he has built he destroys. We think

water trickle down into the sun-drenched Rio Grande valley, watched the locoweed purple and the sand lizards take shade in clumps of wild four-o'clock. They and their ancestors had seen spring come to the Pueblos thus for countless generations.

Said Governor Sanchez: "We would like to say to the Government men that we would rather die, and after they have killed us they can take our land and do what they want with it. That is final."

One wise old Indian shook his head. "If the white man wants to do it, he'll find a law," said the old man. "The white man always has laws."

TIME, April 19, 1943

Charleston S. C. News & Courier
March 29, 1943

Negroes and the Tax Load

To The News and Courier:

Anent the letter of Representative W. Kenneth Powers appearing simultaneously with your commenting editorial entitled "Mr. Powers Points the Way", both of which appeared in the Friday, March 26, issue of The News and Courier, one is constrained to request that both the editor and the writer of certain letters which misstate facts stretch their logic to the point of remembering enough of what they have previously allowed to be published as not to leave themselves open to easy refutations of "facts".

I make no claim to accurate knowledge of the amount of money paid to the state, county and city in property taxes, and since I do not have access to the records, I am not pretending to know what percentage of the total amount of paid-up taxes is paid by negroes. Furthermore, I do not think that there is any way of indicating, even on the tax records, that this certain amount of taxes has been paid by whites and some other certain amount has been paid by negroes. I think I am entitled, therefore, to speculate along with you, although on the opposite side, and say that the negro carries his just share of the burden of taxes, your unsupported statements to the contrary notwithstanding, considering that he pays the same number of mills per dollar on what he owns, and receives so little benefit in return.

May I ask you to recall an article in The News and Courier about a month ago, showing a delinquency in tax payments in the state amounting to an immense sum (I do not recall the exact figures, but the article should be in your morgue(? Will you recall also your commenting editorial on this article, in which you ably pointed out that this heavy deficit was the result of the laxity on the part of tax collectors, elected representatives of the people, who feared that they would place their reelection in jeopardy by forcing the potential voters to pay their just taxes?

Accepting this fact for what it is worth, I wish to point out that there are no negro voters in the state. Since the white voters are so lax in the payment of their taxes, who are the ones who paid the taxes which were paid?

As to negroes' not owning property—real estate and other kinds—this again is a gross misstatement. I have been a property owner for a number of years and I am never delinquent in the payment of taxes. I haven't a child to be benefitted by the portions of these taxes allotted for education. I get rather provoked at times when I realize that I and hundreds of my friends (and this is not an overstatement), who are property owners, are compelled to pay partially for the upkeep of the city's, and state's schools and colleges, hospitals and other institutions where we and our people are refused services.

Besides the payment of real estate and personal taxes, I and my friends and relatives also pay to the state income taxes, sales taxes, gasoline taxes, etc. Sales taxes, yes, for we never buy a bottled beverage without paying a tax. Similarly, we pay taxes on many other commodities.

So the white people of the state need have no fear of staggering under the burden of providing an education for negroes. Those of my people who have helped provide a college education and other conveniences of the favored ones of the state and at the same time have paid additionally for piecing out our own meager education in private institutions have staggered sometimes under the burdens, but we have not fallen.

I do not necessarily oppose Mr. Powers's "sales tax remedy", but if all of us were taught the lesson of shouldering the burden of tax-supported education and services, and paid our just portions of the taxes, the size of the sales tax would not have to be so great as to be burdensome.

It is gratifying to note that The News and Courier stands for fairness. This attitude prompts me to say that the seeming lack of attention to editorials—a laxity imputed to the negro—has resulted from the many frustrations of efforts made to secure some of the things which justly belong to all citizens. Many of these efforts on the part of negro groups have been met by studied opposition by certain jealous agencies seeking to deny the negro just opportunities in education, recreation and health.

A. W. HOURSEY,
Instructor, Avery Institute,
Charleston.

Bystander

Des Moines, Iowa
A RATHER
SHALLOW VIEW
APR 29 1943

Last week we published a story about Bob Vandever who was chargeu with stealing property. He was the same party who was found not guilty of a charge of murder growing out of a fight at a Carnival here last summer. Prior to the trial a group of people undertook to raise a fund for his defense.

APR 29 1943

A reader of the Bystander, who did not have the courage to sign his name, clipped the article and enclosed it in the following letter to this office.

APR 29 1943

"The star of the 'Vandever Defense Fund' is certainly doing the colored folks a lot of good. How about a 'Folkes Defense Fund'? Just as rotten! But those New York Jew lawyers love it."

APR 29 1943

The letter brands the writer as one of those people who makes no distinction between people who fall into the hands of the law and therefore rather presumes every Negro guilty who kills a white man.

We made no defense of Vandever, believing from the beginning that he would receive a fair trial, and the fact that an all white jury found him not guilty ought to convince the writer of this letter that the situation surrounding he fight justified his action. We make no defense of Folkes, the lower 13 Pullman berth murderer, as long as he gets a fair trial as contemplated by the constitution of the United States and that of the state of Oregon.

APR 29 1943

We hope the writer read President Roosevelt's protest to Japan against the killing of the American aviators. It was to the point and The Bystander backs his stand 100 per cent. In substance, the president demands that Japan treat allied prisoners according to international law as laid down and agreed to by nations.

But we wonder if the writer of that letter realizes that those illegal executions by Japan are in the same category of those communities that allow mobs to take the law into their own hands and operate against rather than within the law; does he realize that discrimination against the Negro, particularly in Iowa falls, in the same pattern except that murder is involved?

APR 29 1943

We are fighfing this war to guarantee nations and men shall conduct the affairs of the world according to law; that men and nations shall not be annihilated simply because a bigger nation or a more powerful group in the community reverts to cannibalism. And that is why these "Jew lawyers" mentioned in our reader's letter are interested in some of these cases. That is why every lawyer should be for when he takes the oath as he is admitted to the bar he swears that he will uphold tse laws and constitution of the state and the

Star of Zion
Charlotte, N. C.

"Lift Ev'ry Voice And Sing"

"No," Says Dr. Fonvielle

APR 15 1943

We hardly know whether to say it is "a tempest in a teapot," or making "a mountain out of a mole hill;" at any rate, we object. In other words we don't want to be guilty of "straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel." In all seriousness, however, we just do not see the point of Dr. Fonvielle's argument. "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing," of course, was not intended to be a "National Anthem." Its authors, James Weldon and Rosamond Johnson, wrote it for a school closing. It has been designated as the "National Negro Hymn," and later dignified with the designation, "Anthem," because it struck such a popular favor and possibly because of the implications of its title line.

When Dr. Fonvielle objects to Negroes singing it, however, he is asking us to repudiate one of the finest things ever done in American poetry and song. Except for the designation we have given it, there is not a single word in it that has any reference to Negroes; it could just as well be, and often is, sung by white people with just as much reverence and prayerfulness as when sung by Negroes.

An eminent Russian musician, hearing it for the first time, said: "This is a great song; every American, every person in the whole world might sing it. Why designate it as a Negro Hymn?" And we echo, "Why?"

Does Rev. Fonvielle suggest that because we are Americans, we should sing only songs written by white Americans? Does he suggest that we throw away the spirituals, just because they are designated, "Negro Spirituals?" That would be just as sensible; and, sad to relate, a good many Negroes are ashamed to sing them, the finest music and most beautiful sentiment in American music and folklore.

No, Dr. Fonvielle, it does not impair our patriotism to sing the National Negro Hymn. We may sing the "Star-Spangled Banner" with as much gusto as any other Americans, "America" and all the other great national airs, but do not ask us to stop singing "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing."

APR 15 1943

Some prominent white man said he noticed that Negroes did not sing "America" and he wondered why. Well, he would know, if he were an American Negro. But we do sing "America," even though we know it is not fully

"The land of the free."

For Negro Americans are not fully free, even to sing what he chooses, but he sings nevertheless, and for God's sake don't ask us to stop singing.

The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.
Wants to Clean House

Editor, Daily Worker:

Chicago, Ill.

It's disgusting business to read articles by various so-called writers in which they criticize Russia. We do. Do we have anti-Semitism? Of course we do. Do we have discriminationers try discussing some of the various national groups above problems and leave Russia alone? They are doing a good job. Why don't we all pull together and have the Second Front opened now?

E. C.

To the Editor: Public Forum,
Chicago Sun, 400 West Madison St.
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Sir:

Do we have equality? That is certainly feel that we have plenty to clean in our own house without trying to clean the other fellow's house.

Do we have riots against the Negro people here in America? Of course we do.

Poll Tax, the railroading of Negroes back to the chain gang, yes and much more.

So why don't the come-on writ-

56k-1943
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

In suggesting that colored citizens resort to civil disobedience in order to win their rightful demands for equal rights, A. Philip Randolph is guilty of the most dangerous demagoguery on record. 1-23-43

The "March-on-Washington" plan was bad enough, but alongside a call to civil disobedience, it seems quite sane.

For a stated period Mr. Randolph is suggesting that colored citizens disobey all jim-crow laws as a demonstration of their dissatisfaction with them (and presumably he is prepared to lead the way) but there is to be no violence!

Those who are foolish enough to follow Mr. Randolph's advice may not resort to violence, but the prejudiced white people of the jim-crow States where over three-fourths of the colored citizens reside will be under no compulsion to refrain from violence.

They will regard such a campaign as the opening of the race war which every Southern demagogue has proclaimed as imminent since the end of the Civil War; and how they will react, everybody who knows anything about the South well knows.

Mr. Randolph is suggesting that we follow the example of Gandhi's followers in India on the assumption that there is some similarity between conditions here and in that unfortunate country.

In India there are 390 million colored folk and about 250,000 white people; while in the U.S.A., there are 120 million white folk and 13 million colored folk. 1-23-43

Nevertheless, every civil disobedience campaign in India has not only ended in bloodshed and imprisonment of tens of thousands of Indians but has failed to win Indian independence. It may succeed in the future, but it has not done so in the past, either in India or South Africa. What makes Mr. Randolph or anyone else think it would succeed in this country except in offering irresponsible and vicious elements an excuse for slaughtering thousands of colored citizens?

We would be much more alarmed by this latest Randolph bid for leadership if we were not aware of the sound judgment and cynical sense of humor of the masses of colored people.

If Mr. Randolph calls for such a campaign at the scheduled spring conference of the March-on-Washington committee, we predict that thirteen million loyal American colored citizens will repudiate him with a loud and firm "NO!"

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

NOVELIST O K's DIXIE, BUT HARLEM WONDERS

FEB 13 1943

NEW YORK, Feb. 11—Harlem was very much concerned last week about an article in the World-Telegram under the by-line of Douglas Gilbert, who wrote the piece after a lengthy interview with Zora Neal Hurston.

The noted anthropologist, who is a graduate of Barnard college, and a former protege of the late Dr. Frank Boas, is also author of several books. However, none of them created as much interest, in such short time as her statements to Mr. Gilbert.

According to Miss Hurston: "The Negro's lot is much better in the South than it is in the North. Many Southern white people are interested in the development of the Negro, are proud when he succeeds. The whites recognize him and make a distinction between him and the uneducated.

"There is, of course, segregation and no social intermingling. I can't go into certain white night clubs or dine in first-class white hotels. But for everything put up in the South for white people there is the equivalent for the Negro. In other words, the jim-crow works.

FEELS IT'S OKAY

"I feel that this is all right. After all, what Negroes need, and this is a principal factor in the race question, are just and equal opportunity. I don't mind duning with myself or with my people. In fact I should prefer to. And it works both ways. Whites, too are embarrassed dining with Negroes, as my people often are.

"The Negro problem in the North is aggravated by misunderstandings. It is new to the North, and too many people up here, not understanding the situation in the South, act towards the Negro as they think Southerners might.

"I don't see the problem as 'Southern,' or 'Northern,' but as national. The approach in both sections also is to sentimental, and sentiment itself often breeds violence. It should be approached objectively. The North hasn't worked out a system."

She failed to bring into her conversation an analysis of the jim-crow laws of the South which relegates Negroes to lesser train comfort, and bad living conditions. Nor did she go into the basic principles of democracy being denied to Negroes at the polls. Lynching without fair trial by jury all fits under the Southern system, but Miss Hurston who is a native daughter and got her inside knowledge of the South through a Guggenheim grant and the well filled purse of wealthy white friends who made possible her education, seemed to regard these Hitler-like points as sleeping dogs better off when they're allowed to play dead.

Star of Zion
Charlotte, N. C.

Rev. P. K. Fonvielle Condemns Singing Of Negro Natl. Anthem

APR 8 - 1943

By CLEVELAND G. ALLEN

New York, N.Y.—Rev. Dr. P. K. Fonvielle, pastor of the Centennial A.M.E. Zion Church in Mt. Vernon, speaking before the A. M. E. Zion Ministerial Alliance at Mother Zion Church, on Monday, March 22nd, Rev. B. C. Robeson, pastor, condemned the singing of the National Negro Anthem as a separate anthem, and said when we do so we discriminate against ourselves. "We should not sing the National Negro Anthem in our gatherings" said Dr. Fonvielle, "because we are all Americans and should sing one anthem." The only anthem that the Negro should sing said Dr. Fonvielle is The Star Spangled Banner." He said that we make a mistake when we sing a separate anthem. "The National Negro anthem should not be sung as any special anthem and we should not make the practice of singing it separate from the regular national anthem, "The Star Spangled Banner." Dr. Fonvielle spoke on "The Negro and the War" and condemned the singing of The National Negro Anthem in the course of his address.



REV. P. K. FONVIELLE

Rev. Fonvielle scored the discrimination which exists against the Negro in the armed forces. He praised the heaoism of the Negro who has fought in all the wars in which this country has engaged he said. Rev. Fonvielle said that the Negro in America is fighting on all fronts and is entitled to all of his rights as a citizen. He said that the Negro has always been loyal to America and has never been a traitor, he address-

ing of the National Negro Anthem. red that he of Dr. Fonvielle, especially has ref- erence to the singing of "he National Negro Anthem' 'provoked a lively discussion at the Alliance. Rev. B. C. Robeson speaking in the discus- sion said that he agreed with Dr. Fonvielle with reference to the sing-

of a separate anthem. Rev. obstacles would be a real test of his ability of the Negro to face these

W. Taylor, pastor of the character. Others who participated l Chapel said that the Negro in the discussion were Rev. B. J. ot allow himself to become Negro Anthem. Rev. B. Robeson, "for the wide- George W. McClellan, pastor of the Hood Mem- spread singing of the National Ne- Caldwell Cha- gged because he is passing orial A.M.E. Zion Church; Rev. J. gro Anthem." He said that we en- must not al- a crisis. He said that the C. Hoggard, pastor of the Memorial dorse it by allowing our congrega- discouraged tions to sing it. Dr. Robeson infer- through a c

A.M.E. Zion Church in Yonkers; Rev. R. S. Oden, pastor of the St. Catherine A.M.E. Zion Church, in New Rochell; Rev. C. F. A. Kirton pastor of the A.M.E. Zion Church in Kingston; Rev. S. H. Williams, pastor of the Varick A. M. E. Zion Church in Brooklyn; Rev. H. B. Norville, Presiding Elder of the Long Island District and Rev. W. O. Carrington, president of the Alliance. Dr. Carrington has just returned from a speaking tour in the interest of the Preaching Mission of which he is a member. At the meeting of the Alliance on Monday, March 15th Rev. B. C. Robeson, pastor of Mother Zion spoke on "The Program of Jesus." The Alliance which is made up of ministers of the A.M.E. Zion Church of New York and vicinity, meets every Monday at the Mother Zion Church. Helpful discussions are held every week.

The Union
Cincinnati, Ohio

STREAMLINED SLAVERYY

Open Letter to the President of the United States of America

February 11, 1943.

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
White House,
Washington, D. C.
My dear Sir:

The recent barbaric lynching of two boys of my race in the Mississippi State, is the blackest mark of the twentieth century; demagogues from the quagmires of hell could not pay a more lasting tribute to the gracious advocates of States Rights.

Shall America continue to feed upon the poisonous fangs of the ironic lynch law? This question must be answered, soon or late.

States are turning back the clock,, ten centuries, and retreating from the New Deal to the arms of barbarism and folly I would think that two hundred and fifty years of race enslavement would be enough to satisfy the gluttonous appetite of the States

The parade of lynching and burning at the stake of thousands of my race through three quarters of a century has become a stench in the nostrils of God.

Crumbling links of hypocrisy in the chain of our government must be ground to powder, before we ever attempt to forge new ones in another hemisphere.

Those persons who ride to power on the backs of a disfranchised race, have no right to make laws in the Halls of Con

History tells us that we are now passing through the greatest revolution the world has seen since the fall of Rome—Let us not forget that the first man killed at Bunker Hill was a Negro — Our race, however, is thankful that Christ, the Great Advocate of the Forgotten Man, still lives, and shall render to every man according as his work shall be.

Yours truly,
SAMUEL W. CLARK,
2321 Alabama Avenue, S.E.,
Washington, D. C.

P.S. If our mothers' blood is to be given to the seven seas, then it is well that we pulverize the iron-whip of political slavery in a free country. We challenge the principle of the Federal Congress of its right to seat men not elected by the body politic. "Freedom for all. All for Freedom." S.W.C.

Star of Zion
Charlotte, N. C.

President Barclay's Visit

A nationally known columnist says: "The state department would be a great deal happier, if President Roosevelt had not been so expansive when he was in Liberia," calling attention to the fact that our president had said to the president of Liberia, "Come to see me sometime."

It just happens that President Barclay had had a mind to do just that and had been putting it off until he should have an invitation, for without a bid he would have been under the necessity of traveling unofficially or incognito, which naturally he did not choose to do.

We are informed that a visit by the Liberian president will cause no end of embarrassment, both in travel in the United States and in the matter of entertainment at Washington. The state department, which would have the responsibility for making all the necessary arrangements for such a visit, is headed by a very wise and keen-visioned man, Mr. Hull, but it just happens that he hails from Tennessee. And in Tennessee they do not entertain people of different races on the basis of equality, regardless of the official position of the persons. Mr. Hull would be on the spot, particularly when his friends from the South, who are in position to dictate the policies of the government at the present

Notwithstanding the United States of America is fighting a global war to preserve freedom and democracy, and that our government has been quite pleased to have the cooperation of the little Liberian republic in the matter of securing the West Coast of Africa against Axis use of that territory as bases for attacks upon the Americas, it is quite unlikely that our nation is ready for the unqualified entertainment of President Barclay on the same basis as other Allied Nations' rulers. There should be no embarrassment, but who dares to believe there will be none? Already there is revolt in the South against the liberalism of President and Mrs. Roosevelt, and the coming of Mr. Barclay may prove the "last straw on the camel's back." It may well be the test of what depths there are to our sincerity in the matter of war aims. If there was no embarrassment in the entertainment of Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, why should there be any in the matter of President Barclay? The answer to that question may decide a great many things. So we shall see what we shall see.

The Plaindealer
Kansas City, Kan.

CHICAGO BISHOP SAYS NEGROES SHOULD FIGHT FOR EQUALITY NOW

Chicago.—Negroes are urged to continue their fight for equality and recognition by Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, founder of the Catholic Youth Organization, in an article appearing in the February issue of Negro Digest, a magazine of Negro comment published in Chicago at 3507 So. Parkway.

Writing on the subject "If I Were a Negro . . .", Bishop Sheil says that the Negro people should give all-out support to the war effort but adds that "this war is nothing if not a battle for the reinterpretation of the unalterable dignity of the human personality . . . our fight should be against all enemies, external and internal."

Pointing out that military victory should not be our final goal, Bishop Sheil states that "the future of society depends in a large measure on the ability with which we face and solve the difficult problems of the post-war period.

"If I were a Negro, I would continue unrelentingly the struggle for equality and recognition. As a means to this I would take advantage of all possible opportunities for education, for the training of well-informed, competent leaders in every field of human activity, politics, law, government, labor, and letters."

Among the features in the February issue of Negro Digest are articles by Eleanor Roosevelt, Virginius Dabney, Oswald Garrison Villard, W. E. B. Dubois, Walter White, C. C. Spaulding, Warren Brown, Thomas Sanction and Louis Martin.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

A White Soldier Finds Something Disquieting About This War

EDITOR'S NOTE—The following excerpts were taken from a letter writen to William (Bill) Jennings O'Brien and published in the New York daily, PM.

And there is something else terribly disquieting to me. This war, I am told, and I wish does not have to be told, is for the Four Freedoms, and for decency and the rights of the

to be heard. And what is the portentous message of the driver, for which he has stopped the bus on the high-

way—the people's highway, I presume, just as in the old days it used to be the king's highway? He has stopped the bus to tell a soldier a white soldier that he must not and will not be permitted to sit in the same leather-covered

seat as a Negro civilian.

Now this happens to be the law of the state in which I am currently sojourning, learning how to shoot guns and azimuths in order that shortly I will be able to help defend democracy from the onslaught of the Huns and the Japanese. No one, of course, wants to break the law.

And I think: what is going to happen one of these days when the bus stops and the man next to you in the bus driver tells ME I can't sit beside a Negro?

And what is going to happen, Bill, one of these days, when the Negro I sit down beside has on the uniform of the Army of the United States. Nor does it matter whether he is a Jew or Gentile.

As a matter of fact, the state-

ments issued by Negroes recently have given little evidence of resentment or anger. They show a sincere desire to have the existing Jim Crow law, the humiliating restrictions and discriminations lifted, this is, of course, true. But at the same time they show a very clear understanding of what this war means to them. They know that a Hitler victory can only mean the annihilation of their race; that no matter how bad conditions are in this country, they would be a million times worse under fascist rule.

Woodmere, N. Y. G. Locke

A Sergeant Somewhere In The South.

Sam H. Jones, Governor of Louisiana, is quoted in the current Saturday Evening Post as saying, in part, the following:

"White Southern boys in the armed services who, perhaps, have an understanding of and affection for the Negro race

MAR 1 3 1943

The Negro's Attitude

Dear Editor:New York, N. Y.

I was shocked and infuriated by a recent article by Albert Deutsch.

How can he—a white man—dare to feel about this war? If PM wants to explain the Negro's true attitude toward the present war, it seems by a Nazi or Nipponese bulwords of that let as you have, his lack of and ideas of actual members of the classics, but I enough. Little, idea of how they think than does a

As a matter of fact, the state-

56k-1943

Racial Discrimination In Latin America Denied

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

U. L. Speaker Says U. S. Only Place In America Given to Segregation

The United States is the only country of the Americas given to racial prejudice, Dr. Robert Redfield, author and professor of anthropoloby at the University of Chicago, said yesterday. He spoke on the Latin American Workshop program conducted the past month at the University of Louisville.

Our practices of segregation and discrimination are as incomprehensive to the Latin American as the class prejudice existing in Latin America is to us, he added.

The essential social structure in Latin America, he explained, includes the aristocratic upper and the hard-working lower classes; there are no middle classes in any South American countries.

Wide Gulf Separates.

"A Latin American gentleman must not work with his hands and he looks down on the menial worker, treats him with contempt and even cruelty, and a wide gulf separates them," said Dr. Redfield. "This attitude is distasteful to our democratic ideals. It so happens that in Latin America most of the working classes are composed of Indians but the Indian who is educated and cultured enjoys all the rights, privileges and social advantages in the community as those of different blood. The prejudice is not against a racial stigma but against the class. In this country the prejudice is against race—and the most educated and cultured Negro often is made to suffer through discrimination."

Urges End of Segregation.

Dr. Redfield said that racial prejudice as such was developed with the slave trade in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries and that investigation shows that prejudices that existed in ancient times were not racial but class prejudice upon which the present class prejudice in Latin America is based.

"I believe that segregation and discrimination against races should be eliminated in this country," he said, "but even though justice and equity are on the side of those wishing to abolish segregation and discrimination, sometimes the price to be paid in reactions to the arbitrary setting aside of precedents, is more than they are worth. More harm than good could result in many instances. It is a problem that must be approached thoughtfully. And a method that would be applicable in one area wouldn't work in another. Each phase of this racial problem must be considered individually."



DR. ROBERT REDFIELD

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

Willkie Asks Equal Rights For Negroes

New York, July 24 (U.P.)—Wendell L. Willkie tonight demanded equal rights for Negroes and said the cause of race riots could be found in an "attitude of mind" akin to fascism.

Speaking over the Columbia Broadcasting System, Willkie charged the Republican Party with "feeling that it has no further obligation to the Negro citizen because Lincoln freed the slave." He also charged the Democratic Party "sanctions and practices one set of principles in Atlanta and another in Harlem."

Names Six Rights.

He named six "certain things these Negroes are entitled to—not as a matter of patronage or tolerance but as a matter of right." These were protection under the law, and "no discrimination against them in the administration of the law"; equality of education; equality of expenditure for health and hospitalization; the elimination of all arbitrary restrictions on voting — through taxes or otherwise; equal work opportunities and equal pay; the right to fight in any branch of the services.

"Two-thirds of the people who are our allies do not have white skins," Willkie said, "and they have long hurtful memories of the white man's superior attitude in his dealings with them. Race riots in Detroit do not reassure them."

Fascism "Attitude of Mind."

In speaking of the Negro problem in connection with the war against fascism, Willkie declared that "all the forces of fascism are not with our enemies."

"Fascism," he said, "is an attitude of mind, an attitude which causes me nto seek to rule others by economic, military or political force or through prejudice. Such an attitude within our own borders is as serious a threat to freedom as is the attack without.

"The desire to deprive some of our citizens of their rights—economic, civic or political—has the same basic motivation as actuates the fascist mind when it seeks to dominate whole people and nations. It is essential that we eliminate it at home as well as abroad."

World-Telegram
New York, N. Y.

Negroes, as Americans, Look to Bill of Rights.

By Howard E. Jones.

I was greatly concerned and perturbed in reading "Fair Enough," by Westbrook Pegler, in the issue of June 29. As a former member of the Negro press it is my belief that the opinion expressed by the writer is untenable and unwarrantable, not only to that group but to all Negroes as a race.

In formulating plans for this country our forefathers made the framework of a form of government from which could be derived a true formula of democratic ideology.

It was their intention that this land should be a melting pot of all groups which would produce a homogeneous product that should stand as a criterion of value for the rest of the world. It was not their intention that this pot should become a seething caldron of racial, social and economic discrimination and antagonism.

As in every other race and group, the majority of Negroes are law-abiding American citizens in every respect. There are always, and always will be, a few in every denomination who will sponsor racial, social and economic antagonism. However, it is unfair to discredit a whole group or race by the rantings of this minority or adopt their actions as the "norm" of the people.

The Negro press at all times has attempted to instill in the minds of all of us the necessity of being a law-minded group and to avoid any attempts by rabid reactionaries to incite or provoke us into adopting or following any policy that would impede the American war effort.

However, any inclination on the part of this press to inject into the "thought" of the people the idea that they should share the rights and privileges of this democracy, not only in theory but in actuality, has been misconstrued by a few as an attempt to incite bigotry and racial hatred.

It has been and always will be the hope of our people that the Bill of Rights will be an eventuality in the near future and not a conjectural probability.

Today, when all Americans, regardless of race, creed or color, are fighting and dying on foreign soil to preserve this democracy and to keep "liberty" as a symbol of reverence to all mankind, we should adopt a program of unity and solidarity that should be as strong and binding as the fundamental concepts in our Constitution.

Manhattan.

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle
August 22, 1943

People's Forum

Letters to the Editor

GOOD-WILL APPEAL

Editor, The Chronicle:

I am writing this letter appealing that you give it space in your paper, for the reason that I think the matter herein might stimulate more generous thinking in the minds of some readers.

"Eddie James Anderson, Negro, convicted slayer of James Wilson, white, was taken to Reidsville State Prison yesterday where he will die in the electric chair Saturday morning."

This statement is the first paragraph of a news article appearing in one of the Augusta daily papers of August 19, 1943. It means that Eddie James Anderson must die, and that James Wilson is already dead. Why is this true? We cannot attempt to relate the facts of the case. The courts have reviewed them and decided. We can, however, call attention to certain basic tragedies which retard human progress and indict Augusta. The basic tragedy is racial prejudice, and of almost equal proportion is the domineering and persecuting attitude of some whites and the fatalistic and frustrated attitude of some Negroes, between which there is no compromise.

James Wilson should not be dead and, consequently, Eddie James Anderson should not have to die. Why? If we practiced fairness and justice to the extent that members of one race would not feel that they could punish members of another without recourse to law, and the Eddie James Andersons did not feel that they have no recourse to law and thus react primitively, a solid foundation to good-will and democracy would be laid.

Other factors which would greatly improve conditions would be reasonable courtesy in private and public service together with improved opportunity for the development of social attitudes through recreation. It must be admitted White Augusta could and should have greater recreational outlets and opportunities, BUT it is appallingly true that Black Augusta has only the recently established USO, the limited advantages of the playgrounds of the Sunset Homes and Gilbert Manor Housing Projects, and the Bethlehem Community Center—none of which are civic institutions. Whatever of general recreation the Negroes of Augsuta get outside of their church activities are the commercially operated places, which are for the most part dives and breed immorality, vice and crime. In these the children and youth must look for an outlet for their energies—hence, they curse, fight, get drunk, and being unchecked, they drift from one vice to another.

It is my belief that properly supervised parks and playgrounds with a decent swimming pool would greatly relieve this very unfortunate condition. Each section of the city needs recreational opportunities for Negroes. A park including a swimming pool would prove a blessing and a fine investment for the city.

Generous consideration of these needs will improve the Negro's respect for himself and increase the respect of his white neighbors for him, and I believe fewer James Wilsons will die for which fewer Eddie James Anderson will have to die. Then, too, if we must die untimely, let us die together for good-will and democracy.

J. S. OUTLER, M. D.

Augusta, Ga.,
August 19, 1943.

Racial Prejudice Keeps Linguist As Sweeper In Railroad Station

Tribune
Philadelphia, Pa.

A SWEEPER in the Baltimore and Ohio Railway Station in Baltimore, Maryland, is frequently called upon to act as interpreter for foreign travelers. The sweeper with his broom and dust pan is of valuable service to the public because he speaks three languages, English, Spanish and French fluently.

In recent weeks Theodore Bowen, that's the sweeper's name, has helped a group of Portuguese sailors, a Mexican girl, high government officials from Haiti and officers of the Fighting French Navy, all of whom were passing through Camden Station, according to the B. and O. Traveler.

It is unnecessary for it to be mentioned that Bowen is a colored man. For if he were white he would be permitted to occupy a position more in keeping with his ability.

That is just additional proof of the high cost of American racial prejudice.

As An Indian Sees It

Will the Progressive Unite On a Program to Eradicate The Roots of Dissensions?

BY KUMAR GOSHAL

Pittsburgh, Pa. COURIER
JUL

ATTACKS on the Negro people in the United States are increasing in ferocity. Mexicans have been beaten up in California. The forces of law and order usually have sided with the attackers or shirked their responsibilities. By appointing Wavell as Viceroy of India, the British government has served notice that it plans to cling to the empire come hell or Hirohito. The reactionaries in Washington have prevented the repeal of the Oriental Exclusion Act. The cry of the Puerto Ricans for independence no longer finds much response from the American liberals.



Mr. Goshal

Do those acts sound as irrelevant as the progressive people seem to think they are?

As an Indian, I find all these issues related to one another and to the war against Fascism. These are merely manifestations of a basic cause—the desire of the reactionaries in the Allied government to win the war against Fascism abroad while they retain their special privileges at home.

NOTHING DONE TO PREVENT RIOT

There are many indications that this is so. According to Edgar Mowrer, the story runs in Washington that, when asked to prepare a series of airfields in Eastern India, Wavell objected because it could be done only at the expense of several tea plantations!

ACCORDING to a story in the newspaper PM, various Government agencies were notified 15 months ago of the inevitability of race riots like Detroit and other places unless steps were taken immediately—yet nothing was done to prevent them!

LIBERALS CRY BUT TAKE NO ACTION

Whenever Negroes are beaten, shot and lynched; whenever British injustice in India, or American imperialism in Puerto Rico, or discrimination against the proverbially patient Chinese, makes the front pages, liberals themselves cry, "This helps Axis propaganda among the colored and oppressed peoples." Yet the liberals take no action before—and no concerted action after—such acts of injustice and violence occur. Even this cry, "This helps the Axis by hurting our war effort" sounds mechanical and half-hearted.

FOR it is true that we Indians, Negroes, Chinese and South Americans are also genuinely threatened by Fascism, but we must remember that we are threatened as human beings with human rights, and not as lifeless pawns in a political chess game. The human element must be stressed, too, for it is the basis for that intangible but precious asset called "morale."

I feel it imperative that a single, national organization be set up immediately, in which all progressive organizations, trade unions, churches, fraternal groups, civic bodies, are represented, as well as individual writers, educators, radio commentators and others. Domestic political differences must be set aside for the duration if we are to create the kind of unity needed to win the war. This organization must simultaneously demand political and economic justice for Negroes and other minorities, freedom for colonial countries, promotion of better relations with South America, and the launching of an effective offensive against the Axis in collaboration with the Soviet Union and China.

ALLIES POLICY HELPS TO SPREAD DISUNITY

THE time has come for all to realize that racial discrimination in the United States, British imperialism in the colonies, and Yankee imperialism in South America, suspicion of the Soviet Union and the democratic forces of Europe, and considering China a secondary ally—are the things that help the Axis' policy of trying to keep us divided.

Will the progressives be far-sighted enough to unite behind a comprehensive program to eradicate the roots of dissension and race riots which are hampering the total war effort of the United Nations?

Birmingham, Ala. News
October 15, 1942

PLENTY TO FIGHT FOR

According to Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, the morale of the American Negro as measured currently by his attitude toward the war is at the lowest ebb within memory.

Dr. Johnson pointed to the fact, for example, that for the first time in our history there are Negro conscientious objectors, who feel they have "nothing to fight for."

One can understand that. Many a Negro must feel he has, at any rate, less to fight for in this land of liberty, where all men are created free and equal, than any white man.

And yet we think the Negro soldier has a lot to fight for. At least it is written in the letter of the American contract that men are equals. At least there are those in this country with a solemn respect for that contract and at least progress is made, steadily if gradually, toward giving it effect.

None of this could be true in an America ruled by either the Nazis or the Japs, whose racist doctrines deny even hope to any but the master races, the Nazis and the Japs.—Detroit News.

The Globe Trotter

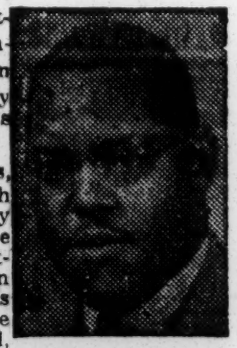
Repression Rears Its Ugly Head

By Cliff Mackay

Daily Worker
JUN 29 1943

BEFORE VICTORY IS yet in America's grasp, the familiar pattern of racial repression which followed World War I has already set in. One sees it in the nationwide outbreak of racial strife at Mobile and Detroit, Beaumont and Savannah, Jackson, Mississippi and Chester, Pennsylvania.

It is not enough to make a blanket charge that these outbreaks are extemporaneous or that they were deliberately inspired by enemy agents. It is possible that some of them were. But it would be attributing far too much to the power of Axis spies to blame them for all of the disturbances that now threaten our war effort.



These outbreaks, though perpetrated on two groups of Negroes doing their all to win the war, actually stem from the same singular fear — the fear of a certain element in the majority group that they are losing the economic advantage they have enjoyed at the expense of the minority for lo these three centuries.

FEAR SOLDIERS' RETURN

It is this fear that motivates the growing attacks in Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina and Arkansas on brown boys wearing the brown uniform of the United States Army. The fear is real among these elements in America that these brown boys taught to kill and sacrifice their lives if need be for freedom, will no longer be willing to accept the sub-standard status of second class citizenship upon their return.

So holding this fear, these hostile elements find no methods too brutal in their determined efforts to keep these brown boys intimidated and subservient while they are in America, yet would incongruously have them exhibit a spirit of bravery and daring when they face the enemy abroad. They would have our boys be cringing cowards on one hand and dashing supermen on the other. It simply fails to make sense.

The same fear lies behind the sudden outbreak of attacks against Negro workmen, not only in the South, but in Northern industrial centers as well. The fear is shared by both white workers and management with economics the basic motivating factor.

WOULD KEEP ADVANTAGE

The white workers who grew up in the period of depression and job scarcity, are resentful of full integration of Negro skilled workers into jobs which they have by tradition held to be for "white only." They fear that this economic advantage will be lost to them forever and war effort or no war effort, they do not mean to lose it.

Management holds the same economic fear though for different reasons. Employers, particularly those in the South, have always found it to their advantage to maintain cleavage between workers of different races. This division gives them a lever to play one group against the other and thus exploit both. Full integration of Negro workers in jobs on the basis of ability, rather than color, would mean the death of an advantage that over the years has meant ever increasing profits at the expeuse of substandard wages.

The government approved policy of segregation in response to management's contention that the two races cannot work together merely supports and condones the racial cleavage that American employers both North and South have fostered for centuries. It is not a solution to the problem.

PROBLEM GOES DEEPER

The problem actually goes deeper than the surface contention that the races cannot work side by side. They can work side by side and have been doing so in the South ever since Negro slaves were imported in 1619 to do the work that had been done in the past by white indentured servants.

The segregated solution to which the War Manpower Commission and FEPC Chairman Haas gave their approval ignores the basic fact that these disturbances grow out of economic rivalry rather than racial antagonisms.

That this is true is obvious to anyone familiar with Southern labor problems. Negro and white workmen have toiled side by side for hundreds of years, as long as the white man kept his exclusive status as the mechanic and the Negro was classed as his helper Difficulties arose only after Negroes who had been held to their helper status for several decades were suddenly given justice and elevated to mechanic positions for which they had long been qualified.

COULD HAVE BEEN AVOIDED

The tragedy is that these racial outbreaks against our men in uniform and our men in overalls, which help no one by the common enemy, could have been avoided.

They could have been avoided had the army, management, labor leaders and government taken a firm and forthright stand — a stand that presented to all Americans an unshakable determination that the war must be won no matter what petty traditions would be sacrificed in the winning.

If army officers made it clear in unmistakable language that men wearing the uniform of the United States Army would be accorded equal justice as well as full protection, these elements which inspire these outbreaks against brown soldiers would not dare show their faces.

LEADERS ARE TO BLAME

If government, labor and management stood firmly behind the announced federal policy of no discrimination against a worker because of race, creed or color, those few white workers who create racial dissention would not dare to air their inane prejudices. The blame clearly lies at the door of all three for failure to do their job.

Appeasement and compromise on this issue will be no more successful than it was at Munich. This is the time for government to decide whether we are fighting for universal freedom or whether our fight is to protect the unjust status quo.

Saying we believe in democracy at home and abroad, words must be supported by action. Winning abroad and losing at home is almost as bad as no victory at all. Surely those entrusted with the sacred duty of guiding the ship of state are conscious of this fact, although at times one is led to doubt it.

Saying we believe in democracy is no longer enough. With democ-

56k-1943

Senator Barbour, Once Boxing Champ, Takes On Jim Crow And Wins Decision

Defender Chicago, Ill. OCT 2 1943

By HARRY McALPIN
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — Years ago, two-fisted W. Warren Barbour, now senator from New Jersey, was hailed by sports writers as the equal of or better than Jim Jeffries. Jeffries was former world heavyweight champion, who lost his crown to Jack Johnson. Barbour never met Jim Jeffries—he was only the amateur heavyweight champion in those days.

Today, Barbour is still pursuing a two-fisted attack. He is no longer an amateur—and he has squared off with Jim. Its Jim Crow, however, not Jim Jeffries.

Barbour's first solid punch was delivered in 1940 when he introduced a non-discrimination amendment to the National Hospital Act. Significantly, this was the first anti-discrimination amendment to pass the senate without a dissenting vote. Barbour, himself, hailed this as one of the most significant pieces of legislation in his political career.

He threw another wicked "hook" at Jim with his non-discrimination clause to the Selective Service bill. The punch didn't knock Jim out, but it landed.

Weaving and bobbing, Barbour came up on March 27, 1942, with a "right cross" to Jim's jaw as he threw a non-discrimination amendment on the bill establishing the WACs. The blow landed, but between rounds, the army, with its traditional policy of segregation revived Jim and sent him out for the next round.

The restoratives administered to Jim were pretty powerful, for in the next round, he successfully dodged three powerful blows aimed by Barbour. On March 31, 1942, Barbour swung a round-house right aimed to "assure all persons within the District of Columbia full and equal privileges of places of public accommodation, resort, entertainment, and amusement, and for other purposes." It was the District Civil Rights punch. It didn't land.

On May 15, of the same year, Barbour let go a blow intended as a solar-plexus to the navy midsection of Jim Crow. He introduced a non-discrimination amendment to the bill creating the WAVES. Jim successfully avoided the blow, however, with assistance from his navy seconds, whose illegal interference was not seen by the referee.

Barbour came back with the round-house right—the D.C. Civil Rights punch—at the beginning of the next session of Congress, on January 18, 1943. Jim dodged again, however, an dthe blow failed to land.

Measuring his man, Barbour took calculating aim at Jim's jaw in June, 1943, and landed with an amendment to the Nurses bill, prohibiting discrimination because of race, color or creed. Jim wabbled, his knees buckled, he fell to the canvass, but whether he is out remains to be seen. The bill with the amendment passed. The administration of the law is just starting.

Barbour now has his right "cocked" for a telling punch on the Federal Aid to Education bill. He has already introduced an amendment to outlaw discrimination in the appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in more adequately financing their systems of public education during the emergency, and in reducing the inequalities of educational opportunities through public elementary and secondary schools. Whether the blow will land will be determined when the bill comes out of the senate committee on education and labor.

The fight is still on, and Senator Barbour is anxious to keep throwing punches. He admitted, in an interview with the Defender between rounds the other day, that there are times when he has to withhold some punches while trying to get through the guard of Jim, formed by the Southern bloc.

He is thinking beyond the next round, too. He told us that Jim Crow still has plenty of wind left, and is capable of many more rounds. He says when the war is over, we will have to use all our brains, skill and ingenuity to meet his counter-attacks and carry out our own. "Negroes need to be giving lots of thought to this right now," he said.

As we left, Barbour was considering his next strategical move. He was weighing the effectiveness and expediency of throwing another punch at the navy solar-plexus of old Jim Crow in the next round, by re-introducting his bill to abolish and prohibit discrimination in the WAVEs.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Justice Hugo Black

Blanket statements placing all southern whites in the same category on the Negro question are as unscientific and unfair as are they in seeking to describe the virtues and vices of all Negroes in a body. To be wholly objective and fair one must judge each case on its individual merit.

Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black is a notable example against the logic in such arguments. Born and reared in Alabama, the state of Dixon, Wilkerson and Heflin, and nurtured in her social and political history, Justice Black has not only exceeded the expectations and hopes of Negroes on the race question, but he has taken a more enlightened view on such cases than most of his northern contemporaries.

Addressing an Army Air Force Officers' Candidates class in Miami, Fla last week, Justice Black said: "Civilians, like the personnel of the Armed services, must strive to give full contribution to the war effort in our fight for a victory that must guarantee a post-war peace designed for world enjoyment of the 'Four Freedoms' irrespective of race or color." One needs only to glance back upon the record Justice Black has made since being elevated to the High Court to be convinced of his sincerity and belief in what he said in Florida. He is a liberal southerner and his liberality exceeds that of others on the high Court whose background and environment should enable them to see the Negro question in greater perspective.

Moreover, what we say of Justice Black can be said in equal fairness and justice to score upon the score of other southern whites. In fact, it is the class of southern whites of the Black variety, who have made possible the steady rise of the Negro people of the South from ignorance and poverty to education and economic advancement.

Stand on Rivers Reflects Practices in ILGWU

By George Morris

When Dean Alfange voiced the leaders of the New York dorsing Francis E. Rivers, N he actually gave expression t Dubinsky's Social Democrats.

Alfange said it was "un-American" of [illegible]ntonio, chairman of the New York ALP, to endorse Mr. Rivers, charging it was "injection of racial issues into the campaign." At the same time he denounced Rivers for accepting what he termed was endorsement of "Communists."

Incidentally, the same Mr. Alfange was pleased to obtain the endorsement of the "Communist" ALP of New York County when he was candidate for governor a year ago. He was equally pleased to receive endorsement from many unions which his people never tire to label "Communist."

COVERS UP BIAS

The point in this article concerns the views Alfange expressed with respect to Negroes for they give us a classical example of a so-called "liberal" view that has for many years been used as a cover-up for anti-Negro practices.

Social Democrats have always reproached Communists and other progressive groups among Americans, for recognizing that there is a "Negro question" in America, for advocating special measures and stressing, through special education, the need of protecting the Negro against discrimination, and assuring him representation in all spheres of the community and government.

In their usual demagogic style, they say that they refuse to see the color of a person's skin and want matters to just take their course. That, in practice, means giving the Negro-baiters free reign to discriminate against the Negro people. Widespread anti-Negro prejudice is not challenged. The virtual impossibility of a Negro to gain a place in political or cultural life, unless prejudice among whites is broken down, is also neatly overlooked. All this, under the false claim that to recognize the facts and do something about them, is "injection of racial issues."

Mr. Marcantonio's appeal to the voters, stressing that election of Mr. Rivers would also be an advance for Negro rights, is "injection of racial issues" to Alfange.

DUBINSKY JIM-CROWS

But a more practical view of what the Alfange position means is revealed in the situation within the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, headed by Alfange's boss, Dubinsky. The ILGWU constitution has no Negro bars, but there is an unwritten law in some of the union's largest affiliates that, in effect, keeps the Negroes "in their place"—outside the trade and the union.

It is estimated that there are less than six Negroes in the union's oldest local, Cutters Local 10, with a membership of more than 10,000. In the cloak division of New York, with some 30,000 workers, no Negro is to be found. Those are the better-paying divisions of the industry. There are Negro workers in the dress division. They are mostly in Local 22. The other large dress local, headed by Luigi Antonini, keeps Negroes out on the ground of national origin.

But what do we find in the dress trade? Negroes are principally in the "minority crafts," at miscellaneous work which pay very low wages. Those who are able to get operating work get it on the lower cost garments which deprives them of an opportunity of higher earn-

BRANDS OLIN D. JOHNSTON AS "GOVERNOR OF WHITE PEOPLE" AND "MASTER OF THE NEGROES" IN S. C.

AUG 14 1943

New York Age

New York, N. Y.

By OSCEOLA E. McKAINE

Associate Editor of The Lighthouse

COLUMBIA, S. C. — On July 18th, in this fourth year of World War II for the Four Freedoms, Olin D. Johnston, Governor of the white people of South Carolina, spoke to the State Guard. We say "Governor of the white people", for the head of the state in South Carolina considers himself, not Governor, but Master of the Negroes. To him, Negroes are not even second rate citizens — only intruders living here by sufferance.

What did the Governor say?

"We have treated the Negro race fair and . . . we have given him educational advantages far beyond his ability to pay".

Let us see: The latest naturalized foreigner has more RIGHTS in South Carolina today than the Negroes who have lived here for more than three centuries. These Negroes have helped clear the forests, build the roads, nurse the young, till the fields, construct the cities and have fought gallantly as VOLUNTEERS in all of the wars to protect the sovereignty of the state. Is THAT "fair" treatment? Further, it is a widely accepted principle that the state is responsible for the education of ALL of its children up to the high school level, regardless of the econmic ill-being of their parents. Moreover, the U. S. Supreme Court has ruled that although the education of the races MAY be separate, the educational facilities MUST be equal. It said nothing about "ability to pay".

AUG 14 1943

It is interesting to note also that South Carolina between 1933 and 1939 received $4,057,135 from the FEDERAL (WPA) government for higher education. The Negroes received the princely sum of $26,100 from this FEDERAL contribution and the paltry $4,031,035 remaining were spent on white schools. Talking about "educational advantages beyond ability to pay", from whence came this bounty Governor, and who were the chief beneficiaries?

But let the Governor continue:

"We have given him (the Negro) every opportunity of work that leads to a decent and adequate livelihood . . but cannot and will not tolerate the mixing of races in our schools, churches and dwellings".

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Re the "adequate livelihood", many Negro nurses for white babies are still getting $2.50 per week and help with the household cleaning also. Most Negro cook and maids are still being paid $5.00 and $6.00 per week for seven days work. A majority of unskilled and semi-skilled Negro laborers, outside of federal employees, average $12.00 per week or less, and a majority of the Negro school teachers are making less than $500.00 per year.

AUG 14 1943

As to "decent", the large majority of the Negro population is still being herded into stinking ghettos with only the most primitive sanitary facilities and quasi-unlighted, unpaved alleys and streets. That the Governor should keep Negroes out of most white churches would perhaps benefit them, for God is certainly not in some of these churches.

Also the very large number of white people "passing" for colored all over the state attest the fact that mixing in dwellings has gone on for many, many years to the detriment of the virtue of Negro women, violated by white men. If the Governor can stop this, we shall be very thankful.

AUG 14 1943

Tired of Agitation

And the Governor continues:

"I am tired of people agitating social equality of the races in our state . . . and if any outsider comes into our state and agitate social equality among the races, I shall deem it my duty to call upon you men to help expel them". Very lightly, and in the same paragraph, the Governor threatens to suppress free speech and incites to violence. Ye, only the white people are discussing social equality (sic) just as only the white people are starting rumors about impending race riots. Investigations of such rumors generally disclose that the Negroes supposedly involved knew nothing about them. "The guilty fleeth when no man pursueth".

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The "Governor of the white people of South Carolina" asked the last legislature for a "work, fight or jail" measure and got it. In his speech to the State Guard he reiterated his intentions to enforce his law vigorously. Obviously intended to force Negroes into or force them to accept low paid jobs, here are two normal examples of how it has been applied:

Five colored women who was charged with loafing, arrested in their homes without warrants and jailed because they had quit working at a laundry two days prior. The women allege that they quit their job because certain moneys had been withheld from them unduly. Two young Negroes in a poolroom were apprehended by the police who demanded their working papers. They produced work cards which showed that they were employed at the Columbia Air Base. But, nevertheless, they were arrested and charged with loafing because they worked only 13 hours every other day. The police told them, they said, that they should work every day as they, themselves worked seven days a week.

AUG 14 1943

Died In Vain

Bitter irony: The same newspaper which first carried the Governor's speach also carried an item which stated that the first war casualty of Bamberg county was a young Negro VOLUNTEER. In the light of the Governor's speech, this young Negro died in vain — the Four Freedoms for which he gave his all do not apply to Negroes in South Carolina.

But don't let any one provoke us to violent resentment or hopeless despair — not even the "Governor of the white people of South Carolina: we can neutralize his racial chauvinism. There are many fair and influential white people in this state who are working WITH us to obtain justice and we refuse to be intimidated. Let us actively seek to improve the cordiality of our daily relations with the whites, especially with the whites working on the job with us: be ever courteous on buses and trains; don't carry around a chip on your shoulders and don't be an Uncle Tom. Meanwhile we shall continue an ever increasing pressure for full justice.

AUG 14 1943

We are on the march and nothing will stop us.

In Local 24 of the Capmakers, the union headed by sec'y Alex Rose, of the ALP, a Social Democrat of Dubinsky's grade, the Negroes are about as welcome as in the favored crafts of Dubinsky's union.

In connection with all this, it is well to recall the behavior of David Dubinsky at several conventions of the AFL. As is well known, President A. Phillip Randolph of the Pullman Porters, delivers an annual speech in behalf of a resolution seeking an end to anti-Negro bars in AFL unions. He never gets to first base with that crowd. Incidentally, Randolph is closely related politically to Dubinsky, Alfange & Co. As I listened to Randolph's very able analyses at the Toronto AFL convention, last October, of the various types of open and hidden race bars, I thought of Dubinsky's union. But as I looked to the table where the ILGWU delegates were seated, only vacant chairs were in evidence. At the previous convention, the ILGWU performance was the same. The ILGWU group, obviously, sought to escape the embarrassment. If any of them were to speak in support of their pol[illegible] they would incur the displeasure of the AFL's reactionary hierarchy. Besides their own ILGWU skirts are not clean on the question.

AUG 22 1943

REAL PROGRESSIVISM

There are, of course, some striking contrasts. Hundreds of Negroes hold national, regional and local leadership in CIO and some AFL unions, but, unfortunately, those are chiefly progressive-led unions. Many unions still have a picture that is more analogous to the ILGWU. **But it is precisely Dubinsky's well-advertised professed "progressivism" that prompted this article.**

The progressive union is the union that recognizes that there is a "Negro" problem that must be faced if it is ever to be eliminated. The pages of the **Daily Worker** picture almost every day what this means. It means forcing a showdown on hiring practices, promotion, equal pay for equal work, etc. This is the sort of fight that really breaks down race barriers. It was well symbolized in the fight of the National Maritime Union which eventually succeeded in putting the S. S. Booker T. Washington under the captaincy of one of it Negro members, Capt. Hugh Mulzak.

Governor Hits At Federal Meddling

AUG 8 1943

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

CHARLOTTE, N. C.—(A N P)— Speaking before the Chamber of commerce dinner the chief executive in 48 sovereign states united together to fight for "some inexperienced politicians" in our common enemy, and Washington interfering in our common good, but Declaring that he would not stand that some inexperienced politicians will not stand for local problems." Gov. Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina last week I do not and will not and politicians in Washington interfering in our local problems." Gov. Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina last week I do not and will not stand for that some inexperienced politicians in Washington interfering in our local problems."

Gov. Johnston bitterly predicted that the Negro along with all other groups was entitled to opportunity for advancement, Graves declared that the "fighting job it is to develop an excellence and character, intelligence and honesty in children.

Conceding that the Negro along with all other groups was entitled to opportunity for advancement, Graves declared that the "fighting job it is to develop an excellence and character, intelligence and honesty in children.

EQUAL PAY FIRST

He nervously tipped around the discussion of the problem of equal pay, equal political and economic opportunity affecting the Negro in Alabama, and was obviously uncomfortable when Miss Ruby L. Jackson, president of the Jefferson county teachers association, later promised the teachers that "equalization of teachers' salaries was first" on the association's agenda.

The practice of white school officials omitting titles in adressing Negro teachers before their pupils was denounced by Miss Jackson as "extremely humiliating" and urged that those who do it should stop. Sixteen male members of the association have been called to the service during the summer vacation, it was disclosed.

Graves Says Progress Should Be Evolutionary

Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

SEP 18 1943

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Sept. 16—(ANP)—Progress of the Negro in the South will depend upon his resistance to outside agitators and high use of evolutionary, rather than revolutionary methods, Columnist John Temple Graves, erstwhile "liberal" on racial matters, told the Jefferson county teachers at their annual institute here Saturday held in Par-

56k-1943

Open Letter To FDR Challenges Double Standard Of Democracy

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt
Commander-in-Chief
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Informer, Houston, Texas
JUL 3 1943

Honorable Sir:

Obviously, with racial riots occurring East and West, North and South, the cause must be sought deeper than in the so-called natural animosity between the races in the South. I suggest that the basic cause of race riots lies in our double standard of democracy as we practice it in America. There is a standard of superiority of whites by which the majority race conspires to give to white Americans the full benefit of democratic principles. Then there is the standard of inferiority for darker peoples in America, in which the majority group conspires and determinedly works to keep the minority from the full benefit of the democratic principles announced in our Constitution.

As long as we seek to live under democracy for which we fight and two standards of democracy, one sacrifice our youth, it will be worth for whites and one for darker many divisions of soldiers in our people, we will have racial clashes present war and in preventing wars Until America stands itself on the in the future. Therefore, we the Negro group idea of resolutely according to ask that you lead public officials every citizen the full rights of democracy, we will reap the sorrow in a forthright facing up to this of racial clashes, hampering problem of two democracies.

JUL 3 1943 JUL 3 1943

Somewhere at some time in our growth we must evince the will to have one form of democracy for all American citizens. There is no time when this is more important or more needed than now, when these clashes threaten to destroy the peace at home and stymie efforts to establish international peace after the war. In truth, today the only difference between the practice in America and that of the Nazi group is that the Nazis OPENLY profess racial superiority, whereas in America superiority is practiced by conspiracy and tacit agreement.

JUL 3 1943

As Commander-in-Chief and as President, you can swing the country to a new plane of democracy by announcing from your eminent position that the democracy envisioned by our forefathers was meant to cover all Americans without regard to race, color, or parental origin. Such announcement will permit the liberal and forward-thinking members of the majority group to come forward and align themselves behind the true principles of democracy.

In passing, it is well to suggest that this discrimination not only applies to Negroes, but also to Mexicans and other darker peoples. Here in the Southwest Mexicans are excluded from many of the better places to eat as well as from skilled jobs and places of amusement. If a man in your eminent position will today point out the necessity for practicing the

Respectfully yours,
Carter Wesley, president
Informer Publishing Co.

Washington Tribune
Washington, D. C.

Press Asks Conference With President on Race Problems

By JOHN H. SENGSTACKE
President Negro Newspaper Publishers Association

Mr. President:

In my June 21 telegram about the Detroit race riots, I emphasized the necessity for immediate action to prevent further violent outbreaks and to alleviate the growing racial tension. I want to reemphasize my plea to you, as our President and as our Commander-in-Chief, to take dynamic dramatic steps to retard the rising tide against color.

JUL 10 1943

The basis of racial disunity has been the consistent policy of segregation as defined by the Supreme Court and the discriminatory practices from the Federal level to the smallest unit of Government. This policy of "separateness" and "alleged racial differences" permeates educational institutions, newspapers, the church structure and our economic life.

JUL 10 1943

Even while recognizing all the technical difficulties which may exist, as well as some of the reactions which may come, I recommend that you, in the interest of national unity, public safety and national welfare, issue a statement of principle, which defines that each citizen is an American and that before the law, as well as before the national conscience, each American shall be treated as an American.

Too frequently employers and others aver, when questioned about their un-American practices, that they are simply following the principles established by the Federal Government. It is clear that our National Government cannot expect a citizenry with unity of interests and purpose when that Government itself perpetuates indecencies and injustices against Negro citizens. These alleged distinctions, based upon color, become the very foundation upon which the Ku Klux Klan inspires internal strife. These facists elements at home preach the doctrine that the Negro has "his place" and these groups, whenever Negroes attempt to act as Americans, seize the opporunity to arouse and inflame racial hatred.

In order that the fundamental causes for racial disturbances may be removed, I suggest that you take action of importance equal to that taken by President Lincoln when he freed the slaves. A Proclamation, coming from you, abolishing segregation and discrimination in the Armed Forces of this country, as well as in other agencies of the Federal Government, would be a great blow to Nazism, Facism and the Ku Klux Klan.

If you take immediate action, some of the evils that are now in the process of undermining our domestic front will be destroyed and America can, without hypocrisy, speak to the nations of the world in terms of the four freedoms.

From July 16 to 18, the Executive Committee of the Negro Newspaper Publishers' Association is meeting in Washington. As I have stated before, our Negro newspapers want to do everything possible to promote national unity, racial good will and understanding. However, they must have support in this effort. I have been authorized by the Association to request an appointment with you on July 18, 1943, at the time of our Executive Committee meeting in Washington, for the purpose of going over the racial situation in America.

JUL 10 1943

We would appreciate your favorable consideration of this request.

Mrs. Roosevelt's Dictum: 'Give Equal Rights To All'

Defender, Chicago, Ill.
JUL 24 1943

NEW YORK.—In what has been described as the frankest discussion of the race question ever made by the wife of a President, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, last Thursday added her "four freedoms" to those already enunciated by the President.

The First Lady's statement was embodied in an article appearing in the New Threshold, organ of the United States Student assembly. Stressing the need for freedom "on the home front," she said that unless everyone here had an equal chance, "we fight for nothing of real value."

Supplementing her husband's four world freedoms—the freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear—Mrs. Roosevelt stated her "freedoms" as follows:

"Equality before the law, which assures us of justice without prejudice, for Jew or Gentile, for any race or color, as far as human be-

WAR III. QUAKER PREXY SAYS RACE QUESTION MAY BRING

Chicago Bee
JUL 18 1943
By JOHN W. CRAYTON

OSKALOOSA, July 15. (ANP)—"Every time a Negro is lynched in the United States it is going to affect the United States that in-to about the race question and in Africa, and World War II will surely follow unless we learn to give all men the level look." was a Dr. Erroll T. Elliott, the unbiased president of Penn college of Oskaloosa, in a recent series of addresses to interdenominational and inter-Americans that causes them to look down on the members of the countries—large populations of certain districts in cities are today fighting side by side

"The white race in the struggle for freedom—are wondering what in-to do about the race problem is the greatest problem facing the world today.

"There is no salvation for one race apart from that of the other. The destiny of all is linked together and it doesn't make sense to say one race is destined to rule the world. We would not have so many different shades of color in this country today if this were not so. That is a question, therefore, that I think we have to leave to individuals, all over the United States, to handle.

"There is no more reason to expect that there will be more interracial marriage if the four fundamental basic rights of citizens are granted to all people in this country than there will be if they are withheld. In fact, I think it probable that there would be less."

Referring to intermingling of the races and the "intermarriage bugaboo of the South, Mrs. Roosevelt dismissed both with a wave of the hand, with the following frank statement:

"A great many people believe

ed admission to certain hotels, because, it is claimed, others dislike being near them.

"Yet this feeling disappears when the Negro has on the white uniform of a waiter and serves meals. Then he is the servant and the white man feels superior and so his prejudice against the Negro is absurd. Our chief common enemy is ordinary ignorance. We are not intelligent on the common questions with which sociology and anthropology are daily concerned.

"If we were measurably mature intellectually there could be no race riots or other demonstrations of racial animosity. The attitude accompanying these violent demonstrations are essentially fascist, they reveal the enemy behind our lines polluting the blood-stream of democracy. We must go on definitely toward understanding the nature of this human problem as such, instead of destroying all differences but one, as does Nazi Germany."

He added it would seem that religion especially would respond sensibly to this peril. We have lisped and shouted the love of God for a world and yet behaved as though He loved one race, one culture, one nation.

Dr. Elliott contends this is an "ersatz religion," compounded of substitute materials. It can not stand the weather. The demands of a crucial age will find such religion wanting. If we are to gird the church for spiritual service to our age we shall need to re-orient it into the climate of our world and deepen it into the calm moving on-flowing purpose of a creative God.

OPA Names Special Aide To Handle Racial Affairs

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

By HARRY McALPIN
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON. — Stating that he is "anxious to avoid any criticism of OPA's relationship to our Negro citizens," Prentiss Brown, administrator of the Office of Price Administration, last week appointed T. Arnold Hill as special assistant to the administrator to deal with racial matters. He also signed an administrative order setting forth the functions and responsibilities of the new office.

Mr. Hill first entered the OPA last fall and was assigned to the rent control division. After a few months in that division his assignments were indefinite until the present appointment. He was assistant director of the Office of Negro Affairs in the NYA prior to going to the OPA. Formerly, he was with the National Urban League for many years.

The administrative order and appointment by Mr. Brown are looked upon as OPA's answer to the insistence of the CIO non-discrimination committee and other groups that some effectuation be given to the OPA order that Negroes be included on war price and rationing boards where they are a substantial part of the community. The Defender had also called attention of the administrator and the public to the abuses which arose as a result of the lack of Negro participation and representation on the ration boards, particularly in the South.

Set Up Central Office

The order signed last week makes the new special assistant to the administrator responsible for recommending such action "as his interpretations and analyses warrant" with regard to the appointment of Negro members and employees of local war price and rationing boards.

In declaring his anxiety to insure a reasonable and fair participation for Negroes in OPA's program and to take all possible steps to enlist their support and cooperation, Mr. Brown stated: "I am directing that in the national offices all communications and all questions pertaining to Negro participation, support and cooperation, and all questions dealing with matters of policy, racial discrimination, and arrangements for conferences with delegations that want to be heard on Negro matters and the like, be cleared with this office of the special assistant to the administrator."

Concern has been expressed that the administrator's directive be not interpreted to mean that all other officers of the OPA are relieved of any responsibility for securing equitable participation of all groups, including the Negro, by the appointment of a special assistant to deal with racial matters.

JUL 24 1943

JUL 18 1943

JUL 24 1943

New York Times
New York, N. Y.

Books—Authors

NOV 30 1943

Roi Ottley's recent book, "New World A-Comin'," brought out by Houghton Mifflin, is the inspiration for a tone poem called by the same name as the book, written by Duke Ellington. The world premiere of the work will be given at Carnegie Hall [illegible] after which Mr. Ellington will play it on a country-wide tour.

NOV 30 1943

Redfield Warns Of Bias Dangers

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — (ANP) — In an address last week on the Latin American workshop program conducted the past month at the University of Louisville, Dr. Redfield, author and professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago, declared that the United States is the only country of the Americas given to racial prejudice.

In a comparison of certain social practices in South American countries with those existing in the United States, he explained that our practices of segregation and discrimination are as incomprehensive to the Latin American as the class prejudices existing in Latin America is to us.

NO MIDDLE CLASSES

He explained that the essential social structure in Latin America includes the aristocratic upper and the hard-working lower classes; there are no middle classes in any South American countries.

"A Latin American gentleman must not work with his hands and he looks down on the menial worker, treats him with contempt and even cruelty, and a wide gulf separates them," said Dr. Redfield. "This attitude is distasteful to our democratic ideals. It so happens that in Latin America most of the working classes are composed of Indians but the Indian who is educated and cultured enjoys all the rights, privileges and social advantages in the community as those of different blood. The prejudice is not against a racial stigma but against the class. In this country the prejudice is against race — and the most educated and cultured Negro often is made to suffer through discrimination."

In speaking of the origin of racial prejudices in this country Dr. Redfield said that such developed with the slave trade in the 16th and 17th centuries and that investigation indicates that prejudices that existed in ancient times were not racial but class prejudice upon which the present class prejudice in Latin America is based.

URGES ELIMINATION

"I believe that segregation and discrimination against races should be eliminated in this country," he said, "but even though justice and equity are on the side of those wishing to abolish segregation and discrimination, sometimes the price to be paid in reactions to the arbitrary setting aside of precedents, is more than they are worth. More harm than good could result in many instances. It is a problem that must be approached thoughtfully. And a method that would be applicable in one area would not work in another. Each phase of this racial problem must be considered individually."

'Little Harlem' Is Not The Fault Of Karen

Atlanta, Georgia
Daily World

Film Star Morley Aids Race

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

NOT FAIR OR RIGHT

In an interview, Miss Morely decried segregation as practiced in Hollywood, the suppression of minority groups, the glamour girl's attitude to get the race segregated is given equal opportunities and has been South-commodations. Overcrowded schools, overburdened and underpaid teachers—this isn't fair or picked up "Why can't people realize that this suppression of minorities just doesn't pay? It will draw the genuinewhole level of society down. Howliving of Negroes we criticize England's treatassistedment of India, when we fail to see Charles practice democracy ourselves? American To- "Yes, it is important to give ding outthese people their full civil rights, but meetingthe best way to help everybody is to fix up their part. Checks.

NEW YORK (ANS) — A police survey on the Brooklyn-Bedford-Stuyvesant section, known as "Little Harlem," Friday disputed every accusation in a grand jury presentment charging lawlessness to police conditions were for a rise of juvenile delinquency in the area.

The 61-page report by the Department of Police Commissioner Valentine, made public by Mayor La Guardia, declared that "Mixed nationalities have been living side by side and, as frequently happens, animosities have developed. Assaults and destruction of property are not exclusively of

CHARLESTON, S. C., June 10—Karen Morley, former Hollywood star who has deserted the screen's glamour girls to get in the factfilm star, has called your attention to the fact that the South, with 75 per cent of the troops, most of the obscure Detroit and the South have each their share. The South does not criticize Detroit but share with Detroit the hope for an early settlement.

"CHEAP HABIT"

"What I do wish to protest is the cheap and easy habit of blaming any and all racial troubles on the South even when they occur in Detroit. The 15-year-old youngsters who began your riot certainly were not Southern workers. Please let me reasoning of the WLB by ment beside small rural communities with no recreational facilities for white or Negro people, and with 75 per cent of the nation's Negroes, still have no real trouble.

"We have a real problem, but we are working at it as we know how. Detroit was working at hers in the organization of the Charleston Tobacco company by handing out leaflets and speaking at meetings but the best way to help everybody is to fix up their part. Checks.

UCAPAWA-CIO has charged company with flagrant discrimination against 1,100 employees and is now about to complete the organization of these workers.

AUG 7 1943

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

Atlanta Editor Says "Race Issue National Problem

ATLANTA, July 1—Protesting against statements by Detroit authorities that "an influx of Southerners" into war plants was partly responsible for race disturbances in that city, Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution insisted that the racial question is "a national problem and not a sectional problem."

In a telegram to Detroit Mayor Edward J. Jeffries and Police Commissioner John H. Witherspoon Tuesday night, McGill said the Michigan city is learning now what the South learned a long time ago.

His telegram said:

"According to press reports, you have stated that an influx of Southerners into Detroit's war plants contributed to the riots in your city. I wish to respectfully but emphatically protest this statement. Detroit is learning what the South learned long ago that the race problem is a national problem and not a sectional problem. It grows out of injustices, maladjustments out of economic inequalities, of which

56k-1943

A Southern View Of The Race Question!

JAN 16 1943 Pittsburgh Courier

By THOMAS SANCTON, Managing Editor, The New Republic

(EDITOR'S NOTE—This article was written for the current issue of The Negro Quarterly and is reproduced in part here by special permission of the publication.)

For two weeks I have sat down each day to write an article for this quarterly expressing my views, as a white man and a Southerner, on the unsettled question of race relations. I have made many starts, some dealing with broad aspects of the question like the poll tax, the position of the churches, and education. Several times I have set o ut to write a formal criticism of the attitude which has become identified with the writings of Virginius Dabney, John Temple Graves and Mark Etheridge.

In another effort, I set the article on a plane of the evolution of my own personal feelings about the race question. Somehow, I could not get moving on the article. Being a Southerner, my thinking geared to writing for white readers of newspapers and journals, I found myself writing elemental observations about justice and the lack of justice in race relations which, though it might be thought provoking and grist for the mill of a white reader, especially for a Southern white reader, must certainly be kindergarten stuff to a Negro. What Negro reader, in these days when a swift current of race aware-ness sweeps through his people, wants to hear a white journalist making statements which Negroes for long and painful centuries have known to be true; that the Negro is oppressed economically, that he is abused, shamed, humiliated, denied the means of raising his own standards, that he is a second-class citizen and an economic serf in a nation which has always been loudly mindful of its democratic charters? What Negro reader wants to hear me taking gentle issue with Virginius Dabney, Mark Ethridge and John Temple Graves when he himself feels fierce resentment that these men, in the midst of this Four Freedoms war, can state badly that the Negro must always expect to be Jim Crowed in the South? I have a profound respect for these men, although I consider their current writings pale, dishwater liberalism. I have respect for them, especially for the liberal scholarship of Virginius Dabney of past years, because as a white Southerner I have an awareness of a great service they have performed in lending the weight of their names and characters and intellects to the growth of a liberal tradition in the South. The intellectual crime of which I believe them guilty now is one which they cannot help. It is a crime of intellectual heredity. They have gone far from the places which their fathers and their fathers' generation occupied in Southern thinking, but they have never stepped forth from their fathers' shadow. To their fathers, whatever their feelings of humanity, the Negro was something a little less than human. To the sans, the Negro is a little less than human; he must always expect to be Jim Crowed. In varying degrees, they have spoken for years for better treatment of the Negro; they have wanted better schools for him, they have asked for greater justice in the courts, they have written in behalf of his economic welfare. Actually there is nothing remarkable about their efforts; but in a South which produces Vardamans, Bilboes and Talmadges, the Humanitarian Southerner could be only thankful for the emergence of Dabneys, Graves and Ethridges.

JAN 16 1943

LIBERALISM, NOT DYNAMIC

But their liberalism has always been the liberalism of yielding, not dynamic. Fundamentally their liberalism with respect to the Negro has been the liberalism of yielding on points of injustice, rather than an active, dynamic effort to create justice and extend it through the whole broad field of race relations.

On the other hand, one who has left the South only a few years ago, as I have, can understand the real anxiety which Virginius Dabney and the others feel that a spirit of open, immediate revolt against long-standing Jim Crow institutions will bring an inevitable reaction of violence against the Negro. The fear is genuine and the threat is genuine. But the fear has two components: one is genuine concern for the Negro; but down deep in his white soul the Southern liberal also has a less selfless fear when he sees the race of serfs which he hoped to help lead gradually to a higher plane of freedom and welfare suddenly slap his friendly hands away and say "the hell with you; I want democracy and I want it now."

Here is the cruellest enigma that I or any Southern white man has ever faced. I know that the Negro is his own best friend and that he is never going to get any right or freedom which he does not fight for. If I were a Negro no hunger and bitterness inside me would be eased by the promises of a white liberal telling me forever to "take it easy," "take it easy." And yet the Negro IS a minority group and as such he is the mathematical victim of the Majority. The majority will usually be swayed by a constant and steady pressure, because the very constancy and permanency of this pressure prevents any sudden and violent awareness of it on the majority's part; it is a pressure of many components whose total effect is to produce political preparation and education for change. But when the pressure becomes stabbing and slashing, it sets up a reaction in the majority, violent and cruel. Governor Talmadge tried his hardest to set this reaction in motion. The fact that he did not succeed would seem to indicate that the Negro has kept his race militancy below the danger point; but reactions have peculiar laws of their own and pick their own place and time of appearance.

JAN 16 1943

THE NEGRO MUST WIN OWN RIGHTS

I believe the Negro should take care to keep his race militancy below the danger point of violent reaction. Does this make my attitude one with the rest of the traditional Southern liberals? I do not feel so. The difference is this: the traditional Southern liberals believe that their words of advice and caution should provide the Negro with his best guide in these times. I believe that the Negro, in the long run, is the Negro's most trustworthy friend, and I believe he will never win any benefit he does not win by his own ability, independence, courage, and political organization.

In a short article one can only make general statements on these things; and anyone who knows the bitter, complex background of Southern racial attitudes, and has fought hard to rise above them intellectually must know also how ineffectual are brave and sweeping liberal statements. What the Southern writer can say, in a short article, about injustice, the Negro knows already; if he speaks optimistically of future adjustments, and insinuates that profound adjustments can come about without intensive re-education and preparation of the white and black masses of the South, he is lying. If, on the other hand, he stresses the need for long delay and postponement of the adjustments in behalf of the Negro while the masses are being educated, he is mouthing the words of pale liberalism, "caution," "delay," "take it easy"; and then he must admit that in an atmosphere of caution, delay and compromise, the education of the masses and the welfare of the Negro moves as slow as a glacier.

JAN 18 1943

LIBERAL WHITES MUST RETURN SOUTH

I think a Southern liberal, if his liberalism is to be dynamic rather than yielding, should place his reliance on twin forces to bring about a solution of the Negro's plight in America: first, the NEGRO'S OWN STRENGTH, ORGANIZATION AND SELF-RELIANCE; and second, the political education of whites and blacks alike for co-operation and trust; bringing about this second force is the true liberal's job. Though we no longer fit into the traditional Southern picture and would find it hard to make a career, and perhaps even a living, in the South any longer, it is up to us to try to find our ways back South and go to work. There is a group of young Southern liberals in Washington who could do much for the South, for the white Southerner and for the black Southerner, if they would go back to their home States. It is a hard thing to do, when the liberalism of the Mark Ethridges is only tolerated in the South and our brand sharply under attack. But go back is what we should do.

Today I got a letter from my mother, who lives in New Orleans, which made me understand why, for two weeks, I had been unable to get started on an article for The Negro Quarterly. She wrote about "servant trouble," a familiar enough story in the South these days. The fact that "servant trouble" is the basis of much of the race tension in the South is significant. Her views are "Southern." And it is saddening to me to realize that a wide gulf is fixed between the group of young Southerners who see things as I do, and our parents. The letter brought home to me the realization how little real effect any article I write for The Negro Quarterly will have when I and my friends have not yet converted our own parents.

I shall go further on the subject of this letter. On other questions there is understanding and closeness between my mother and me, and she will not mind if I make a personal and critical discussion of her point of view if it aids one iota in a journalistic effort. She and her cook, "Rosie," a small, friendly, illiterate middle-aged Negro from the farming country of Louisiana, had been burned on the legs some months before in the explosion of cleaning fluid. She speaks of a settlement of money by our insurance company on Rosie. My family tried to persuade Rosie to put the money in War Bonds rather than spending it. It would mean a great deal to Rosie, as she grows older, to have this money. Of course it was exasperating to my family to see her do with it exactly as she wanted, which was to spend it. My mother is devoted to Rosie, as I am. But she is exasperated.

I did not send the following journalistic letter to my mother, but it is the answer that my generation must make to hers, the message which my group of Southerners must direct to her group, and these are some of the things we must say, which we must believe, which we must work for, fight for, and carry back into the South in order to bring some order to the economic and racial chaos which our traditional politicians have made of the South, and fertility once more to a wasteland. This is the letter I would write:

"In the South we give Negroes no education worthy of the name, we treat them like children, and when not like children like animals. Their lives are drab at best and too often miserable. A gaudy hat, a few frills, a bottle of liquor, a revival meeting—they cling to these things because they are relief from the monotony of their lives, a momentary break in the dreary routine of being a 'n——r' in the South. When they come by accident into a windfall of money, as Rosie did, we expect them to treat it with prudence as a middle-class white person might treat it, and to make a sound investment. But why should we expect this? They have lived all their lives as 'n——s' and we white people have never let them for a moment forget it. It is the role they have been trained for all their lives and all their fathers' lives. Why should they know anything of providence, thrift, good sense? What training have they had for it?

"Reading your letter, a Northern liberal or a Negro would picture you as an imperious Southern woman with a feeling of implacable malice toward the Negro race. They could never know, as I know, that in every individual relationship you have with the Negroes who worked for us, you were kind and just. You were certainly kind, and you were juster than most. When the standard weekly wage for a Negro woman was five dollars, you paid six or seven though we were poor. And how many days have I not seen you working side by side with the servant at the most laborious tasks? I know you felt a real love for Daisy and Malvina and Rosie.

JAN 16 1943

PRODUCTS OF ENVIRONMENT

'But here is what you really do not understand about Negroes, because you yourself are the product of the white South and have had no chance to learn otherwise. You have seen the mass of them, poor, illiterate, improvident, irresponsible by our standards, many of them petty thieves, many of them lazy, many of them sullen. And you have blamed them and their racial characters for this condition. Did it ever occur to you that the white race would be the same if they had been brought here by some other race as slaves, oppressed, shamed, humiliated, denied every means by which a race improves itself?

"We in the South are blind to the fact that individual Negro personalities that we consider irresponsible, and many aspects of the group personality, are the product of shameful living conditions, of diet, of the absence of any worthwhile goal to look forward to and to work for. When the Negro child is born into Poverty Flats, grows up in a crowded little shack with an outdoor privy, no running water, when his mother is away all day working for the white people, when there is always an atmosphere of insecurity and unfulfillment hanging over his poor home and every phase of his life, how can we expect him to grow

into character which fits our middle-class white ideas of proper conduct? What we in the South consider the 'n——r' mentality is the inevitable product of the 'n——r' background that Negroes are forced to live in. When a Negro scrubs a hash-house floor all week, and empties the slops, and in general does the white man's dirty work, why should we not expect him to seek out a honky-tonk on Saturday night for a few hours oblivion with a girl and a bottle of gin? You have known and loved what we called "good n——s" because they are good and friendly SERVANTS. There is another Negro with whom you have not come in contact. He is the Negro intellectual who has somehow beaten the odds against him and become a rounded and civilized human being by the severest white standards. The Negro can produce this type as well as the white race under similar circumstances.

JAN 16 1943

TIMES HAVE CHANGED

A profound change has got to come to the South, if it is not to remain a wasteland. It will do no good for me to go into a long discussion of economics and sociology. Simply stated, one aspect of this change has got to be that you, and all other Southern white women, have got to realize that the day is past when you can expect a Negro woman to come to be your servant for five and seven dollars a week. These people are human, they are not animals. They were born to live their own lives and seek their own happiness. What God-given right do we white people have to expect them to be our servants? When was it ever ordained that one race of people should be brought on earth to give its toil to make life easier for another race? We are fighting this war to keep our own freedom from Nazi slavery and the Negro knows it. He wants his freedom from us. Twenty years ago Negro girls from the cane field would come to work for us and for other white families and would be glad to get a dollar a day. But twenty years ago is an eon. The Negro has made a great stride in race awareness since then, and he doesn't feel very good, in the midst of this war for the four freedoms, to give the toil of his days for thirty dollars a month and to have a good portion of that taken away from him by white landlords making twenty and thirty per cent profit on an investment in Negro real estate.

"There is a great and patriotic service which you and other white women in the South can do. You can get some decent, reliable literature in this elementary sociology. If you go at this problem with an open mind, and creal out the prejudices which our white mythology has built against the Negro because he has been our economic serf and that was the light in which we always wanted to see him, you will learn a lot about the unrealized potentialities of the Negro race; and you would begin to get the idea how much it would mean to the white South if an intensive political effort were made to raise the tragically low standards of poor whites and Negroes, and how to bring about real cooperation between the races; and cooperation is a different thing from Jim Crow tolerance.

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"There is a great and patriotic service which you can do, a service to the South. You can begin to educate yourself in things of the twentieth century serfdom of the Negro. You can become a citizen of the future, and of the new, Free World which the future must promise to all men, if we are to fight with the strength and fervor it will take to defeat the Nazi darkness. And you can translate your own political emancipation into political action by voting and working for good hard-hitting liberal politicians and doing everything possible to defeat the bigots, the tools and mouthpieces who go to Washington bought and paid for by the big cotton plantations, the sugar growers, the utilities, the soft-drink bottling companies, the chambers - of - commerce—the great, oratorical patriots, the bought-and-paid-for Negrophobes who thunder and rant in Washington as our 'public servants.'

"And, even though you may never be able to agree with us, your generation might look upon my generation not as Southerners who have gone away from the South to become infused with antagonistic attitudes, but as loyal sons always, and the South's loyal sons, who want no more than to bring fertility back into our withering land, and to repair the wreckage which bigotry and blindness and ignorant leaders have strewn across the years."

Afro-American
Baltimore, Marvland

Riots, Strikes and Lynching

DETROIT — 25 dead, 600 injured, 1300 arrested after 36 hours of rioting.

BEAUMONT, Texas — Two killed, scores injured, hundreds of thousands of property damage.

EL PASO, Texas — One colored soldier killed, one white soldier injured at Fort Bliss.

MARIANNA, Fla. — Mob takes Cellon Harrison from jail and lynches him.

MONONGAHELA, Pa. — 500 white iron workers back to work after walkout over hiring of colored.

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. — 3,600 tobacco workers strike for higher pay, better conditions.

PITTSBURGH — Many colored miners and steel workers affected by continuing coal strike.

The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

Letters from Our Readers

APR 12 19..

What Is Reader's Digest Up To?

New York, N. Y.

Editor, Daily Worker:

Has the Reader's Digest launched a campaign to ridicule and smear Negroes? That half-baked article by Warren Brown, Ph.D. (Doctor of Phobia, I presume) slandering the Negro press was bad enough. Now the April issue of the Digest continues its derision of America's largest minority group with antediluvian "sketches in Black and White."

S. W. GARLINGTON

Makes a Very Good Point

Chicago, Ill.

Editor, Daily Worker:

For a number of years now I have occasionally read the Daily Worker However, since my joining the Communist Party, I have been buying the paper consistently.

It seems to me that the Daily Worker should talk to its readers, both Communist and non-Communist, as they would speak to one another. It should broaden all of us for our work of education, not contribute to forcing us into a mold which many people recognize upon hearing us speak.

For example, in an editorial in Thursday's paper on the recent so-called crime wave you say:

"Second, in the case of the reactionary obstructionist press, this is part of the fight of the unholy alliance of Southern tories and northern copperheads against a developing democracy that is spurred by war necessity."

APR 12 1943

What is spurred by war necessity? The unholy alliance of Southern tories, or the developing democracy? Is that the way one of your editorial writers would explain to a fellow trade unionist the problem of the attempts of the anti-unity forces both Northern and Southern to segregate the Negro as a special problem in our society?

He wouldn't get to first base because unless the person to whom he was speaking was accustomed to reading the Daily Worker and was, therefore, familiar with such an unusual combination of descriptive adjectives, he wouldn't know what was being said to him.

Not only that, the progressive unionist trying to bring these problems to the forefront for discussion would be labeled as a Communist. . . . How? Certainly not by his ideas, but in the manner in which he is expressing himself.

As a new member of the Communist Party, I am keenly aware of the necessity for the growth of this progressive newspaper, and I will try to contribute my share to increasing its circulation. But we newcomers look to you on the staff for help in making the Daily Worker not only a paper for the people, but also one of the people.

LILLIAN HERN.

A Southern Woman's Viewpoint

APR 12 1943

Birmingham, Ala.

Editor, Daily Worker:

It was with considerable dismay that I read Irene Winthrop's letter in the magazine section of The Worker, April. ("I Visited Soldier-Husband"—page 15).

Assuming that Mrs. Winthrop is a Communist and a reader of the Communist press, one would think that she was better acquainted with the facts of life.

So she saw Negro restaurants! So she saw Negro waiting rooms! So she saw discrimination and segregation! (The exclamation points are hers). What does she think the Communist Party, and a good number of other people in the South have been talking about all these years? The impression one gets is that she was soiled by the contact and could not wait to get back to her own righteous world. What does she think would happen if everyone who hated Jim Crowism were to pick up and leave the South for points east?

I can assure her that neither the Negro people nor the progressive whites in the South who hate Jim Crow as cordially as she would appreciate her ire and hasty retreat to "Utopia."

The South is the home of 30 million people, Negro and white. They intend to keep it their home. For the Negro people and for a growing number of progressive whites, life is an unending, often bitter, daily struggle to make it a decent home. In this struggle they welcome the sympathy and aid of all people. But they do not welcome the Mrs. Winthrops who are "all sound and fury, signifying nothing."

APR 12 1943

To say that Mrs. Winthrop must have antagonized the Southern whites she met is an understatement, I am sure. I am not just guessing about this. I have met New Yorkers here who told me that they could not make friends with the whites because they were so prejudiced against the Negroes. I knew a young YCLer from New York who, in the several years he had been in the YCL, had worked mainly with Negroes. He came South on a war job, and in two days had antagonized the 100 or more people who were his shopmates to such an extent, that if he were to tell them that two and two make four, he would be jeered at. He did not read the Southern newspapers in the town where he war working. He made no attempt to understand the Southern white workers. Instead every day he nostalgically read PM and agonized because he had to ride in Jim Crow street cars. He was a nice, sincere and intelligent boy, and he finally realized that hating Jim Crow is not enough—you have to fight it by organizing Negro and white together to abolish it.

L. M. N.

Suggests Appropriate Book

New York, N. Y.

Editor, Daily Worker:

Do you think it would be appropriate at this time to publish a book, "The Betrayers, or the History of the Social-Democrats"?

Of course it would be an old story to many of your readers, but large sections of the American public are still innocent of any knowledge of the process whereby persons who wittingly or unwittingly play into the hands of the enemies of the people—ultimately betray the people.

Lincoln knew how to deal with betrayers Lenin knew, and I think we know.

J. B.

Sore Spot

New York, N. Y.

Editor, Daily Worker:

Why is discrimination practiced by the brasshats? Do men fighting for democracy behave like this? Never. We want to win, but Jim Crow hurts.

A. S.

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

The Negro's Part

MAY 1 1943

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal.

In answer to O. C. Seevers' letter April 25, I say that the writer is very ignorant of the part the Negro race has played in the development of our great country and of the blood the race has shed for the freedom Mr. Seevers enjoys and the Negro himself is denied.

MAY 1 1943

Mr. Seevers should know that Negroes helped Columbus sail his ships in 1492 and first defender to die was a Negro soldier. Such articles as Mr. Seevers writes only I also disagree with Mr. Seevers when breed disunity among American citizens he says, "The fact is, pretty generally, white people would be glad to continue their development as a separate race." If that development means defeat, all

FREDERICK MARRERO.

Louisville.

MAY 1 1943

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first to die for American independence. America is really the melting pot of the Negro warriors have fought and distin-world and segregation and discrimination guished themselves as true soldiers and were instituted to hide the sins of then put in 250 years of free labor to help is so, why have the skin of 90 per cent develop this wilderness. A Negro was the Negro population changed sailors in all previous wars of the United America. States and are continuing to uphold their Mr. Seevers also speaks of the Negro grand record in the present war. He should helping "his own people in Africa." also know that on Sunday morning, De-seems to me that the Negro of America cember 7, 1941, when the Japanese made just as closely related to the whites their sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, the Europe as he is to the blacks of Africa.

56k-1943

What People Talk About

Letters From the Editor's Mail

Boston, Mass. Globe

Lincoln and the Negroes' Fight for Freedom

To the Editor—During the first World War there appeared on a street of London a sandwich man carrying the slogan, "We Need the Spirit of Lincoln." If that need was true for England then, how much truer is it for America now, as thousands of Negroes organize to fight for the equality of opportunity which is the only true freedom.

To meet the challenge, we white Americans need Lincoln's sense of fair play that would compel him to get the point of view of responsible Negroes as well as that of white Americans.

Such an opportunity is given by the big special November number of Survey Graphic entitled "Color: Unfinished Business of Democracy." Here the most aggressive of the liberal leaders, A. Philip Randolph, states the eight points of his program, the first of which is as follows: "We demand in the interest of unity, the abrogation of every law which makes a distinction in treatment between citizens based on religion, creed, color, or national origin."

The following incident illustrates, the present lack of unity in the South. One day, so a Negro told me, after having bought a railroad ticket, he was kept waiting one hour before being allowed to board the train, then found himself the lone occupant of his car. A whole train-load of white people had been kept waiting until the law of segregation could be fulfilled. I can imagine how that Negro and Lincoln would have enjoyed the humor of the situation, but how Lincoln's common sense would have revolted at such extra expense for the railroad and piling up of irritation for the whites.

There are at least two recent illustrations of the doing away of this cumbersome segregation business by the Federal Government. The Negro dramatist, Shirley Graham, gives one in her article, "Negroes Are Fighting for Freedom," to be found in February Common Sense:

"Because it was impossible to set up separate Officers' Training Schools for a comparatively small number of colored cadets, they are now being trained together with the whites at Fort Benning, Ga. Contrary to all the arguments once given for segregation, not an incident has occurred."

The secod case is that of the merchantship, Booker T. Washington, whose Capt. Mulzac is colored and officers and crew both white and colored. The reported result is marked contentment. How these evidences of a "house (not) divided against itself" would have pleased Lincoln.

These adventures in ignoring segregation, where unfortunate consequences were most to be expected, should suggest a lead for the North to follow, for both Lincoln and present-day leaders hold the North as well as the South responsible for the Negro problem. "When Southern people tell us," said Lincoln, "that they are no more responsible than we (of the North) are, I acknowledge the fact."

Now Paul V. McNutt, according to Mr. Virginius Dabney in the January Atlantic, states "that prejudice against using Negroes in defense industries is much worse in Philadelphia and generally worse north of the Mason and Dixon line than in the South."

I, myself, have just encountered this Northern prejudice. Three Colored girls are being denied access to the training school for nursing of the Lynn hospital. The fact that race relations seem natural in the Lynn high schools, that these young women cannot afford to go to the Lincoln Hospital in New York city as suggested, that there is a crying need for nurses in Lynn would suggest the common sense procedure of Fort Benning, the simple expedient of denying a race problem. Such a procedure would harm no one, but instead should help both the three individuals and the community. Here's a challenge to all the hospitals of Massachusetts. I think that Lincoln's sense of history would suggest to the people of Massachusetts, "Take liberty from your Cradle and let it lead the nation in a grand march forward."

Of interest is the fact that Lincoln almost 100 years ago recognized that the evil consequences of our treatment of the Colored people was affecting not only the North and South of our own nation but also our relations with the rest of the world.

"This indifference (to) the spread of slavery," he exclaimed, "I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our Republican example of its just influence in the world; enables the enemies of free institutions with plausibility to taunt us as hypocrites; causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity."

Many are the voices today that are warning us against the alarming increase in these "taunts" and "doubts" as our boys, Colored and white, fight for the "four freedoms," for the "American way of life" all over the world. The Colored soldiers are loyal but as one Negro put it, "How can we take freedom when we haven't got it?"

The most passionate and continuous protest against the prevalent smug sense of superiority shown by white Americans toward colored Americans is voiced by Pearl Buck. She believes that underneath the war between the three Axis Powers and the United Nations is the war for freedom of all the colored peoples of the world, and of course most prominent for her are the Chinese, the people of India, as well as our Negroes. By her review of Lin Yutang's "The Wisdom of India and China" and Shridharani's "Warning to the West" she points out that the East, in contrast to the West with its too great dependence on science and machines, reaffirms today "the belief that man is primarily a spiritual and only secondarily a physical being." This belief is certainly prominent in the loftiest of Lincoln's writings and very characteristic of Negro writings. How then would Lincoln and should we American Christians answer the following questions raised by the Negro poet, James Weldon Johnson?

How would you have us, as we are—
Or sinking 'neath the load we bear?
Our eyes fixed forward on a star
Or gazing empty at despair?

Rising or falling? Men or things?
With dragging pace or footsteps fleet?
Strong willing sinews in your wings—
Or tightening chains about your feet?

Howard Thurman, the Negro preacher who is listened to enthusiastically by college students, both colored and white, answers these questions for forward-looking educators in regard to all youth: "We place a crown over their heads that they are always trying to grow tall enough to wear."

Lynn. PHEBE D. LOVELL.

Negro Question Gains Attention

Newberry, S. C. Observer & Herald
May 28, 1943

Is Now Matter Of "Lump It And Like It"

The following article culled from the Around the Corner column by Franklin Acker of the Anderson (S. C.) Independent, will be read with interest:

Way off down here in Anderson the race question is not a matter of such immediate importance as it is in other parts of the nation. Understanding and co-operation between the races here is quite satisfactory. You'll meet an occasional mean Negro, but for every one, you'll meet a couple of mean, low white folks. The law of averages seems to work with human beings in direct proportion, whether their skins be black or white.

But, according to a prominent Andersonian who last week returned from Washington, conditions there have reached a point where they are serious . . . so serious that one of the leading papers in Washington, without comment, begged "For God's sake don't let's have a race riot in Washington now. Hitler would like that better than anything."

What caused that lead editorial? In the opinion of the Andersonian, who had occasion to talk to senators from Northern as well as Southern states, it is the attitude of the present administration, to cram the Negro down the throats of the white people of the nation. It is not Southern prejudice, because some of the Northern people are really more indignant than the Southerners. Let's just quote some of the things now going on in Washington.

Take the case of a man who sacrificed a job paying him a splendid salary to try to do his part in the war effort. He accepted a commission as a captain to go to Washington and do work for which he was particularly fitted. Upon arrival, he was assigned an office and his duties were outlined. The following morning he arrived at his office to find a Negro sitting across the double desk from where he was supposed to work. The Negro told him that he was to be his assistant.

"I don't need an assistant. Get out."

He appealed to the head of the division in which he was to work, stating that he would work 16 hours a day and do all the work himself, rather than have a Negro as his assistant in the same office with him.

"I understand how you feel," said the head of the department, "and if you are willing to work without assistance, I don't see anything to prevent it."

But, within an hour, the same department head came back and said that he had received a telephone call from Stephen Early, secretary to the president, who told him that "The Chief says he'll have to take it and like it. If he doesn't want his assistant, he can resign."

"Now that was a man who sincerely wanted to do his part. He had sacrificed a big job, and I mean a good one, to take this post. This happened during the past week, and when I was in Washington, the man had not decided whether he would resign or not. He had a tough decision to make," was the comment of the Andersonian.

The daughter of a very prominent South Carolinian is a lawyer. She graduated from Columbia University, and took a post in a department employing some twelve to twenty women lawyers. It is their duty to examine titles to land procured by the government, leases, etc., and pass on them.

Imagine the surprise and indignation of these white women lawyers, when a Negro woman was introduced as "one of the girls." Indignantly, they demanded to know what she could do.

"Is she a stenographer?"

No."

"Is she a typist?"

"No."

"Is she a lawyer?"

"No."

"Well, what is she supposed to do in this office?"

"She is hired as a filing clerk."

"But, there is no filing done here. Papers are sent to us. We examine them, write our opinions or make corrections and send them back from whence they came. There is not even a filing case in the whole department."

"Yes, I know that," the woman chief of the department said, "but there is going to be an investigation to see that the Negro race is represented in all departments, and she is going to have to stay here."

That meant that these women lawyers . . . women who had graduated with degrees, were to have as one of their number, a Negro woman. She was to use the same rest room, the same cafeteria, the same everything that these white women were to use.

It is not at all unusual for a dollar a year man, or some other man who is making a real sacrifice to help out, to arrive at his office and find a Negro private secretary assigned to his office. It doesn't do much good to kick, because the powers that be insist that these specially placed individuals remain, competent or not, even though the expert, giving his time to his country, quits in disgust.

Negro women operate many of Washington's taxis. They are tougher and more insolent than even the toughest taxi-driver of pre-war days.

Negro women have been forced into the operation of street cars.

Negro men and women have the same privileges, eat at the same restaurants, and enjoy social equality of the kind dreamed about by idealists, but which does not work out in practice.

Many white men and women have become so disgusted with the situation in Washington they are tossing up jobs they are eminently able to fill, and going back home.

That's their privilege, but it is humiliating to them.

Conditions have become so intolerable that the danger of a real outbreak is imminent in Washington. It is a serious condition, brought about in the same manner which permitted a contemptible labor racketeer to defy the president of the United States in the recent coal strike. The administration's chickens are coming home to roost.

WASHINGTON, July 22 — It could happen in Sicily but not here in these United States. That was the comment of many colored leaders to the Allied rule set up to run occupied Sicily under a combined American-British military government, officially known as "Amgot."

In a proclamation, Gen. Sir Harold Alexander, military governor, decreed: "All laws which discriminate on the basis of race, creed or color are annulled." Other features of the proclamation were abolition of the Fascist Party and the guaranteeing of religious freedom.

IT HAPPENED, BUT NOT HERE

EDITORIALLY SPEAKING

THE SOUTH'S HANDICAP

The editor of the Houston Post in the issue of April 27 took as his thesis the statement that the editor of the Arkansas Gazette had put "the whole case of aiding the Negro in a single sentence," when the Arkansas editor said, "Let the South's industrial resources and economic opportunities in general be fully developed, and there will be employment for the Negro and better conditions all around for the Negro." Does that state the whole case of aiding the Negro? As Negroes we demur to the statement as insufficient.

The line of thought attributed to the editor of The Gazette seemingly started with a statement made by Editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution to a group in Chicago, when he argued that the South should be "made part of the nation," and said that Negroes would be most substantial beneficiaries if that happened.

The Arkansas editor took up the Georgia editor's statement and enlarged it to mean that as long as the South suffered from freight-rate differentials it would not have industrial growth to permit the Negro to make the best of his labor and general capacities.

As Southerners we agree in the attack against freight-rate differentials and endorse the thesis that the South must have permanent industries. But we object to pitching our fight for the elimination of inequalities in freight rates and the establishments of industries in the South upon the need of giving Negroes more work. To do that is to succumb again to the South's proclivities to think in terms of race, and muff the bigger and broader implications. The whole South needs the elimination of unjust freight rates, and their elimination will give no special favor to Negroes. Neither will the establishment of industries bring any greater boon to Negroes than to whites. These are two desiderata about which the South should put up a solid front and over which there should be no divisions or distinctions.

We have already said in previous editorials that the leadership of the South should organize to procure the elimination of rate differentials, which bears so heavily upon the South today. We also argued that the South can never take its place as a part of the nation until it establishes permanent industries to process the raw materials which it now sends to the North and East, where the manufacturer increases the value of the raw materials to fifty times. If these two objectives are obtained, they will go far to liberating the economic forces which lies hobbled in the South.

But it is to miss the spirit of democracy and the essence of liberty to say that those two objectives achieved would automatically give Negroes justice and freedom from discriminations. For even if we eliminate freight rates and establish industries, the South will not reach its full development as long as it spends its energies and its time discriminating against Negroes in courts, robbing them in the distribution of school funds, denying them an equal share in the Government, and in other ways seeking to deprive them of the full fruits of such emancipation in the economic phase of life.

Again we say the South is seriously handicapped by freight-rate differentials and the lack of permanent industries, but the greatest handicap in the South today is its inability to turn loose the rights and privileges which they withhold from Negroes, so that they may have their hands free to grasp the bigger rights for which the whole South stands yearning and crying. The South's handicap is its attitude of vengeance, paternalism and littleness, which keeps it dissipating its energies on "keeping the Negro in his place."

PREPARE FOR TOMORROW

Though nothing is changeless except death, mortals keep getting lost and confused because they are prone to believe that what is today must be tomorrow and all of the days to come. This, despite the fact that everything teaches us that life is change, and change is life. Today we are living in the abnormal world of total war, and most of us are acting as if it will last forever.

But in the light of our common experience, it is evident that a war of such great intensity and magnitude cannot last long without destroying the world. Those who run races at terrific speed always run the short distances. Likewise, every student of geography knows that neither Germany nor Europe is self-sustaining, and that in a war of intense attrition, such as is going on today, neither Europe nor Germany can last a great while. Yet there are those who say the war in Europe will last at least until 1946, and some say it will last ten more years.

There were some who said the Axis would stay in Tunisia all summer The Axis will be lucky if they can hold out through May in Tunisia. There are those who believe the U-boats will cut off supplies to Europe and Africa. They have noted great football teams come along with new techniques and formations that seem invincible for two or three years. But always some other team develops a defense against the new formation and ultimately conquers the invincible. The whole history of America shows that for every obstacle presented there is always an anecdote or a defense prepared sooner or later. Hitler will be lucky if his U-boats hurt us until mid-summer.

Truth is, Germany not only has lost the war but is foreclosed of any probability of winning it. Germany is bleeding on the land front, she is coughing out her innards on the home front with every bomb-thumping that she gets; her Luftwaffe is already bled white; restlessness and the growing rebellion of her conquered countries are straining the resources of her home army to the breaking point; and the almost forgotten blockade is starving her more and more each day.

To Negroes these facts seem remote and unrelated to their daily lives. But they mean that Germany will collapse sometimes within the next twelve months, certainly. Such a sudden collapse means that our nation will be caught with all of its energies geared to war production. Inevitably there must come a period of readjustment, re-tooling and re-orientation. Today, when Negroes are making good wages, they should buy bonds, they should pay their debts, and prepare for tomorrow, which is not far distant and is certain to fall.

News
Birmingham, Ala.

The New Emancipation

A new spirit of emancipation is in flood tide throughout the world. In a way it is a sequel to that surge for individual freedom which finally abolished personal slavery from the face of the earth. In a way it is only another chapter of man's long battle for liberty.

Through long centuries of strife and bitterness, the world finally reached the common concept of freedom for the individual man. Now, through much the same pattern of history, we are moving toward common acceptance of the idea that just as one man cannot own another, so no group of men can own other men, no country can own another country, no people can hold other peoples against their will.

Into that grave of dead and outgrown social institutions where slavery now lies, there will go some day the institution of colonies. For just as surely as slavery passed from the earth so also will pass some day the system of colonies and dependencies. There is no place in a free world for permanent colonies of peoples who want to be free and who are prepared to conduct themselves as free men.

Down that highway of emancipation the world is traveling. There are many obstacles to impede the progress. Many of those obstacles vaguely resemble the ones which retarded the abolition of slavery. Entrenched privilege, the backwardness of the subject peoples, inherent inferiority of those peoples, the right of property lawfully acquired, the dangers of giving liberty to those who have not known it, the advantages of paternalism—all these and many other arguments, familiar in the annals of slavery, are now heard in regard to colonies.

There is a measure of validity in all these arguments, of course, but combined they cannot withstand forever the right to freedom. The spirit of freedom is in the world now. All men know about it. No colonial people is so benighted as not to have heard of it. The seed of liberty has been planted in every area of the globe, and its fruition is inevitable.

Even in the Axis countries there is recognition of that fact. Premier Tojo, of Japan, gave lip service to the spirit the other day when he told the Filipinos they would be granted independence as soon as they were "in a position really to collaborate with Japan." The conditions, of course, justify a doubt whether Japan would ever find the Filipinos deserving of independence, but Tojo's remarks show an awareness of the fact that all countries want independence, provided they can have it with safety.

In the face of this slowly gathering tide of emancipation of groups of people, one might raise a question about England and her colonial empire. History should remove any doubts on that matter. England was the first major country to abolish slavery throughout its home and colonial territory.

England's position today should be clear. Before us as we write is a publication of the British Information Service, "an agency of the British government." Upon the front page of that brochure, beneath the imprint of the crown seal, and carrying the weight of official approval, is a quotation from a speech made before Parliament by Field Marshal Smuts, of the Union of South Africa: "A great variety of political institutions are in operation all over the British world, but all progressively planned for the attainment sooner or later of full freedom and self-government."

Full freedom for all her colonies and dependencies is the ultimate aim of Great Britain, just as she already has granted it to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and Ireland. There is no reason to question her motives or her sincerity.

Of course, the pledge cannot be carried out in a world at war, nor in most cases in a world under threat of war. Nor do wise colonies want freedom if it means only exposing themselves to conquest by other nations.

But sooner or later colonies will go, just as slavery went. And progressive people will get on the side of emancipation rather than oppose it. The tide of freedom cannot be stopped, and efforts at obstruction may lead only to cataclysmic wars like this nation's own struggle of 1861-1865.

GOVERNOR JOHNSTON SEES THE LIGHT

THE Advertiser takes great pleasure in endorsing an address by Governor Olin D. Johnston in Charlotte last Monday night.

The South Carolina governor was speaking before the chamber of commerce executives of the Carolinas and said in part:

"We must say to the federal government, stop interfering with the states and let each state handle its racial problems. Each state is best suited to handle these matters . . . I believe in forty-eight sovereign states united together to fight against the common enemy, and to fight for the common good, but I do not and will not stand for some inexperienced politicians in Washington interfering in our local problems."

After the war, he predicted there would "be a movement on foot to continue the wartime legislation so that the federal government can further dictate to the state, but if we are to win the fight for state's rights, we must refuse to sell our liberty and our rights for a federal subsidy."

When the governor spoke of selling our liberty and our rights for a federal "subsidy" he put his finger on the instrument the federal government is using as an opiate to keep the masses asleep while operations are being performed on the American system that bid fair to leave it looking like a cross between communism and a glorified monarchy.— The Chesterfield Advertiser.

56k-1943

PEOPLE AND PLACES

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

By WALTER WHITE

MAR 20 1943

We Meet Mme. Chiang Kai-shek

THE FANTASTICALLY expensive Waldorf-Astoria hotel lobby was thick with men and women clutching the precious admission tickets from the Chinese consulate admitting them to the Starlight Roof while others stood by enviously because they had no ticket. Gimlet-eyed Secret Service men and F.B.I. agents warily scrutinized each guest. Upstairs every waiter, maid and elevator girl had been searched. Every nook and cranny of the hotel from sub-sub-basement to roof had been gone over by the Secret Service, one of them told me.



Walter White

Wendell Willkie was with us and planned to introduce Mrs. White and me to the great lady of China. But precious moments fled before he had to rush to a broadcasting studio to speak by short wave to Australia. The crush of champagne-sipping diplomats and generals and other famous or near-famous personages made it almost impossible to move about and delayed everything.

MAR 20 1943

Before he had to leave Mr. Willkie arranged with the Chinese Ambassador for a precious few moments with Mme. Chiang. Through corridors and up stairs along which detectives stood rigidly alert every ten feet or so we were ushered by the ambassador's wife and one of the omnipresent Secret Service men. At last we reached the exquisite pastel-tinted reception room in which China's first lady rested on a chaise lounge, a silken robe over the lower part of her body. With a quick, incisive movement she rose to a sitting position and extended her hand to us.

Beautiful, Charming Woman

MAR 20 1943

NONE OF HER PICTURES begin to do justice to her beauty. As I lighted her cigarette, the flame brought out the extraordinary coloring of her skin which, downstairs later, made white women by contrast appear anemic and colorless. But we did not long remain conscious of Mme. Chiang as merely a beautiful and charming woman. Our time was limited because she had soon to descend to the thousand or so persons who awaited her many floors below. Even mere prettiness became unimportant because of the vibrancy of her personality and the ability of which we became aware as soon as we entered the room.

MAR 20 1943

At first there was puzzlement in her face and constraint in her manners. She looked at my wife and then at me again and again, obviously wondering to what race we belonged and why, if we were not colored, we should be connected with an association for the advancement of colored people. I told her, "Mme. Chiang, despite the color of my skin, I am a Negro."

Doubt vanished. Tenseness fled. We settled down to talk. Race prejudice against her people and ours naturally came into the discussion early. "Were you at Madison Square Garden Tuesday night?" she asked, where she had pointed out that the Roman Empire had lasted 2,000 years because "all the peoples . . . could become citizens" and "there was no racial discrimination as we have it today." We told her we had been there but that we would be more convinced of the sincerity of the adulation paid her if the United States repealed the Oriental exclusion act, abolished discrimination against the Chinese, and got some real aid in the form of planes and guns and tanks to China.

Not Deluded By Adulation

MAR 20 1943

HER BODY became tight with emotion as she leaned towards us, a wisp of silken handkerchief crushed in her hand. "That's what I told the Senate —words without deeds are meaningless!" she exclaimed with overtones in her voice which clearly indicated she was not being deluded by the adulation America was pouring on her.

We wanted to ask her—but decided it would be neither politic nor fair to do so—what restraints had been urged upon her by her own government and ours regarding "controversial" subjects like the race problems of the world lest a Southern-dominated Congress refuse to vote Lend-Lease aid which China must have or be defeated.

We did talk of other things which it is wiser, for the same reason, should not be made public at this time. But every word, every gesture, made us feel we were in the presence of one of the most realistic, extraordinary minds of our times. Almost erased by her were the revelations by such writers as Edgar Snow of the deals to elevate himself to power which her husband, the Generalissimo, had made of which she could not have been ignorant.

Madame is not hard and brittle as participation in public affairs seems to make women of the western world. She is too feminine and wise not to capitalize on her great asset of charm and physical beauty. But we left her certain she was a match for any brain, masculine or feminine, of any race in any part of the world.

Gov. Edison Flays 'Jim Crow' Senate

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala

NEWARK, N. J.—Criticizing the State Senate on the racial discrimination issue before an audience Wednesday night at a testimonial dinner for Lester Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League, Gov. Charles Edison asserted:

"The negroes of South Carolina only want equal opportunities, equal educational facilities, equalization of teachers' pay, and the right to participate fully in our state government, that, the very thing for which our boys are dying, 'democracy,' might extend to them and to those of us left at home. We give of our means, (as limited as they might be), and certainly we give of our men, who are performing admirably on the many battle fronts. Does it not seem fair, that, 'the American way of life,' might fully expand to give equal opportunities to negroes, who risk nothing more, and should expect nothing less.

"The negroes of South Carolina are living in hopes that Governor Johnston will dedicate a portion of his 'progressive administration,' instead of re-stating the equalities to the ending of the 'inequalities' now practiced against her minority group, for such inequalities feed our common enemies with tangable propaganda.

"The negroes of South Carolina could not be said be might be in the day truly Americans in thought and actions, yet they are human, like others, and they desire the good things of life, like others. Instead of rioting and creating unrest, we have and are resorting to the only courts,' an div we lose there, we can but try again. We are sure that the right thinking whites could not think hard of negroes for applying to the courts, made, by whites. We are appealing to them for 'equal-ization of teachers' pay,' and we abide by the ruling of the courts of justice.

in which the authors stated that after the Civil War, 'the Republicans withdrew and left the Negroes to their fate.' . . . They have not done much better in New Jersey."

A week before the Alabama Grand Jury handed down its indictment of Sheriff Evans and Deputy Sheriff Faucett, a Georgia Grand Jury returned a similar indictment against a Georgia police officer.

Two years ago the federal government won a case (U. S. vs. Culp) which involved a similar incident in Arkansas. Police officials had been holding kangaroo court in the jail, and they were indicted and convicted.

Civil Rights In The South

BY CARROLL KILPATRICK

The civil rights division of the Department of Justice, which several times lately has intervened in cases involving the violation of civil liberties in the Southern states, last week won an important indictment from an Alabama Grand Jury and lost an important case before a Mississippi jury.

The department believes that it has made significant progress in the cases it has handled and that it is winning support from local police officers and other state officials. It says that it also is learning something about the convictions of the Southern people.

A federal jury in Mississippi, after being out only 15 minutes Saturday morning, acquitted several white men indicted for participating in the lynching last October of Howard Wash, a Negro. The department was not surprised by the jury action, though it had hoped for something more than it got.

Nevertheless, officials here argue, it is going to be a long time before Mississippians forget the trial. They will know that the federal government, without benefit of an anti-lynch law, will be hot on the trail of lynchers and officers who permit lynching.

It is significant to note in the Department of Justice a feeling that the case would not have been won even had there been an anti-lynch law on the statute books. Mississippians were being tried in a federal court by a jury of their peers, who also were Mississippians, and no federal law could have helped make a difference in their decision. At least that is the opinion of officials here who have handled the case.

In Alabama a federal Grand Jury indicted Sheriff Edwin Eugene Evans and Deputy Sheriff Henry Franklin Faucett of Macon County on charges of brutality toward prisoners—white and colored—over a period of three years.

The case was presented to the Grand Jury by Edward Burns Parker, United States attorney for the Middle District of Alabama, and G. Maynard Smith, special assistant to the attorney general. Wendell Berge, assistant attorney general under whose direction the case was presented, said:

"A brutal killing of a Negro citizen of Macon County, Alabama, was today labeled by a federal Grand Jury of Alabama citizens as a federal crime. The case was presented by Parker), and a lawyer from the department (Smith), who was formerly city solicitor of Cairo, Ga. The Grand Jury was under the supervision of another Alabama lawyer, the federal District Court,

"Thus, Southern jurors and Southern lawyers brought this indictment under the civil rights statutes of the United States Code."

Victor W. Rotnem, chief of the Civil Rights Division, announced that the original complaint was received by the Federal Bureau of Investigation from local law enforcement officers.

Johnston Negroes, Answering, Say Social Equality Not Aim

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"The appealing to any form of mob violence, or the creating of hate and tensions are not only un-American, but un-godly, and such acts can only bring unrest, heartaches to both races.

"The negroes of South Carolina are not impunging the motives of his excellency in his address, but the references made can serve no good purpose to either race."

PEOPLE AND PLACES

By WALTER WHITE

MAY 15 1943

Dixie Gets On The Gravy Train

"WHEN THE PRESIDENT returns to Washington," wrote Leonard Lyons, one of the more astute New York columnists, "Postmaster General Frank Walker will leave on an inspection tour of the South, distributing patronage as he goes." Therein lies a lesson for Negroes.



Walter White

Very recently at Tallahassee, Fla., assembled most of the southern governors. Arnall of Georgia, "liberal" successor of the infamous Talmadge, bluntly told the sub-Potomac state executives that "we are going to play them close to the chest in hard-boiled fashion." A threat had already been made (and highly publicized) of a southern revolt against the Democratic Party. "A third party" will be formed in the South or that section will "go Republican," they screamed.

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Fevered imaginations aided by shrewd press agents dwelt on dark plotting in Dixie hotel rooms which planned the election of uninstructed delegates to the Democratic national convention in 1944 who would stay away from the convention city, throw the election into the House of Representatives, and sell the 115 southern votes in the electoral college to the highest bidder.

Democrats and Republicans alike fell hook, line and sinker for the fantastic and impossible ruse. Harrison Spangler, chairman of the Republican National Committee, babbled expansively of a coalition of southern Democrats and northern Republicans who would sweep the "radical" Democrats and Republicans out of the picture. Jittery Washington up to and including the White House were equally gullible and took to their storm cellars in abject surrender to the blustering confederates.

The Bogeyman At Work

MAY 15 1943

ONCE AGAIN the bogeymen of "Negro domination" and "social equality" and impending "race riots" caused by Negro agitators was dragged out of the closet. Puerile and silly little Negro stooges still wet behind the ears like Warren Brown and F. D. Patterson were used as sepia fronts for the show. The Dabneys and Graves collected checks from the gullible editors of the "Atlantic Monthly," the "American Mercury" and other northern magazines for goose-pimple raising articles on the horrible blood-letting which would inevitably follow if radical Negro papers and organizations did not stop "agitating" the race issue.

Meanwhile, the slick southern politicians sat back and smiled as their work was done for them without either effort or expenditure on their part by the easily fooled writers, southern and northern. The smart politicians soon saw through the scheme.

"After early concern," said **Newsweek**, "Washington politicians are no longer seriously worried about the possibility of a southern revolt against the New Deal."

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But though the patently fraudulent and transparent bluff of the Dixons and Sam Jones was exposed and seen through, the Dixie poker players are taking the pot. By the time this piece is published Frank Walker will be traipsing through the South handing out judgeships and other fat political plums to appease southern politicians although he and those who sent him on his shameful mission know that the winners of the political poker game had nothing but a pair of deuces in their hands.

A Lesson For Negroes

MAY 15 1943

NOR DOES the farce end there. Having learned that they cannot prevent the renomination of President Roosevelt if the war is still in progress in November of next year, the southerners are now centering their fire on Vice President Henry A. Wallace. Their aim is to force replacement of him by a conservative southerner who will become President should the strain end Roosevelt's life as he serves his fourth term. Arnall was right — the southerners do play them close to the chest.

Meantime, the Graves and Dabneys and Browns whip up fears of race riots if Negroes don't stop agitating and wait until after the war to talk about their rights! Phooie! And double phooie!

Negroes have got to play them close to the chest too. And be as utterly ruthless with any politicians, **black or white**, Democratic or Republican, northern or southern, in high place or low, who tries to divert them from their course of achieving democracy now.

Tribune
Philadelphia, Pa

White Girl Wins Test For Speech Blasting Jimcro

March 6, 1943

ST. PAUL, Minn., (ANP)—Jeanette McDonald, white, a student at Hamline university in St. Paul, won the annual women's oratorical contest Friday with an oration titled "Democracy For Some," in which she blasted America's treatment of the Negro.

Miss McDonald used Hitler's "Mein Kampf" where he refers to the Negroes as merely half human apes, and stated,

"But Mr. Hitler is at least frank and his treatment of the Jews and other races conforms to his statement. We in the U. S. cannot even give the excuse of being honest. we claim to believe one thing; we deliver orations about it; write about it; and preach it; but we do not practice it.

"Our problem is great. With the war situation, racial discrimination has increased in every field. We are fighting a war to preserve democracy, to prove that all men are created equal; and yet, socially, economically, and even in our military field we are treating the Negro as inferior and as a race apart."

In citing examples of racial discrimination she mentioned the Red Cross organization in Rolla., Mo. where white southern women refuse to do Red Cross work with Negroes; the Roland Hayes attack in Georgia; the refusal of the Daughters of the American Revolution to allow Marian Anderson to sing in Constitution hall, the discriminatory elements which exist in the armed forces, the refusal of the navy to permit any Negro college to participate in the V-1 program for the training of officers and its further refusal to allow any Negro student attending a white college to take advantage of the V-1 program.

March 6, 1943
Sumter, S. C. Daily Item
July 21, 1943

Governor Reiterates Race Stand

Columbia, July 21.—(AP)—Governor Olin D. Johnston reiterated today his assertion of last week that he would call on the Home Guard to expel from the state any outsiders who came in to agitate social equality among races.

"If the people of South Carolina will read my speech in its entirety they will see how I stand on this question— that's my answer to all these letters," Johnston said.

He referred to a letter Monday from the South Carolina Negro Citizens' Committee and one today from the Negro Baptist Ministers' Alliance of Columbia, both protesting his statement.

The Alliance asked for an answer to its protest.

This section of his speech to the Home Guard last Friday at a review at Fort Jackson "constitutes my answer," Johnston said:

"During my recent visit to the governor's conference I was asked by a newspaperman as to what kind of a situation existed in South Carolina between white people and the negro race.

"I told him that South Carolina was fully able to handle the race question without outside interference; that the white people of this state had successfully run this government for generations and that we intended to run it as we had done in the past.

"I told him that the only way to handle the race question was by segregation of the races. You can not mix the races and have no trouble. God didn't see fit to mix them and I am tired of people agitating social equality of races in our state.

"If outsiders come here to agitate social equality among races, I shall deem it my duty to call upon you men to expel them from our state.

"For generations we have lived here in South Carolina without trouble: We have treated the negro race fair. We have given him educational advantages far beyond his ability to pay. We have given him every opportunity of work that leads to a decent and adequate livelihood, but we cannot and will not tolerate the mixing of the races in our schools, churches and dwelling places.

"The only way to avoid troubl between races and to avoid rac riots is to nip it in the bud fro the beginning and I call upon yo (the Home Guard) men to publi cize in your communities this, s we may avoid any trouble, so tha everybody may know how we fee about this matter."

Saying "we are now witho hope, except in God," the Mi ister's Alliance asked for an an swer by Monday, July 26.

The governor emphasized tha his statement to the Home Guar was his answer to this and oth letters.

The Alliance expressed itself "greatly shocked" by the Gove nor's address.

"* * * Are (we) to expect t Home Guard to be called out, shoot down our people like do or to intimidate any persons w may attempt to ask the courts South Carolina to pass upon t questions that do not stack up wi the constitution of the Unit States," the letter asked.

World-Telegram
New York, N. Y.

Mrs. Roosevelt Links Zoot Riots, Race Bias

By EULALIE McDOWELL,
United Press Staff Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, June 16.—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt said today that the recent zoot suit riots in Los Angeles "started from a mixture of race and youth problems."

She said she had long been worried by the attitude toward Mexicans in Southern California

JUN 16 1943

war workers to
industrial plants would slow up
training for war
over the
concern
day to
riots.
and added Americans must face
the fact that "we have a race
problem."
Secretary of State Hull, mean-
while, said Ambassador Francisco
Castillo Najera had called yester-
day to express
Mrs. Roosevelt also said she
felt liquidation of the National
Youth Administration, threatened
in Congress, would be regrettable.
She said she believed the transfer

56k-1943

Westbrook Pegler Again

It was left in the many comments on recent rioting for Westbrook Pegler, the modern iconoclast and inquisitionist to try to lay the blame on the colored press. JUL 4 Daily World

In the scavaging that has practically employed the whole of his unjournalistic career, he threw up a few moons ago a slur at the colored press. While the colored press and other papers for that matter might have their faults, none has been so obstructive as the policy Mr. Pegler chooses to employ in the hashing up of what he terms his quota to public sentiment. JUL 1943 Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Pegler rightly states in his forensic that intolerance and race hatred are American traits; that as we have it they are of American origin and a part of that program used to carry out the one hundred percentism we know so much about in this country.

We are met in a trying tirade and our very existence at times hinges in the balance. We all deplore riots and what we call un-American activities the better thinking of us are striving to live down and out much of what rises to embarass us and hamper our efforts. The colored press of this country needs no one to present its case. All along it has in the main been patriotic and has given millions in space and sentiment for the sale of bonds and the good offices of the war effort. JUL 4 1943

The record of colored bond buyers and the colored soldiers on various fronts, also need no defense.

We may or may not be clear of yellow journalism—the record on that score in the past will satisfy us. There are others among Mr. Pegler's kith and kin who cannot say they are clear of the habit of fomenting racial bias, discrimination, disfranchisement of honest qualified voters by various subterfuges and even lynching citizens accused of crimes in the face and teeth of the law and constituted authorities in the very act of trying the cases. JUL 1943

Now, for anybody, anywhere to come into a situation like Detroit and Beaumont and sundry points experiencing racial trouble and attempt in the bare face of the record to cast a slur at the highest type of devotion and sacrifice ever known to any civilization at any time, is insult heaped upon the hollow bones of injury.

Washington's Cesspool—the Greyhound Terminal

Afro-American AN EDITORIAL
Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

The Greyhound Bus Terminal at Eleventh and New York Avenue, Northwest, is fast developing into the cancer on the Washington municipal scene. JUL 17 1943

Always a vicious institution because of its setting up of jim-crow restaurant facilities, which work to the inconvenience and detriment of inter-State passengers, the terminal has grown steadily worse under the pressure of wartime travel.

Last week the AFRO exposed the practice of local police officers who use this as a happy hunting ground to vent their race hatred on innocent colored passengers, by waylaying and searching them under the pretext of looking for draft evaders.

No colored male passenger is free from molestation, although whites are not disturbed except in extremely suspicious cases.

In addition to the regular police, the Greyhound Company has employed special thugs of its own to harass passengers, demanding to see their tickets should they sit around overly long waiting for a bus. Reports have been brought to the AFRO of how these privately-paid ruffians manhandle colored passengers who are tardy in producing their tickets on demand. JUL 17 1943

Terminal employees verify the report that colored men have been beaten in the lower locker room by the self-appointed Nazi guards, and women passengers have been slapped.

Bus drivers have taken it upon themselves to enforce jim-crow seating arrangements upon inter-State passengers before they leave the confines of the capital, in defiance of all law and decency, and call in the police to help them carry out their un-American dictums, lodging framed-up charges of disorderly conduct upon those who defy their orders. JUL 17 1943

This is clearly a situation which must be cleaned up at once, and the officials of the Greyhound Company, the city commissioners, the local police department, and the decent citizens of both races must take an active, not a passive, concern in rectifying this cesspool of intolerance at once before the germs of discord get beyond control.

RALPH MATTHEWS.

Racial Prejudices Stupid And Costly; Prolonging War And Human Suffering

THE war has brought into bold relief the stupidity of American racial discriminations and prejudices.

In every phase of our effort to win the war, the racial question arises as an impedim JUL 17 1943

Soldiers bleeding their last drop of blood and in dire need of a blood transfusion must wait until it can be determined whether the available blood plasma is "white" or "colored."

The production of essential war materials is stopped until a colored worker is thrown off the job. Assembly lines in factories and shops are left idle while men and women engage in killing each other because some are white and others are colored. Tribune Philadelphia, Pa.

Even the armed forces must use valuable time, money and materials to create and maintain separate quarters and latrines for colored and white fighting men.

Aside from the tremendous cost in money, effort, time and material, American discriminations and prejudices are causing the "Good Neighbor" policy in Latin-America to approach the point of failure.

Approximately two-thirds of the population of Latin-America are so-called colored people. These can have little faith in our detachment JUL 17 1943 ncerning the "Four Freedoms," when at home color of skin determines where a man shall eat, sleep and be buried after he is dead.

The United States needs the good will of all of its neighbors. To secure and hold this good will more than money is required. The United States can not hope to have the good will of Latin-Americans until racial discriminations are abolished.

In the face of these self-evident truths, the citizens of the United States are paying too high a price for their racial prejudices. Since all the people, prejudiced and unprejudiced, must pay this tremendous debt, the unprejudiced must crack down on those who desire the special privilege of discriminating against other racial groups.

Racial prejudices, if permitted to continue their control over the actions of the American people, will prolong the war and cause useless suffering.

Racial prejudice is not only stupid and wrong, it is tremendously expensive.

Ask Anti-Negro State Guard In Mississippi

(Special to The Defender)

TUPELO, Miss. — White ernor of the state, who is campaigning to regain the chief executive post. The principal platform issue, upon which he hopes to win election, is a "work or fight" order that he pledges to impose upon Negroes in order to "preserve the sanctity of white womanhood."

politicians are alarmists and in a systematic campaign to heighten racial

Mississippi, using contest as the sou the promotion of Negro.

Leading figure in the anti-Negro program is Mike Conner, ex-gov. husbands and sweethearts in the

army." This reference is to the cry that colored men, left out of the armed forces by the government's quota system, will take advantage of the absence of white men to "ravish" their women.

So firmly convinced is he that departure of white service men will leave Mississippi at the mercy of Negroes, Conner has stated an intention to enlarge the state guard with every able-bodied white man who can carry a gun as a member.

Blames Washington

Conner charged in a recent stump speech that "theorists in Washington with a communistic trend are trying to force political equality of the Negro and white races in the South."

He declared in another that "political equality would lead to social equality, and we white people must convince Washington that we will not stand for it; that Mississippi is white, not red, not black, and by the eternal we propose to keep it white."

Basis for the fear that Negroes will represent a menace to white women is the practice of the U. S. army in calling only about 10 per cent of its inductees from the Negro race. Point was made of the announcement that 80 per cent of white inductees in June were married men, while not more than 65 colored men were called last month, only 17 of whom were kept for army duty.

These Negroes, thus left at home, Conner and his cohorts are arguing, represent a real menace to white womanhood." The "work or fight" edict, it is promised by them, will compel these Negroes rejected by the army to find employment and thus "get off the street."

In this anti-Negro campaign, Conner has won the support of several of the state's leading dailies. Typical of the position being taken by the press is an editorial recently in the Wayne County News, an excerpt of which reads:

"He stands squarely for white supremacy at the polls and everywhere else, and for the protection of white womanhood he pledges every resource of the state and every drop of his blood. He opposes cooperating with the federal courts in cases properly belonging to state courts."

Attacks Opposition

Also backing Conner, but with a different technique, is the Jackson Daily News, which recently blasted Conner's chief opponent thus:

"One major problem we have in Mississippi today is more industrial and racial, although, it contains elements of both.

"It is going to take brains, courage and intelligence to deal with the problem. It cannot be successfully handled by blatant demagogues—especially a demagogue of the type who is now going over the state bragging muchly about how, when he happened to be serving as governor, he called out troops to prevent the threatened lynching of a black fiend in human form who had brutally ravished and then deliberately murdered two white women at a dairy farm on the southwestern outskirts of Jackson."

A Second Look

By J. Saunders Redding

IF THE PRESENT upsurge of the Negro people in America is not to spill over into mere haphazard, random activity, fritter away in senseless argument, in organizational and personal jealousies, and exhaust itself in mass meetings, conferences, rumorcies and forces come together on mongering, and abortive second Marches-on-Washington, two things are absolutely necessary. First, the organizations that have established solid and rewarding contacts with Negro America and that have undoubted claims upon the allegiance of large numbers of Negroes should agree upon overall issues, purposes, and results to which no Negro in America could take great exception.



MR. REDDING

Such agreement should be easy. Already there is considerable overlapping among the NAACP, the National Urban League, the National Negro Congress, the Southern Youth Conference, the Southern Conference, and the YMCA Laymen's Conference. This overlapping results not only from the fact that by and large each of these groups is a pressure group, but also because of the homogeneousness of the Negro problem.

ONE NEGRO PROBLEM

There is no Northern Negro problem and no Southern Negro problem, though one might get this idea from the persistency with which Northern Negro leaders, and Southern Negro leaders, and vice versa, and from the propaganda put out by such artful dodgers as the average Southern white politician. There is only one Negro problem—and it is America-wide; and the issues common to it in the South are common to it in the North.

It is very frightening and demoralizing (and rewarding to the reactionaries) for Negroes not to see this. There can be no difference of opinion among Negroes on poll tax, industrial and economic opportunity, equal pay, lynching, education, Army segregation, police brutality, and like matters.

A COMMON UNITED FRONT

So much has been said about the common, general character of the Negro problem in America that it is hard to believe that the Negro people do not realize it. Perhaps they do. Perhaps the disunity among them is the fault of their directive agencies and forces, all of which have their favorite techniques, professional organization, and, being realistic, personalities. But, once the common ground is firmly stood upon, the second thing that is necessary is to bring these directive agencies and forces (certainly all those named above) together to form a common united front.

This sounds like a complicated business, and undoubtedly it would be made so if it were tried. But it is a relatively simple thing. It would require the formulation of an overall policy. It would require an organization with representatives from each of the groups named. Each group would bring its own peculiar resources to the representative body. The representative body would decide which individual organization had the resources with which best to meet particular phases of the problem and sanction the use of those resources.

FOR A COMMON NEGRO COUNCIL

It would decide when all the resources of all the groups would be combined. As a body it would have no resources of its own and it would not interfere with the autonomy of member groups. It would be a common council (and, indeed, a good name for it would be the Common Negro Council of America), and in structure it would combine the best structural features of the American Federation of Labor and the United Service Organizations, Inc., though on a much smaller scale.

Until overall issues, purposes and results are decided upon and until the Negro's directive agencies and forces come together on common ground to form a united front, we are going to have such sorry exhibitions of sectionalism, of professionalism, of chauvinism, and of petty jealousy as we have been treated to in recent meetings of the March-on-Washington people, the NAACP people, the National Negro Congress people, and the Southern Conference people.

U. S. Cannot Condone Race Riots, He Says

Enemies of F. D. R. Hit by Mate In Ringing Address

DETROIT — (SNS) — "We cannot fight to crush Nazi brutality abroad and condone race riots at home," Vice President Wallace declared here Sunday in one of the most ringing speeches of his career.

"We cannot plead for equality of opportunity for people everywhere and overlook the denial of the right to vote for millions of our own people," the Vice President continued. "We cannot offer the blueprints and skills to rebuild the bombed-out cities of other lands and stymie any rebuilding of our own cities. Slums have no place in America. . . . We cannot assist in binding the wounds of a war-stricken world and fail to safeguard the health of our own people. We cannot hope to raise the literacy of other nations and fail to roll back the ignorance that clouds many communities in many sectors of our own nation.

PRACTICE "FREEDOMS" HERE

Here in Detroit, scene of a recent race riot, Vice President Wallace said that "many patriotic and forward-looking citizens are asking 'why not start now practicing these four freedoms in our own back yard?' They are right," he exclaimed. "A fuller democracy for all is the lasting preventive of war. A lesser or part-time democracy breeds the dissension and class conflicts that seek their solution in guns and slaughter."

Wallace declared that the nation was not confronted with the choice between an Americanized Fascism and the restoration of prewar scarcity and unemployment, saying that "too many millions of our people have come out of the dark cellars and squalor of unemployment ever to go back."

"Our choice," Wallace maintained "is between democracy for everybody or for the few-between the spreading of social safeguards and economic opportunity to all the people — or the concentration of our abundant resources in the hands of selfishness and greed."

HITS "ISOLATIONISTS"

Wallace asserted that "there are powerful groups who hope to take advantage of the President's concentration on the war effort to destroy everything he has accomplished on the domestic front over the last ten years." The Vice President spoke out in defense of President Roosevelt in an address prepared for a meeting sponsored by Detroit labor and civic groups.

"Some people call these powerful groups 'isolationists;' others call them 'reactionaries,' and still others, seeing them following in European footsteps, call them 'American Fascists.'

"Sooner or later the machinations of these small but powerful groups which put money and power first and people last, will inevitably be exposed to the public eye."

President Roosevelt is looked upon by the lowliest peon in South America as the symbol of his dearest aspirations in the peace to come, Wallace stated, calling upon all Americans to begin now their "apprenticeship to world peace by shouldering responsibilities for 'enlightenment, abundent production and world cooperation."

News
Birmingham, Ala

DYNAMITE IN RACE FEELING

Pearl Buck has warned that our bigotry may mean that the next war will be one on lines of race. In a recent interview, a man who would be on the other side in such a war, Bishop Paul Yu-pin, visiting Roman Catholic leader, gave similar warning:

"If your attitude of superiority continues, if you look upon the colored races, I can foresee only a prospect which makes me tremble at its horrors. . . .

"In that case the next war would almost inevitably be a war between races. . . . It would literally be to the death, and we would have kindled a vicious strife hear of unconditional surrender, but of an-

Bishop Yu-pin was talking about the effect of our Chinese exclusion regulation, but this applies equally to all other racial attitudes. There is decency. Whether to save our own skins or not, there are motives nobler than fear. us can do to bring about better racial feeling. But there are scores and scores of things that each of colored make up only beings.—Des Moines Register.

at a recent public forum ing, simply be worthy to be called "human' n race. Whites had just tion with yellow and es [illegible] may find we strife besides which even pale.

56k-1943

TENSION AREAS

Sanity and Progressive Forces Have Prevented Outbreak in San Francisco

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

IN LESS THAN three years San Francisco and the Bay Areas have experienced an increase in their Negro population of over 25,000. In 1940 the population was 19,678. By 1943 it had increased to approximately 45,000—an increase of 126.6 per cent. Most of the popul[illegible] is in the cities of San Francisco and Oakland. That's a lot of Negroes for these cities to digest in a short length of time.

Both Oakland and San Francisco are tense over what they call the racial situation. I spent most of my time in San Francisco, as it is the most interesting of the two places. After talking to the City Administrator, the Chief of Police, countless union officials and ordinary Negroes, I located what I thought to be the principal reasons for the tension.



Mr. Cayton

OCCUPY FORMER JAPANESE QUARTERS

San Francisco has never had a large Negro population. A few years ago there were fewer than five thousand Negroes in the city—now there are between fifteen and twenty thousand. Further, most of the Negro migrants have settled in the area where the Japanese lived before they were evacuated to the internment camps, i.e., along Sutter street. This area is terribly overcrowded and although all of the Negroes living in these terrible housing conditions are making extremely good salaries, it is impossible for them to find homes in any other sections of the city. They have restrictive covenants in 'Frisco too.

SAN FRANCISCANS get nervous when they walk along Sutter and see thousands of Negroes standing around on the side walk, swarming in and out of poolrooms and taverns and making remarks at passersby (the Negro migrants are far from well behaved). Their tensions are also heightened not only by the new aggressiveness of Negroes, but by the new race hatred which has been introduced in the city by the influx of Southern whites.

ALL IS NOT DARK

There is considerable tension about Negroes and whites working together. There have been numerous rumors about racial outbreaks in the various shipyards under the control of the Jim Crow boilermakers' union. There have been incidents where Negroes fired with the demand for freedom, an unwelcome by-product of our propaganda for the four freedoms, have demanded service in restaurants and hotels where they have never been welcomed. This has been especially true of Negro soldiers and could perhaps be accounted for by the fact that San Francisco is a port of embarkation for the [illegible] Many of the black soldiers who leave its port are destined for action against the enemy in the cause of democracy. Some of the boys take it seriously and want to get a drink down on Market street rather than riding a crowded street car five miles to the Ghetto. At least that's how the Chief of Police explained it to me.

BUT THERE are some good signs to be seen in 'Frisco—some evidence that the forces of democracy, feeble as they are when they reach the brother, are still operating. One sees on Market streetence of the CIO and the general Negro men and women operatingsanity of San Francisco may prestreet cars, the housing projects,serve that city within the ranks though spotty, have some evidenceof the democratic communities of of the mixing of white and Negroour country. tenants; the police department although belligerent in segregation does not have the lynch spirit (or a colored cop for that matter).

UNION FIGHT BEARS FRUIT

For months there was a supposed Negro rapist at large, who specialized on the wives of white defense workers. In most cities in the Middle West and East this would have led to severe racial difficulties. However, the Assistant Chief of Police, at the height of the manhunt, announced that the police were looking for a criminal, and not conducting a super-race crusading campaign. The alleged rapist, when captured, turned out to be white. There was much slapping of knees and riotous laughter up and down Sutter. The city officials and police department also learned that they didn't have to look for Negroes everytime a rape was committed.

THERE ARE several reasons why San Francisco is as sane as it is about race. First, there is the CIO. The California State CIO knows what it likes and what it does not like. One thing it does not like is race discrimination. For a period of years it has been fighting discrimination in the trade union movement and among the working men and women of the city. This fight has borne fruit in the present difficulty.

COMMITTEE DOES EFFECTIVE WORK

The second reason for the lack of racial violence is a committee composed of delegates from a number of organizations called the Bay Area Committee Against Discrimination. This committee has been working for the past year and a half (long before the Detroit riot when most such committees were formed) on the general problem of discrimination. This group, representing all community organizations—from churches to labor unions and from the conservative Republicans to the left-wing adherents—is the best answer to the problem of community organization. It's good because in its formation and organization the committee realized that the problem of the urban adjustment of Negroes was a matter which concerned the entire community, the war effort and our chances to continue to exist and develop as a democracy. The problem was not one that could be left to labor, or the Negro or to liberals—it was everyone's problem. Knowing this, the committee organized the entire community and has obtained results.

THE Committee Against Discrimination, the history and influ-

THE NEGRO'S CHALLENGE

Christian Recorder

By HORACE R. CAYTON

Philadelphia, Pa.

The United States stands frozen and paralyzed before its Negro problem. The divergent and contradictory streams of thought in its [illegible] prevent it from even conceiving of a raional approach to a solution. The United States thinks of itself as a political democracy but knows that it maintains a simi-caste system within its social order. It believes itself to be a good nation, dedicated to the brotherhood of man, but it has never fully included the Negro in its political, economic, and social system. Now, facing the problem in an acute stage, it is unable to plan or to act to meet the impending crisis.

The Negro problem is not new in this country. But since the war, as a result of the conflict of ideologies, it has become a world problem, and the United States must [illegible] do something about it. It must act not merely for moral reasons, to right the social injustices involved, but for motives of self-interests, indeed, of self-preservation.

We are fighting a yellow nation which has challenged white imperialism and ridiculed the so-called democracies for clinging to the notion of white superiority. We have a yellow nation as an ally, and we are desperately trying to hold in check the brown people of India. Japanese references to our treatment of the American Negro embarrass all of our attempts at psychological warfare. Every time a Negro is lynched here, the Japanese broadcast the event to China, India, and South America. The stupid racial policy of the Anglo-Saxon nations was an important factor in their defeat in the Pacific. The United Nations will have the task after the war of setting up a new balance of power based upon a moral order which, to be workable must include yellow, brown, and black people. How can America share in this when it does not include its own black citizens in the moral order prevailing within its own boundaries?

There is another reason why the contradiction of caste and democracy must be resolved. To develop its maximum striking power, in the factories, the fields, and the armed forces, the nation cannot ignore one-tenth of its people. The sheer need for man-power is opening more and more opportunities to Negroes. But though many advances have been made, millions of Negroes are still idle or working in non-essential industries because Northern farmers refuse to employ them, many defense plants limit their participation by a quota system, and the armed forces relegate them to limited services.

And how about the Negroes; how do they feel? Many white persons who have inquired have been frightened by the answrs they obtained. A change so profound that few persons realize its fateful meaning is taking place in the mentality of the American Negro. He has experienced of late an upsurge of feeling which has given him a new sense of his own dignity and of his relationship to world events.

The forces bringing about this change antedate our participation in the war. Negroes throughout the United Staes were aware and resentful of the rape of Ethiopia. Haile Selassie was to them a hero, and relatives of his in this country addressed numerous Negro audiences. [illegible] Negro newspapers first developed mass circulation through the appeal of the Ethiopian issue and the rise of Joe Louis.

In the present conflict the Negro is finding the problems of the Chinese, the Indians, and the Burmese strangely similar to his own. In this sense the Negro has become more international-minded than the rest of the population. His sympathy with other colored peoples was aroused long before the general population had begun to question America's policy of isolationism. He came to have a certain respect for the Japanese, who had successfully fought three white nations, though his hope for the representation of dark people in the Allied peace rests with the Chinese. Realizing more acutely than whites the global significance of a guaranty of democratic rights and privileges to all peoples of the world, he has broken out of his caste-bound mentality, transcended his purely racial point of view (which led him only to despair), and now sees his position in society as identified with that of the darker races of the world.

The war has confronted the Negro with a situation which has forced him to sharpen his thinking and define for himself the role which he wishes to play in American civilization. The conflict between the pressure which was forcing him into a caste position and the slogans for democracy which raised his expectation of complete citizenship have developed in him a new critical consideration of his position in the social structure of the country and a new attitude toward the heory and practice of democracy. At first this new capaciy for critical analysis seemed to be expressed in a series of complaints. Brought up sharply against the paradoxes of democracy, the Negro in this initial stage of the development of a line of action could do little more than articulate his discontent. But in the crucible of frustration and despair he is developing a new and positive line of thought which holds hope for black people and for the institution of democracy. He is adopting a point of view that is not inconsistent with the expressed aims of the United Nations.

The change in the Negro's mentality has come about so rapidly that few people—even Negroes—realize its extent. It is expressed in his refusal to accept segregation without complaint even in the armed forces—numbers of Negroes have gone to prison rather than fight in a Jim Crow army—in impetuous individual defiance of cultural patterns of racial subordination, in the hysterical oratory of excited speakers for Negro rights. But underneath all this is a determination to become a full citizen, to plan and think for himself regardless of past friends and old leaders.

The basic issues in the Negro's struggle have changed. While at first Negro demands were simply for Negro rights, now they are for democratic rights for all peoples throughout the world. While at first many Negroes were sullen and wished to see this country brought to its knees and made to realize that without them he war could no be won, and while at first they wished to withhold their participation until certain concessions were granted, now they are demanding the right to participate in every phase of the war so that they can also participate in the peace. Demands for concessions have given way to demands for equality. In the face of these conflicts and tion which might help ease racial tensions the Administration is bankrupt. In the South, and sions; middle-class people form leagues with fear or hate. As a matter of fact, the government white supremacy; the for- As a matter of fact, the government rn liberals caution Negroes cannot openly take cognizance of the nt; and the *Lumpenproleta-* Negro problem. The logic of our demitself up into a lynch mood. ocratic culture forbids definitely as- the Wendell Willkies, the signing to the Negro as subordinate s, and the Bishop Sheils are status, while the Southern poll-tax Conope with the problem, but gressmen block any positive propaganda of action for national unity. minority.

As for the white people, many are ary Northern tories to stifle all legislareacting to the Negro's new attitude

Officially the Negro cannot be given even a promise of liberation which will make him willing to wait and hope as the Englsh expect the people of India to wait and hope. The myth of democracy is, indeed, often used to prevent the employment of the most elemntary mechanisms for racial adjustments. A case in point was the attempt of Southern Congressment to eliminae the race-relations division of the Federal Housing Agency, because "this is a democracy and we don't need ot consider the Negro as different from anyone else."

Many white liberals, North and South, appalled at the situation, have counseled the Negro to be patient. They have pointed out the gains which have accrued to him during the last three Administrations and reviewed the progress the Negroes have made in the past three hundrd years. They assume that because of their past friendship Negroes should have faith in them and in their analysis of the possibilities and dangers of aggressive action by Negroes at this moment.

What many whte liberals do not realize is that they are measuring the gains with an obsolete yardstick. At a time when peoples are being liquidated or given equality overnight, gradualism has little meaning. With a world revolution in progress a group of people cannot be held apart from the stream of light and told to have faith in education and good-will. To ask the American Negro to go slowly is to attempt either to slacken the international pace of social change or to isolate the Negro from the world forces in which he is engulfed.

The direct antithesis of this so-called gradualism should not be thought of as an eruption of violence. Such an eventuality may result from too rapid change, but if it does, the explosion is not the measure of the pressure exerted by the Negro to rise in status; it is the measure of the reaction of whites agains his rise. Changes in race relation should be thought of as a continuum and to make gradualism, which is a rate of speed of change, and explosion, which is a possible result of too rapid change, opposite poles is to confuse the analysis of race relations.

The likelihood of success for a non-violent change is determined to a large extent by the social circumstances prevailing when the change is attempted. A minority finds its best opportunity o advance a a time when its claims for equal rights and privileges are in accord with the social aims of the dominant group. Since America is just now deeply concerned not only with living up to democratic principles at home but, together with oher Unied Nations, with guaranteeing democracy to all peoples everywhere, the present is a logical time for the Negro to seek to improve his position. Those who want Negroes voluntarily to relinquish their claims to democratic rights or rvviliges are either not willing to put their ideologies to the test of realiy or are denying by inference that this global war is being fought for the right of peoples everywhere to be free.

The Negro is in many respects making a more rational analysis of contemporary events than many who would give him counsel. The struggle in which we are engaged in one against oppression—whether from the tyrannical forces of Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito, or from the colonial imperialism of the British Empire, or from the racial imperialism of the United States. To win a cheap military victory over the Axis and then to continue the exploitation of subject peoples within the British Empire and the subordination of Negroes in the United States is to set the stage for the next world war—probably a war of color.

The manner in which the present war is prosecuted will determine the peace which is achived and the new world order which is established. Writing the peace is not a process that begins with the declaration of an armistice. The movement of men, the opening of fronts, the political deals made during the war shape the peace long before the diplomats sit around a table. The participation of China, of India, and of all the colored peoples, including the American Negro, will constitute a moral claim which cannot be ignored by the United Nations.

When two worlds are at war—the world of fascism and the world of democracy—any hope for the brotherhood of man can arise only out of the struggle of people united for a common end. To insure a victory for the common man, who has too often been mobilized to fight for a noble objective only to find himself cheated by selfish interests when a military victory was won, the essential elements of brotherhood must be achieved during the struggle itself. Brotherhood is both the means and the end of the struggle. This to many people is as rational as is the theory of gradualism or counting small gains. The Negro by refusing to accept gradualism may be helping America to save itself, helping to establish the new world order which must eventually come if Western civilization is not lost to fascist reaction.

This is not a program of action except in the most general sense. Any "pat" solution—any formula—should be regarded with great caution. Perhaps the first step toward a solution should be the realizaion that the problem of the American Negro is a world problem, that it is part of the problem of all the dark peoples of the world. Somehow, through some mechanism, there must be achieved in America and in the world a moral order which will include the American Negro and all other oppressed peoplos. The present war must be considered as one phase of a larger struggle to achieve this new moral order. Nothing must blind us to the necessity of securing the larger victory. In terms of the safety and welfare of our country and of our way of life, the struggle for the rights of the American Negro is as important as the struggle for military victory over the enemy.—The Nation.

Give Negroes American Choice

Charleston, S. C., News-Courier

Comes to The News and Courier another lengthy document about "interracial relations in the South", the aspirations of the colored people for better opportunities and so forth. November 27, 19

The need of the colored people of the South is a right of way and a right to stay anywhere in the 48 American states.

The negro problem has lost its character as "Southern". The white Southerner migrating is welcomed in Portland, Oregon and in Portland, Maine, Smithville, Iowa, and Jonesville, Idaho.

The colored migrants go to Pittsburgh New York Chicago and there they live in "negro quarters". In the Harlems they are required to pay higher rents than are exacted of white people or so the defenders of negro rioters and hoodlums in the Harlems are even now testifying.

The "negro problem" is to open 98 per cent of American territory outside of the Southern states to colored American families. In an Idaho village is no sign nailed on the trees warning negroes to stay out of it but no jobs are there for them.

Before the war began, thousands of tourists passed through Charleston every winter many of them on their way to Florida. We remember two cars, two only, of Northern registry driven by colored men.

Were the American negroes received everywhere in the country as white Southerners are received and given the same chance that the whites are given, they would migrate to the dairy farms of Wisconsin and to the wheat fields of Kansas.

The American negro problem of immediate concern is whether internment of 8,000,000 negroes in the South shall continue or shall cease.

At least it is certain that in the South the negro is treated better than in the Northern and Western states. No one is hindering him from voting in the South, and in the North, where he does vote, many more of his race, in proportion to numbers, are on relief than in the South.

One reason that so many negroes vote in New York and not in South Carolina is that in New York white politicians pay them a price to go to the polls.

Towards An Expanding Horizon

Daily World Atlanta, Georgia

Prominent Negro and white Southern leaders, forming the Continuation Committee of the Durham and Atlanta Conferences, meeting at Atlanta University this week, reaffirmed their determination to focus attention upon the problems and handicaps of Negro citizens, not merely in the South but likewise over the Nation.

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The leaders agreed upon "a new declaration of American principles and a new dedication of ourselves to the task of covenanting together with all regions and with all races. We seek to find and tell the truth. We seek the way of equal opportunity. "And in order to secure these ends, they recommended the formation of a Southern Regional Committee, then the formation of a "National Committee" by the President, made up of members of both races, on race and regional development.

Both proposals, we believe are sound and theretore, merit the confidence and cooperation of Negroes. Of course, there will be a few perhaps, who will take the view that such an approach is symbolic of some who content themselves with mere discussion. Such a view is of necessity, born of the trials and handicaps from which we suffer as citizens. But then, a knowledge of the social process and human emotions would tend to render such a view less effective for practical purposes. Nevertheless, there are some matters affecting Negro citizenship whch should be given consideration and action, now. The Committee might properly dedicate itself to the task of removing the vote barrier to Negroes. The white primary, let us say, can and should be removed. Many other problems inherent in Negro Citizenship would act at once be solved if and when this barrier is removed.

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Blease Opens '44 Senate Bid With Anti-Negro Outbursts

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. —— News Birmingham, Ala.

SALUDA, S. C., Aug. 12 —(AP)—Former State Supreme Court Justice Eugene S. Blease, nephew of the infamous Cole Blease, speaking to a group of Saluda county farmers, let go another blast at Negroes, the NAACP, Walter White and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in what was believed to be his bid for the 1944 democratic nomination for the U. S. Senate.

Judge Blease told the farmers while he believed a majority of the white South Carolinians "are tired of administration's courting of the Negro" they should stick to the party. "Vote the democratic ticket if they put a yellow dog on it," he shouted.

DISAGREES WITH CAUSE OF DEFEAT

Recalling his defeat at the hands of Burnet R. Maybank of Charleston in last year's senatorial race the former jurist said friends had told him he would have been elected had he not raised the "Negro questioin" and federal operation of the NYA and WPA (illegible) speech last fall Blease referred to Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune of the NYA as a "big, black greasy nigger)". But he countered dated advice with, "Oh! no. hadn't been for these two tions, I wouldn't have run."

Declaring that the President favored the repeal of the poll tax and letting the Negro vote, Blease said Walter White "is one of Mrs. Roosevelt's right-hand buddies. He eats dinner at the White House with her. That's all right, but don't try to impose that on us. Let her take them up to Hyde Park, with the NYA bathtubs," he said.

ADMITS NAACP POTENT

The NAACP itself is influential, he added. "It's my honest opinion you can't get appointed to the United States Supreme court today if that Negro association opposes you." James F. Byrnes, he said, had the endorsement of Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell. Mrs. Roosevelt came in for the former judge's riling. "Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt," he declared, "has one more to stir up race trouble than did Thad Steven,. She may not know it, but she doesn't know the race. She's doing the race wrong and the race will live to regret it."

He wound up his tirade on the "Negro question" by declaring that he doesn't hate Negroes. He has

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HOOVER'S PLAN FOR JEWS HIT BY YERGAN

Daily World Atlanta, Georgia

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Dr. Max Yergan, executive director of the Council of African Affairs, said Wednesday he emphatically opposes Herbert Hoover's solution to the problem of fascist oppression of European Jews by colonizing them in Central Africa, and describes the plan as "the same pattern and cloth as Sen. Bilbo's plan for solving the question of Negro rights in America by shipping all American Negroes 'back to Africa.' "

In a letter addressed to leading New York newspapers, Yergen said the ex-President's suggestion smacks "of the outworn idealogies of appeasement and imperialism."

"It represents appeasement," Dr Yergen said, "in that it ignores completely the responsibility of the united nations for winning security for the Jewish people as well as other oppressed groups in the European countries where they now reside, and in that it acknowledges by implication that oppression of the Jews in these countries must continue as long as they remain there."

He characterized the plan as imperialist because it considers Africa, especially the mandated areas, as uninhabited land awaiting "development" by a "white civilization."

Hoover's proposal was made in a speech telephoned from San Francisco to the closing session of the Emergency Conference to Save the Jewish People of Europe, held here last week.

Dr. Yergen explained that Negroes are fully sympathetic, because of their own hardships, to the plight of the Jews, and they believe that Africa, as well as all other continents, should be open to Jewish emigration.

He further stated, "Mr. Hoover's proposal for the arbitrary segregation of the Jews at the expense of the rights of African runs counter to the interests of both the Jewish and the African peoples, and counter to the principles of national self-determination embodied in the Atlantic charter."

Dr. Yergen quoted a statement by New York's Mayor LaGuardia made at the same conference and described it as an "effective reply to Hoover."

"While we consider emigration and colonization," said LaGuardia, "we must realize that taking the Jews and other minorities out of terrorists-ruled lands is not really the solution, the rights of the Jews and other minorities must be made safe in every country in the world.

"Only with such war aims," said Dr. Yergen, 'which encompass the liberty of the Jewish people, and the African, Indian and Chinese peoples, can there be any prospect of a lasting peace."

JOE E. BROWN TELLS 50,000 THAT NEGRO "LOANED" U. S. ITS MUSIC

Globe and Independent Nashville, Tenn.

Los Angeles, May 27—(ANP)—"One of the greatest contributions we have made to the world has been its music, and we borrowed that from the Negro," was the bold surprising statement made by movie star, Joe E. Brown, at the Los Angeles Coliseum Sunday before 50,000 persons. The famed comedian served as master of ceremonies following his introduction, and his own speech was one of the highlights of the "I Am An American Day," the occasion of the celebration.

Resounding applause followed Brown's statement about the Negro's music, but unfortunately there were very few Negroes in the audience. The majority of those present were Legionaires called out by their Post Commanders.

During his speech, Brown said, "I have traveled all over this country trying [illegible] who are Americans. I have visited the coal mining regions, the vast farming regions, the factory districts, and the cotton fields of the south, where the Negroes raise this valuable and beautiful staple. Includes were the Mexicans I have seen laying miles of railroads, and all the various nationalities that go to make up the melting-pot that is our great nation. So rounding it all up, I have concluded that an American is one who says 'We the people, regardless of race, creed, or color.'"

Dixie Colored Afro-American Leaders Face

Baltimore, Maryland

Grave Danger

People Will Turn to N.Y. Radicals Unless Concessions Are Made

WHITE LEADERS GES END OF J.C. CARS

Says Virginia Should Have Uniformed Colored Cops, Too

By JOHN JASPER

RICHMOND—The Times Dispatch in a two-column editoria Sunday advocated the repeal o the jim-crow law for street car and busses, appointment of uni formed colored policemen, anc appointment of a colored staff tc replace whites at the state col ored T.B. hospital.

It terms this a "conservative course in race relations," designed to create reasonable concessions to the colored South to promote harmony and prevent clashes.

This would not be "social equality," the paper declares, but equality before the law.

Why Danger Is Present

"Many Virginians do not know it," the editorial states, "but we have now arrived at the point where radicals from the North will find it easy to secure a large following in the South unless reasonable and proper concessions are made to colored people."

It declares that the South's colored leaders have been forced to take important risks in keeping colored extremists from the North from forcing themselves into Southern interracial affairs.

If the whites do not respond, these Southern colored people will turn to Harlem, the editorial points out.

According to the Dispatch, the so-called Durham and Atlanta conferences which met earlier this year are on the verge of formal establishment. The new council will function in every Southern State and have its headquarters in Atlanta.

Reports have come out of the South for some time that the foundations which have supported the Southern Interracial Commission and the American Missionary Association will now put their money in this new venture to extort from the courts rights which the South ought to grant without a fight.

Prefer Atlanta to N.Y.

"It makes a world of difference to the cause of race relations in the South whether the capital of the colored race is in New York City or Atlanta," the editorial adds.

Southern colored leaders, the Dispatch says, are trying to keep the capital in Atlanta. "They can do it if we will help them."

Hit New Attack on Bedford Negroes

Daily Worker New York

By John Meldon

A new vitriolic attack against the Negro population of Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant area by Msgr. John L. Belford, Catholic priest, yesterday brought sharp replies from outstanding Negro and white Brooklynites.

Speaking at a reception of the Society of Old Brooklyn nights on Wednesday night, Msgr. Belford assailed the Police Department for having **"too much patience"** with the residents of Bedford-Stuyvesant, whom he characterized as **"savages who have given our community a bad name."**

Twenty-four hours later Msgr. Belford's latest slander of Brooklyn's Negroes, Judge Nathan R. Sobel warned the incoming Kings County Grand Jury to avoid "certain unfortunate statements" made by the outgoing August Jury which precipitated the Bedford-Stuyvesant "crime wave" hoax.

VICIOUS STATEMENTS

Norman B. Johnson, prominent Brooklyn Negro leader and a Republican progressive candidate who polled more than 20,000 votes in the last Councilmanic elections, yesterday assailed the Catholic priest for issuing "irresponsible statements."

"Such statements," Mr. Johnson warned, "can only add to the seriousness of the situation and constitute a direct appeal to anti-racial statements which have been deeply stirred in the Bedford-Stuyvesant affair.

"Msgr. Belford has added fuel to pretty dangerous fires. The Negro people are getting pretty tired of his constant irresponsible and often vicious statements. He is helping to tear down, or, at least, seriously hamper what constructive work is being done."

Councilman Peter V. Cacchione, recently elected on the Communist ticket to the City Council with the highest vote in the borough and himself a Catholic of background, said in reply to Msgr. Belford's attack on Brooklyn's Negroes:

"Every true Catholic who knows and believes in the three cardinal principles of the Catholic Church —faith, hope and charity—will be ashamed and angered at such statements as this made by Msgr. Belford.

"It is up to the Catholic people themselves to compel Msgr. Belford to cease his disruptive and provocative activities."

Age-Herald Birmingham, Ala.

The Reformer

BY ROBERT QUILLEN

There is a magazine in New York whose editors and writers weep for the downtrodden colored people far away in the South.

They think the white population of the South consists of Tobacco Road poor whites, whose only pleasure is "lynching niggers," and aristocrats who live in mansions with tall white columns and spend their time drinking mint juleps and whipping their colored field hands.

They do not know about the millions of ordinary decent people, the carpenters, masons, mechanics, clerks, salesmen, little farmers, and all of the white-collar poor, who live in neat little houses and pinch pennies to send their kids to college and do all of their own work because they can't afford servants.

The editors and writers mean well, but their ignorance gives them a complex, and the complex affects their vision so they can't see the unfortunate colored people next door. They can't see Harlem.

They see it at night, when a slumming party goes to a swanky Harlem night club. Then they watch the almost naked brown girls writhing in erotic dances, and they get a kick out of it and think they understand the race problem. But they don't see the poor colored people crowded in disease-breeding warrens, often two or three families to a room, with only the most elemental provision for sanitation.

There are very poor colored people in Harlem. They are not called "niggers," but "coons" or "shines." Sometimes they are called "Mister," but they can't

Bystander Des Moines, Iowa

WE SUPPRESS OUR SHORTCOMINGS

Distance lends enchantment, for it enables us to blame somebody else. If we pointed out evils next door, somebody might think us responsible.

Reports in the daily press state [illegible] of uplifters and reformers did not want unless it is far away.

editors and writers did ignored the mugging the rioting by saying ently had come up from ase it. It did not occur verty and squalor and ht have been factors.

ways of [illegible] etc. And recently, having an exciting rumor as incentive, men and women and morning they were turning their heads social-fixers. and not seeing a thing. The killing wave and we lose the ca

Reports in the daily press state that London was three days late re-

serving [illegible] Harlem, New York, Nov. The news was released by the United States censors Wednesday. Newspapers this week featured the headline, "Riot Kept Secret Three Days."

We are not surprised. It must be terribly embarrassing to our war and state officials who have been and still are preaching to our enemies that we are willing to deal with any non-fascists group in Italy; that we stand by the four freedoms; that we believe in a practical democracy, and yet citizens within our own country are rioting because those very things are denied them.

And we are beginning to believe that this embarrassment is just why President Roosevelt refuses to make a radio talk to the American people against the increasing racial conflicts in the United States. Evidentally, he has in mind that our enemies would use his words to prove our war aims are not sincere; that some of our allies would become more suspicious too.

But as bad as the situation is, would it not be better to face the issue squarely and settle the question once and for all? Of course, we know that everybody is not going to be convinced at once by any question. But we can at least show that we do not follow the views of the race haters, by allowing them to parade their evil doing without a word against their action.

Yes, America has this problem on its hands; it must be solved now, and no amount of censorship is going to keep people in other lands from knowing how rotten we actually are.

Negro Addresses Body In Court

Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

By John Meldon

A body blow to bigotry and a scathing rebuke to the forces behind the Bedford-Stuyvesant "crime wave" was administered in a Brooklyn court room yesterday morning.

A courageous Negro probation officer, Henry E. Ashcroft, established juridical precedent when he addressed the incoming white Kings County Grand Jury. He addressed the jury at the invitation of Brooklyn County Judge Nathan R. Sobel. Mr. Ashcroft made the speech yesterday that he was howled down for making at a meeting of the Midtown Civic League in Brooklyn on Sunday, Nov. 21, when that organization met to "demand action" upon the alleged crime wave in the Negro Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn and used the meeting for a frenzied attack upon the Negro people that would have done a Klan rally justice.

Meanwhile, Judge Sobel warned the incoming Grand Jury to avoid the perils created by the August Grand Jury when the latter issued its now notorious presentment alleging a "crime wave" in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area. Speaking of the August Jury's presentment, Judge Sobel warned of "the dangers in the presentment—a danger which is far greater than the evil to be corrected." The presentment, he said, "not in words, but in effect, indicts an entire people for the faults of a very, very few.

BLASTS "CRIME WAVE" HOAX

"It places a great body of decent law-abiding Negroes in a most humiliating position; it stirs up resentment, hatred and fear."

Judge Sobel blasted the "crime wave" hoax which resulted in virtually blockading the Negro community by citing alarming crime statistics:

"The records of this court indicate," Judge Sobel said, "that this year only 220 Negroes have been convicted of felonies committed in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area. This constitutes less than one-fifth of one per cent of the youth and adult population of that area."

The crowded court room and the members of the incoming Grand Jury got the full significance and impact of Judge Sobel's remarks when he said:

"But, crime is an economic disease. Who is so ignorant who would contend that any one race has a greater propensity for crime than another? This is singularly like the Hitler doctrine of Aryan superiority."

The August Grand Jury's "defamation of an entire race is an insult to democracy," the Judge declared.

Noticeably absent from the dramatic court room incident were members of the August jury whom Judge Sobel invited to hear Mr. Ashcroft's speech, and leaders of the press campaign which smeared the Negro population, such as Sumner Sirtl, Midtown Civic League president and stooge for bigly Brooklyn realty interests; Msgr. John [illegible] Belford, foe of the Stuyvesant-Bedford Negro population, and other "crime wave" crusaders.

As the new jury members in the court room listened intently to Mr. Ashcroft's speech, he outlined the circumstances which led to his being gagged and almost thrown out bodily at the Nov. 21 meeting organized by Sirtl. Speaking of the press-smear against the citizens of Bedford-Stuyvesant, Mr. Ashcroft declared:

LAUDS CIO COUNCIL

"The colored people residing in the real Bedford-Stuyvesant district have had their pride hurt, their sensibilities wounded, their intelligence overlooked and their daily livelihood endangered as a result of the incisive and acid language of the August Grand Jury's presentment. Repressive measures never solved social problems in any group, anytime, anywhere."

LIEBMAN RESIGNS

A new development in the Bedford-Stuyvesant situation yesterday was the resignation from the police force of patrolman David Liebman. Liebman spoke at the Nov. 21 Midtown Civic League meeting and charged that the morale of the police department, under Mayor LaGuardia's leadership "is at the lowest level in years." During his speech he referred to the Negro people as "sunburned." Later he was ordered to face a trial before the Civil Service Commission for having concealed the fact that he had been an inmate of an insane asylum before getting on the police force.

Negro and white leaders yesterday continued preparations for several mass rallies and radio broadcasts to bring the real truth of the Bedford-Stuyvesant situation to the general public. Mrs. Ada B. Jackson, vice-president of the United Parents' Association, will broadcast over station WNYC tonight (Tuesday) at 5:45. A mass rally will be held by the Brooklyn Inter-Racial Assembly at the First AME Zion Church, Tompkins Ave. and McDonough St., Brooklyn. Mayor LaGuardia and others have been invited to speak.

Among The Colored

By O. A. DUPREE

Washington, [illegible]

The Greatest Problem

A very unique little book of 92 pages published by Ginn and Company titled: "The World At War," has reached the hands of the writer. This book was published this year and the price is thirty-six cents. A very good book for classroom and home use. The writer has not had the chance to read it thoroughly, but scanningly.

In the very first paragraph the author, John H. Bradley, says: "The greatest problem in the world is the problem of war. Even in the mist of battle one can hear men asking, 'How can we bring about 'peace on earth, goodwill to men'?' Though there is no quick or simple answer to this question, one thing is clear. To Learn to Make Peace We Must First Understand What Makes War. If peace is ever to be anything more than a recess between two wars, men must learn to recognize the germs of war and how to kill them before they spread their foul disease."

What are some of these germs? The first that comes to the writer's mind is HATE. The writer had the experience last summer of working in a defense plant in one of our fine cities in this state. The one thing that impressed him most was that it looked as though every citizen had a chip on his shoulder for the other one. On the street, in cafes, in public buildings, on the street cars and everywhere the very atmosphere was permeated with madness and hate for the other fellow. Ye gods, what a challenge for the churches.

If the peace that will be sure to follow this war is permeated with hate, then it will only be a recess and it might be a brief one. If we are to prevent wars and other upheavals, we at home (not only the people abroad) must not only cease hating people because they belong to a certain group or country, but we must saturate our souls with the love of the Star of Bethlehem.

Another germ is PREJUDICE. It is so much akin to hate until it could be discussed along with it. Class prejudice, group prejudice, race prejudice, church prejudice, nationality prejudice. All of these prejudices are germs that lead to wars and destruction.

How about IMPERIALISM? Wanting and conquering territory that belongs to someone else and most times without regard for human rights and human life. Surely we cannot afford to omit this germ.

Other germs might be, seeking for power and political glory, forced labor, oppression, limiting speech, press and religion, anti-racial and anti-religious organizations and events. All of these germs are contagious and make for wars. We must destroy the germs and prevent the wars. What price peace? Love and respect for other people regardless of race or condition, unselfishness, a full realization and the practice of the Bill of Rights a functional Declaration of Independence, a good neighbor policy and a Christ-centered peace treaty.

Reorganization

W. H. Cartwrite, well-known business man in this city, has been interested in getting adequate news to the members of our colored community. He has not only worked up a wide circulation for the Journal and Guide, one of the nation's outstanding bi-weeklies, but has worked up other publications as well. He is now salesman for a recent publication called "Negro Digest," another good seller among magazines in this country. Mr. Cartwrite is serving as circulation manager among the colored for the Daily News. He is asking for the support of everybody and is trying to get a paper in every home.

The Northwest Enterprise
Seattle, Washington

RACISM MUST BE BANISHED PRIEST SAYS

New York, Sept. 8. — Urging Catholics to lead in educational and practical work to eliminate racial intolerance, the Rev. Dr. John LaFarge, S.J., executive editor of America and spiritual director of the Catholic Interracial Council, writes on the "Causes of Race Riots" in an article in the Interracial Review. The problem, he writes, is primarily a moral problem in which every citizen shares responsibility.

"A citizen," Father LaFarge says, "of whateevr color he may be who is deprived of employment suited to his ability, of proper housing, of educational and vocational opportunity, is by that very fact hindered from performing his prime duty as a member or head of a family. He is prevented from being a good American and a good citizen."

Father LaFarge observes that race prejudice is really a manifestation of a "false doctrine as to the very nature of man" a doctrine treated by the Church as heresy.

"The Negro world in the United States," he observes, "in common with a very large world of colored people outside the United States, is acutely conscious of the kinship of American Racism and the Racist doctrine of Hitler. Any literate Negro can easily see for himself that the doctrine which is used to justify the persecution of Jews and the Poles in Europe is the same as that which is used here at home to justify injustice or violence against his own racial group."

The problem is national in scope, Father LaFarge concludes, and must be dealt with by a national policy of interracial injustice and amity. The problem is soluble, contrary to much that is asserted, he observes, "the colored man and the white man can work together in peace and harmon where reasonable measures are taken to encourage such peaceful co-operation." While urging aCtholics to lead, Father LaFarge points out that the dis-

Harvard University Workshop Group Studies Race Problem

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Aug. 19—(ANP)—The recent Detroit race riots and Harlem disturbance emphasized the importance of the investigations being carried on by the Harvard graduate school of education and the Harvard University Workshop in Intercultural Relations. Located in college in Nashville; Jessie Drew, Bunceton, Mo., a candidate for the doctorate degree in education, and Lorenzo C. White, Jr., Hampton institute, personnel and public relations director, and also a candidate for a doctorate degree in education, is studying the group is solving racial tensions will re- of the Lawrence [illegible] graduate school of education and headed by Clifford F. Bragdon, this group is studying the joint action and the [illegible] quire "the joint action and the joint policy of men of different beliefs and of all groups

56k-1943

CHOSEN PEOPLE

"If drunk with sight of power we loose
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe,
Such boastings as the Gentiles use
Or lesser breeds without the law,
Judge of the Nations, spare us yet
Lest we forget, lest we forget!"

—Kipling.

It is dangerous for any people to admit that they consider themselves "chosen" in a special sense. Yet much of history indicates rather a clear thread of choice, of unique fitting of an individual tribe or nation to a definite world task.

The story of the Hebrews points out the dangers involved. Their title as "chosen people of Jehovah" has helped to bring them centuries of opposition, ignominy, and persecution. Yet their life history and the contribution of their religious literature give them an excellent background for the risky designation. Of all people, they seem to have been selected to teach a crude and ignorant world its first sharp lessons in "right" and "wrong"—ethics in the highest meanings of the term.

Quite a good case can be developed for other peoples. The Egyptians could well claim to have been chosen as originators of several branches of science — land measurement, massive architecture, embalming. The Arabs taught mathematics and commerce. The Greeks gave us a proper love for planned beauty. The Romans impressed the world with efficient organization and high-powered government. A study of any nation points to this principle of individual fitness for special task. **Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser**

Of all the countries of earth, the Germans take the most exaggerated stand on this "chosen" theory. They boast of actual blood superiority and of a resulting right to world domination. Hitler's definition of Social Syphilis (marriage of any German to a non-German) would be mainly a matter for laughter if it did not bring to a head many rotten deposits of teaching that have run through German thinking for centuries. Germany humiliates or slaughters Jews for the reason, subconscious but effective, that the brutal "chosen" thinking of Germany runs exactly counter to the sensitive philosophy of the chosen Hebrews. September 5, 1943

May it not be that these, our United States, are also chosen for a worthy task? Admitting some evident and terrible blunderings in our history, are there not still remarkable movements and national acts that point to a destiny higher than ordinary? Remembering with sincere shame some elements in our treatment of the American Indian, admitting our shortcomings as brethren of the people of Mexico and South America, pleading guilty to our sins against the Negro in the South and in the North, confessing our crimes against underprivileged and powerless citizens in many places within free America—even remembering and admitting such things as these, do not there yet remain certain indications of a high purpose in our creation?

If this suggestion seems immodest or merely provincial at first thought, let's try the test always suggested by Al Smith, "Let's look at the facts."

When the Boxer Rebellion at the beginning of this century had been crushed by combined armies of the great powers, and when representatives of the conquering nations assessed a heavy indemnity against China, which among the victors was the only country that spoke as follows: "China, you owe us nothing. Your government was not responsible for the disorders and crimes. Put our share of the indemnity into a trust fund and use the proceeds to educate young leaders for your people."

What nation in this world ever deliberately and willingly set free a valuable piece of territory it had captured or otherwise acquired and did this on the theory that the citizens of that territory preferred full liberation? The United States actually did this for Cuba Libre and would soon have accomplished the same thing for the Philippines if Japan had stayed out of the way.

What people in the first World War took a prominent part in the military effort, furnished much of the munitions, supplies, finance, and manpower for the final victory, operated thousands of miles away from home and under little threat of close, local danger, asked for nothing, got less than nothing in material return, loaned money for rehabilitation to friend and foe, and was later called "Uncle Shylock" for suggesting faintly that repayment might be in order? At this same time, what nation sounded the cry for "no indemnities, no annexations, self-determination for little peoples," together with the urgent appeal for strong world organization in the interest of peace? It is little wonder that this nation failed in due time to join the league brought out of a treaty that so thoroughly disregarded all the basic principles involved in its own idea of a proper settlement. The parent of the League of Nations simply could not recognize the false and illegitimate offspring foisted upon the community.

What nation today is fighting on fronts all around the globe only to retain for all people a certain conception of life and human relations? Monumental figures of inconvenience, hardship, cost, bloodshed, and bitter grief appear these days upon the debit side of Uncle Shylock's ledger; and on the credit side, we can enter no hope of material gain, no territory to be won, no booty to be sought. We fight for the ideal that rather cloudily we see as democracy, as the rights and privileges of men. We fight for the brotherhood of man and for a system which we have at least in part there at home.

Adolf Hitler is correct in a way when he says that his battle—Mein Kampf—is against a coalition of Jewish ideas. For a fact, he is opposing the very core of the teaching of the chosen of Jehovah; namely, that men are brethren, sons of one Father, and that they must be so treated.

Whose leader is it that publishes repeatedly an urge for "Four Freedoms," a program that promises financial sacrifice but spiritual gain?

These national acts, trends, and conditions are facts. Surely we do not wish to boast in unseemly fashion; but, in all humility, we seem to detect in our national garment some threads of golden value that mark our nation for a high place. Can it be that our country is fated to lead the world in a new diplomacy—not one of skilled trickery, subtle trading for advantage, or treacherous finding of a brother's weakness; but rather a dealing with other nations as blood kinsmen of near degree? Could we be the "chosen" to extend Biblical law on out into the wilderness of international relations?

Star of Zion
Charlotte, N. C.

Governor Johnston Blunders

JUL 29 1943

At a time when everyone should be striving to improve race relations and stimulate good-will, Governor Olin D. Johnston, of South Carolina, addressing officers and men of the South Carolina defense force, went out of his way to tell them that "if necessary he would use them to expell 'outsiders' who attempt to 'agitate' social equality among the races in South Carolina."

JUL 29 1943

The governor was quoted as follows: "You cannot mix the races and have no trouble. God didn't see fit to mix them and I am tired of people agitating social equality in our State. . . . For generations we have lived here in South Carolina without trouble; we have treated the Negro race fair . . . But we cannot and will not tolerate the mixing of the races in our schools, churches and dwellings."

JUL 29 1943

Aside from the fact that these statements were apparently so uncalled for, having a tendency to stir up racial animosity, they indicate conclusions which are certainly not factual. It is not true, as he says, that "God didn't see fit to mix them," for H. G. Wells points out that for a thousand years the races have been mixing (a great deal of it has happened in South Carolina) so that now there is nowhere a pure race. We wonder what the governor means when he says: "For generations we have lived here . . . without trouble; we have treated the Negro race fair."

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We believe the records will show there has been a great deal more trouble since the days of segregation than before, for we remember there was a time when Negroes were admitted to the University of South Carolina; and the trouble has been chiefly due to the fact that Negroes were "treated" only "fair," instead of justly and fairly. No, the records will not support the governor in that statement.

But all that aside, the Negroes of South Carolina in a very pointed answer to the governor's statement disclaim any agitation whatsoever for "social equality," as the governor has defined it. Indeed, there is nothing which Negroes want less than social equality of that sort; the Negro Citizens Committee of South Carolina has stated definitely they "only want equal opportunities, equal educational facilities, equalization of teacher's pay, and the right to fully participate in our state government" We think that is simply being "fair," Governor Johnston, no more, no less.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

PATTERSON TALKS ON RACE PROBLEMS

JUL 29 1943

Nations coming together at the foot of the cross of Christ can settle the [illegible] of the most serious [illegible] facing the world, in the opinion of Dr. L. D. Patterson, pastor of Norwood Methodist Church, who continued his lectures on the Epistle to the Ephesians, at the Methodist preachers' meeting in the First Methodist Church Monday morning.

Dr. Patterson said that conquest, amalgamation or absorption will not settle the race problem, but that only in the cross of Christ.

District superintendents have announced as the date for the district meeting Monday morning. The fourth Sunday in October has been designated as the date for the quarterly conferences in September upon which all collections for the year will be completed in full. A large number of pastors attended the meeting in order to wind up as rapidly as possible.

How and Why of Kids' Gang-Race Wars

PM

They Occur in Some of The City's Neighborhoods as Part of Everyday Life

By SALLY WINOGRAD

PM Exclusive

New Yorkers were shocked last week by the news of a juvenile gang-race war in Newark which resulted in the death of one 15-year old Negro boy, and serious injury to several others. They were also shocked by the news of the anti-Mexican riots in Los Angeles.

JUN 13 1943

New York, N. Y.

But what they failed to realize is that much the same thing is happening in various sections of New York City, and has been happening for more than a year.

New York's own gang-race wars have attracted little attention because in the neighborhoods where they occur they have come to be regarded as part of everyday life.

No deaths have resulted yet, but the children have just been lucky.

Where Wars Are Fought

The neighborhoods where these gang-race wars occur are:

¶ The Hunts Point section of the Bronx.
¶ Around 129th St. and Amsterdam Ave.
¶ Around 164th St. and Edgecombe Ave.

Note that they do not occur in Harlem itself, where a program for interracial harmony has been in effect, both in the schools and the community centers, for several years.

Instead, they are cropping up in the outlying sections, sections which have been completely white for many years, and into which the Negroes have only recently begun to move. Race tension in these neighborhoods is strong, but as yet no program to combat it has been evolved.

I have talked with the children of these neighborhoods, as well as with their educators and social workers. Although the stories of each neighborhood may differ somewhat, in each case the pattern is the same.

Ages 14 to 18

The gangs are made up of either all-white or all-Negro youths, aged 14 to 18. All start originally as athletic or social clubs, but, lacking equipment for athletic or social activities, they have taken to gang activities for their excitement.

The action is always white vs. Negro or white vs. Puerto Rican.

Clashes occur almost every day. They start by two or three boys of one gang jumping a single boy of a second gang. Reinforcements are called up, and the battle is on. If reinforcements aren't immediately available, the injured gang member (if not too badly injured) brings his gang around that evening or the next day. Knives are almost always used, and stabbings occur frequently. All the youngsters are armed with clubs and with fishknives—a long blade on one end, a hook on the other—and some of them have guns as well. These are air pistols, usually picked up at pawn shops or through mail-order catalogs, and doctored so that they will shoot bullets.

JUN 13 1943

Make Own Powder

"They make their own powder and they pour their own bullets," a 14-year-old boy explained. "All you need is a chemistry set."

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Actual reasons for the fight don't often exist. Quite often the boys fight just for the excitement.

A 13-year-old girl told me:

"Once I was standing outside with this girl I know and her brother, when his gang came along. They said to him: 'Get your gun. We're gonna have a fight.' So he said: 'All right. Wait a minute,' and he went upstairs and got his gun. He didn't even know what they were fighting about."

"We always know beforehand when there's going to be a fight," all the kids told me. "It gets whispered around school, and after school. We know when and we know where, but we don't dare squeal."

One squealer was jumped. His face was slashed, his nose broken, and his arm dislocated.

20 to 30 in Gang

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A common practice is the holding up of the younger kids for pennies, or for their lunch money. Frequently they demand weekly payments—25 or 50 cents—for "protection." Recently they have taken to petty thieving in neighborhood stores.

I asked the children why they thought these gang wars took place, why they thought the gangs had formed.

Nothing Else to Do

"Well," one answered, "they don't have anything else to do."

Besides, they pointed out, there was very little organized social activity for both Negro and white kids outside of school hours.

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"We're friends in school and enemies after school," they said.

"What about the playgrounds?" I asked.

"Playgrounds!" they hooted. "We haven't any playgrounds. The places there are, they haven't got any equipment for us. All they have is a swing for the little babies or a wall we can play ball against, but that's not the right equipment for us. There are some nice playgrounds on Riverside Dr., but they're too far for most of us to go to."

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"I remember," said one of the kids, "when they used to have teachers at the playgrounds to teach the boys and girls how to play baseball and sew, and they had roller-skating contests and things. But now they don't have them anymore.

"When the school gyms were open, the gangs used to play baseball and basketball against each other. There were never any fights then."

Noted Citizens Urge FDR Act on G. K. Smith, KKK

Daily Worker

JUL 27 1943

President Roosevelt was asked yesterday in a joint open letter by a group of 55 leaders of national and New York organizations to "use the powers of the Federal Government to bring about an investigation and quick and vigorous action against the Ku Klux Klan, Gerald L. K. Smith, the indicted sedition-ists, and all those guilty of instigating and inciting racial hatreds and violence," it was announced by Dr. George Marshall, chairman of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

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New York,

Director James M. Landis of the Office of Civilian Defense was called upon to use the "vast resources of the Office of Civilian Defense to expose this most serious enemy action against the American civilian population and to take immediate steps to prevent its recurrence."

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"Stand up for Christ," he said, "and move the white folks."

"Fight for absolute equality now what some whitefolks," he said, "and the Negro is now than to surrender my absolute of leadership on Negro—in church, social and civic

Chicago Tribune
Illinois

SOUTH IS ABUSED; ASKS EQUALITY, SAYS GOVERNOR

PRAISES PRESIDENT, WIFE

Bishop Ransom pointed out that despite the fight of our President and his great wife for a square deal for minority groups the situation insofar as the Negro is concerned is unchanged. "Paying lip-service to the contrary notwithstanding.

TIRED OF LYING

"I am tired of lying and compromising," he said, "we have not achieved freedom never before in the history of this

Eminent Prelate Militant In Town Hall Deliverance

By BAXTER LEACH
(Staff Correspondent)

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In an address prepared for delivery before the New York Southern Conference, Arnall said:

"Every ill with which the south is afflicted is due to one cause—wasteful exploitation instead of as a part of our common country," and called for immediate recognition of these sections as "co-equals within the union."

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Chicago Tribune

SOUTH IS ABUSED, ASKS EQUALITY, SAYS GOVERNOR

Chicago, Illinois.

56k-1943

FREEDOM MUST BE GUARANTEED TO DARKER RACES, DR. JOHNSON SAYS

JUL 23 1943

Fisk Sociologist Is Heard In Address By New England Institute Of International Relations

Globe and Independent
Nashville, Tenn.

By Paul D. Davis

Newton Centre, Mass., July 22—(ANP)—There can be no convincing war triumph nor a lasting peace either nationally or internationally until the problems of race and race theories are frankly faced and solved by world leaders, declared Dr. Charles S. Johnson last week to patrons of the New England Institute of International Relations in Noyes hall on the Andover Newton Theological school campus.

Dr. Johnson, professor of sociology at Fisk university and author of several volumes of humanities, speaking on the subject "Racial Peace and World Peace," said that as events shape themselves more sharply against a background of global war it becomes more readily apparent that there exist at least six major areas where the problem of race and color are increasingly becoming threats to continued peace. These areas he listed as China and India, South and Central America, Africa, the Pacific Islands, Japan and the United States.

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The famous sociologist was one of several outstanding scholars and lecturers who have already or are scheduled to appear before the institute in the interest of a better understanding among the world's peoples. Others included in the current series are Maynard Krueger, professor of economics, Universiy of Chicago; Roger N. Baldwin, director, American Civil Liberties Union; Anup Singh, Indian nationalist leader; Alberto Rembao, editor "La Nueva Democratia," a Latin American journal; Margaret Frawley, former assistant director European relief, American Friends service; and Walter M. Kotschnig and S. Ralph Harlow, professors respectively of comparative education and religion, Smith college.

JUL 23 1943

"When we entered the war there was a great deal of freshly awakened concern about social ideals, international integrity and common human bonds linking us together in a new and inspired world association," said Dr. Johnson. "There was recognition, at least in the covenants and slogans, that the cycle of rockless imperialism was over; tha the day of the common man was at hand; that the peoples of the world, without regard to differences in color, national origin or race or culture, had a common stake in freedom in the destiny of the modern world. Indeed the situation demanded positive ideals, and the early reverses of the allies found greatest comfort in the conviction that the cause for which we were fighting was high, just and noble."

JUL 23 1943

Many world figures including President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, Field Marshall Smuts, Viscount Halifax, and Sumner Welles made speeches about the brotherhood of man, and the liberties and rights established in the Atlantic Charter, he said, but pointed out that observers view is not a wholly unexpected spectacle of mankind dealing with these ideals as a result of only limited allied victories.

"The insistent problem of India has been smothered under the old and familiar blanket of military expression and those leaders jailed who articulated the same lofty sentiments of freedom and independence that spurred us all to war," remarked Dr. Johnson. "The victories in North Africa have overweighed the need for the lofty idealism which carried us there. We can afford to give first place to political expediency. At home, we are in the fearful midst of an epidemic of race riots which is volume of popular participation and low level of motivation, reflect more than any development of the war and the mentality of the nation with respect to its own philosophies.

JUL 23 1943

"There is no escaping the fact that race and race theories compounded with economic interests stand out today as the most dangerous forces in the world. There can neither be a convincing victory nor an abiding place until these problems are frankly faced. They go deeper than the tangles of territorial boundaries, international trade and military expediency. They go deeper than any of the problems given prominence in the once politically important but now very dead league of nations. And we do not have to go abroad to find their roots, or to observe their corruption of the morality of a people."

JUL 23 1943

China and India with 850 million people, South and Central America with 150 million natives, Japan, and the United States stand today as real threats to a lasting peace, went on Dr. Johnson. This was true he said because of the traditional policies of racial inequality, denial of brotherhood, and assertions of racial superiority of the white ruling group over the ruled except for Japan. Japan is determined to throw off the yoke of whites in Asia he added.

"Today China, India, and Africa are fighting for the same goals of freedom and independence and equality of status that England and the United Staes are fighting for," nisisted Dr. Johnson. "If it ever becomes eviden tthat the ultimate end of an allied victory is merely an Anglo-Saxon rather than a Germanic control over the peoples of the world we shall not only lose completely the confidence of the millions of non-whites who are supporting the principle of freedom, but we shall lose confidence in our own morality and in ourselves."

JUL 23 1943

Pointing out that the future security of small and large nations, colored and white races, were inevitably becoming more and more interdependent, Dr. Johnson referred to the departure of the magazine Asia in treating of the American Negro's situation. After 25 years of publication he said the editors finally came to realize that the American Negro is an "inescapable part" of the picture in which America and its allies are fighting for the preservation of democracy. Dr. Johnsonn deplored, however, the attitude that refuses to discuss Africa in post war plans and declared that "no more powerful argument" exists for self rule of Africans than that provided by the "Free French colonies under the Negro Governor—General Felix Eboue."

JUL 23 1943

"It is clearly recognized by our more enlightened statesmen and moral leaders that unless we as a nation take into account the minority rights of peoples in all nations we cannot preserve our freedom at home,' continued Dr. Johnson. "This principle, however, is by no means clear even yet to those ardent defenders of the old order, who still insist with vehemence and with a disquieting volume of unreflecting popular support that social justice is utopian and impractical, that racial segregation and discrimination are necessary measures of control, that civilization is to be preserved not by extending its benefits, but by restricting the benefits to the few.

JUL 23 1943

"The importance of the moral question of the nation is reflected in the serious suggestion that the United States might arbitrate the difficulty and embarrassing stalemate involving the imperial problems of Britain in India and the demands of India for freedom. At a debate onn the India question, on the nation wide program of the Town Hall of the Air, following the proposal that the United States mediate the Anglo-India issue, a Canadian in the audience put a very searching question.

"Obviously some mutually trusted power is needed to break a deadlock that is both morally confusing and militarily dangerous. But, the questioner asked, could the United States feel free to do this while practicing a similar policy with reference to some 13 million Negroes and other thousands of non-whites in its own country; and could England in good conscience be granted a similar privilege of finding a moral solution of the American race problem?"

Dr. Johnson said that the question provoked some serious thought on the part of democratic Americans, because at the time of our greatest efforts to secure freedom and democracy for the rest of the universe, the War Manpower commission had to force employers to hire Negroes in war industry, southern congressmen were running for office on nanti-race issues, and these already in office were ham-stringing legislation on anti-poll tax legislation.

JUL 23 1943

"We may win the war, and dictate the peace," declared Mr. Johnson, "but unless our participation in the war succeeds somehow in giving reality to the democratic principles around which alone the nation could make the issues important enough to die for, the silences thousands of our youth will have been of no avail.

"Unless the peace that follows is one devoid of the plaguing exclusions, and restrictions of people because of race and color, it can only be what Thomas Mann so trenchantly describes as an exhausted intermission between two catastrophes."

JUL 23 1943

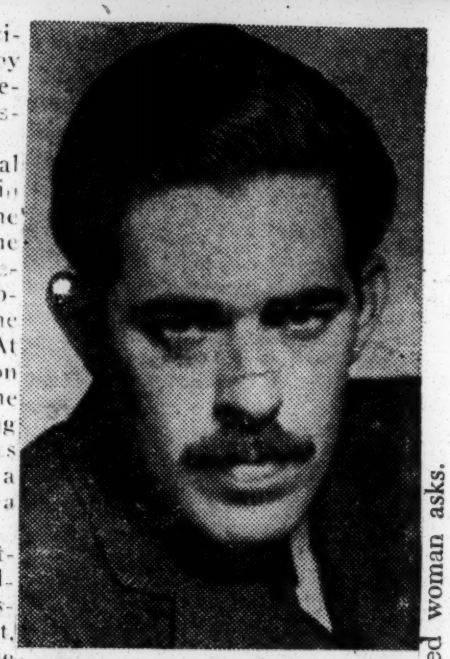
PM
New York, N. Y.

HEARD AND OVERHEARD

1943

By Winston Weisman

Rarely has radio had such reason to be proud of itself as it had Sat-



William N. Robson, CBS writer-director of *An Open Letter.*

urday night when CBS addressed *An Open Letter* with a postscript by Wendell Willkie to Americans of every creed and color, openly condemning race riots in the U. S.

Breaking with precedent, the broadcast made radio history by taking an editorial stand on a controversial domestic issue urging all of us to fight discrimination in the interest of democracy and unity. It sought to lay bare what happened in Detroit in the hope that "no sensible, fully informed American would allow to happen again, here at home, what he is fighting against all over the world."

JUL 26 1943

Without passion and prejudice the broadcast traced the causes and events that led up to the bloody riots in Detroit that took 35 lives, injured 600, held up production for three days in the "Arsenal of the United Nations" and accomplished nothing. And the tragedy of it all was that it could have been avoided.

JUL 26 1943

The broadcast told the story of the rapid growth of the city; war orders piling up with a shortage of labor. At first the recruiting offices scoured the nearby country. Then, rather than hire Negroes, they went South to the Carolinas, Georgia and Alabama. But finally, desperate for men, they were forced to take on Negroes.

JUL 26 1943

Half Million Imported

"In three years," said the program, "Detroit imported 500,000 black and white workers from the South."

puzzled woman asks.

Saw It Coming

"Perhaps the people who didn't

And this in face of shortages of all kinds.

JUL 26 1943

"Detroit doesn't have houses for a half a million extra people," continued *An Open Letter.* Detroit doesn't have enough street cars and

Office of Facts

March of 1942 the Office of Facts

played hate's by

native Nazi."

about these problems, a "Unless strong and quick inter-

movie houses, bowling alleys to en-population awa

buses; Detroit hasn't enough parks, the prejudices of

awaiting the new army

workers. Subversive organi-

bund-inspired speakersact, can answer that question, for

impossible to rent a decent housezations and bur

e's hymn on the emotionscertainly they saw it coming. In

y didn't somebody do and Figures said

and Polish-born immigrants, and allsomething abou

vention by some high officials is taken at once, hell is going to break loose in every northern city where large numbers of immigrants and Negroes are in competition.

Sixteen months later a minor incident on the Belle Isle bridge touched off the rioting in Detroit.

"From bloody dawn to bloody dawn in that single day, the insurrectionists wasted one million man hours."

The situation which flared so tragically in Detroit, said Wendell Willkie in his postscript to the program, has its counterpart in many American cities and they must be eliminated by seeking out the basic causes.

"Two-thirds of the people who are allies with us do not have white skins," said Willkie. "And they have long, hurtful memories of white man's superior attitude in his dealings with them. Today the white man is professing friendship and a desire to co-operate and is promising opportunity in the world to come when the war is over. They wonder. When the necessities of war cease to make co-operation valuable to the white man, will his promises mean anything? Race riots in Detroit, Los Angeles and Beaumont do not reassure them.

"We must seek the basic causes and find the ways for their elimination. There are certain things these Negro citizens are entitled to:

"They are entitled to protection under the law.

No Discrimination

"It is their right that there shall be no discrimination against them in the administration of the law, in Federal, State or local governments.

"They are entitled to the same opportunity to aquire an education as that given other citizens.

"They have a right to the elimination of all arbitrary restrictions on voting, through taxation or otherwise.

"Their right to work must equal that of any citizen and their reward should be the same as the reward of any other citizen for the same job.

"And last, they should have the rights of every citizen to fight for his country in any branch of the armed services.

"These are rights," concludes Willkie, "that the Negro of our communities is entitled to share with other citizens. We must see to it that he gets them."

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Happening Here:
Hold The Negro Down

The riotous outbreaks here and there about the country are sorry, sordid and sickening. They easily constitute one of the ugliest developments in modern history. Even more important than the cursed events themselves and their underlying motivations. And unless the situation is taken in hand by the states and localities themselves or by federal authorities, we are in for some deplorable developments. These outbreaks are not isolated happenings resulting from isolated motives arising in isolated communities. They are rather closely connected incidents directly related to a common cause of rebuffing the Negro in his attempts to better his condition.



DR. HANCOCK

The HND (Hold Negro Down) elements in this county are on the offensive, and even the war efforts are being subordinated to its studied designs. The resurgence of the anti-Negro politician of the south is one of the manifestations of the spirit and determination of the HND's of America.

Angered because the Negro wants to enjoy some of the freedom he is fighting to guarantee to other racial and national groups, these HNDs are now throwing democracy, Christianity and God to the winds in their efforts to subjugate the Negro.

UP TO NATION

It is for this nation to say whether its war effort and its moral standing are to be subordinated to the designing ends of the HNDs. It is just as well for the country to know that the threat is not alone against the future of the Negro, but against the sovereignty of the nation—and its survival.

The Negro cannot be indefinitely subjugated without brutalizing effects upon the mind and morals of the nation and world. It is no more creditable for the HNDs to massacre defenseless Negroes than for the Germans to annihilate defenseless Jews.

While it is a popular thing to charge everything to Axis propaganda, it may not be amiss for us to consider the possibilities that we have elements in this country just as capable of fomenting these outbreaks as ever the Axis have. What is more, these elements were active long before the Axis was ever dreamed of.

DETROIT RIOT REVEALING

What transpired in Detroit roughly dramatizes the situation. When we consider the pattern of the Detroit riot we have some startling revelations. In the first place, with few exceptions, all those killed in Detroit were Negroes. In the second place, with only few exceptions, most of those arrested were Negroes.

Thirdly, a large number of the Negroes killed, were killed by the police. We have here one of the most ominous revelations of the whole situation. From the way policemen shot Negroes the assumption was that Negroes were the instigators of the riot.

From the way Negroes were arrested it might be assumed that Negroes were [illegible] orders. How could Negroes be at once the greater instigators and the greater victims?

The Negroes caught it going and coming—more Negroes killed and more Negroes arrested. This roughly indicates to Negroes what to expect when the riots break out. The policemen are patently out to protect the whites and not the Negroes. And herein lies the danger.

If the law enforcement authorities are carrying into their work the assumption that the Negro is uniformly the trouble-maker, then the police are going to overlook the white hoodlum in their determination to quell the Negroes. Statistically, one would conclude that the Detroit riot was instigated by Negroes; factually we know this is not true.

DISTURBING PREMISES

The ugly spectacle of riotous outbreaks must be laid at the door of the HNDs whose major premise is un-Christian and undemocratic and un-American. Their policies are jeopardizing the moral standing of the nation abroad and queering our chances of leadership in the post-war world.

A lawless nation may be popular because of the strength of its exchequer; but it will not be respected; and such respect as it will enjoy in the comity of the nations, will be of the "dollar down" type.

It is just as well for this country to remember that the present threat is not so much against the Negro as against the nation itself. AMERICA MUST SAVE THE NEGRO OR ITSELF BE LOST!

The thing that is producing riots against Negroes in this country is far more dangerous than that which is hampering our war program through strikes. Both are giving great comfort to the enemy. Both are happening here

Speaks Out For White Supremacy

Kansas City Call

Mississippi Candidate Has Bilbo's Support

Kansas City, Mo.

CARROLLTON, Miss. — (ANP) —Claiming that he has the full support of Sen. Theodore Bilbo and ex-Sen. Wall Doxey, Lester J. Franklin, perennial candidate for governor, opened his campaign here Wednesday launching a bitter attack against granting to Negroes the freedom for which America fights abroad.

Persons familiar with Mississippi politics conceded Franklin but slight chance of election.

"We of the South are faced with grave trouble," Franklin asserted in his opening statement. "It is being brought about by outside meddlers who don't understand our problems with respect to our relations with the Negro race.

For White Supremacy

"True to the traditions of our beloved southland, I am for white supremacy and race purity, first, last and always. I will not tolerate as governor any crackpot theories seeking to bring about political or social equality between the white and black races.

"I am vigorously and unalterably opposed to the government undertaking to take charge of our criminal courts, and otherwise interfering with our internal affairs, which are plainly delegated to the states under the constitution of the United States.

"The federal constitution fixes in the states the right to fix the qualifications and prescribe who may exercise the right of suffrage. I am wholeheartedly behind our southern senators and representatives who are battling in congress in an effort to preserve the state's right to say who shall not vote and under what limitation.

"Every man and woman in this state must pledge himself and herself as I now pledge myself to fight to the bitter and such movements when ever and wherever they occur, to the end that the right of the states may be made secure and our liberties preserved.

Will Ignore FBI

"I don't favor mob violence and when governor I shall discharge my duty in providing protection to those charged with heinous crime. However, I want it understood that when I am governor and a black brute so forgets his place as to commit rape upon a white woman and the outraged public interferes with his civil liberties by taking his life at the end of a rope, I shall rely upon the state courts to deal with those guilty if they can be so proven. I will not bring the matter to the attention of the FBI and request its intervention as was recently done in Jones county.

"If our northern n----r-loving friends will leave us alone we will continue to handle the race question and live in peace with at least 99 per cent of the level, law-abiding colored people of Mississippi and the southland.

"I lay it down as a flat proposition that while I am governor of Mississippi, regardless of what congress does with the poll tax, Mississippi Negroes are not going to belly up to the polls and take charge of elections in this state. This has been a controversial issue since the war between the states. My advice to our northern brethren is to let the southern states work out those racial problems as they arise in the future as they have in the past."

ANNIE LEE NORRIS.
916 North Short 12th Street,
Birmingham, Ala.

PEACE AT HOME

To the Editor of The News:

I for one am hoping very soon that some so loved that He gave His only begotten S
form of education will be started mainly to to save.
combat the tendency to create race war be- We fail to bear
tween the people. It seems that we who have ers of the
the urge to fight would direct our blows at the clear away
Axis, in whatever way we have, rather than

56k-1943

The Globe Trotter

By Cliff Mackay

Let's Adopt A Slogan

Daily World

UNQUESTIONABLY THAT was a good slogan coined by Georgia's youthful chief executive, Governor Ellis B. Arnall to win the support of voters for his state constitutional amendment proposal lowering the voting age to eighteen.

His "A man old enough to fight is old enough to vote" was in the parlance of swing music fans a "solid sender." It posed an argument that even the most rabidly conservative opponents found difficult to rebutt. It would be hard indeed to explain to young men who have lost legs, arms and eyesight defending American democracy in North Africa, the Aleutians and on Guadacanal why they have not earned the right to full participation in that democracy.



MACKAY

PROVED EFFECTIVE

The fact that the amendment won the approval of Georgia's voters, making theirs the first state to lower the voting age, is best proof of the slogan's effectiveness. It rivalled in potency the Revolutionary War battle cry, "Taxation without representation is tyranny."

Atlanta, Georgia

So impressed was this writer with Governor Arnall's slogan, he dares to propose that it might not be a bad idea for some of our deep South leaders, who have for so many years futily bemoaned the disenfranchisement of our people, to adopt and re-phrase Governor Arnall's unanswerable slogan.

This slogan could then serve as the spear-head of a determined south-wide campaign for political liberty, not only for members of our race, but for all of the millions of disinherited who dwell in the Southland.

DIFFICULT TO ANSWER

Certainly it would be extremely difficult for even such well-known baiters as Blease, Bilbo or Rankin to find logical answers to an argument that if a man is good enough to fight for his county he is good enough to vote for. Of course there would be a desperate effort to bring forth an answer out of the vague hodge-podge philosophy of 'white supremacy,' whatever that is. But such an answer would not only be illogical, it would be totally out of line with everything the United Nations are professing to be fighting for.

Something needs to be done and soon to make the noble provisions of the United States Constitution real to millions in America, who do not now benefit by them. It must be done before the thousands of black sons three-fourths of them from the South, return home.

These boys who have willingly gone forth to the world's farflung battlefields, to fight, bleed and die for a democracy they have never enjoyed. On their return certainly will not be satisfied to exist under the same old discriminatory laws, to still be victims of unequal justice, to continue to be denied a voice in the government they have risked their lives to defend. They will be expecting a full and equal share in the democracy they have fought for. And their expectations must become reality.

Our leaders should go even further than the re-phrasing of Governor Arnall's effective slogan. "A man good enough to fight is good enough to vote" fits only a small part of the disenfranchised millions, although during the present crisis it would indeed be effective propaganda to soften up those who fiercely resent our fight to lift ourselves from the stigma of second class citizenship.

Peculiarly enough the Southern Governor's Conference itself has gone on record against discrimination. Our leaders should join in the fight of the state chief executive against this evil of evils, although the governors at the moment do not appear to be concerned with the racial discrimination that plagues the lives of so many of their citizens but instead are addressing themselves to what they believe the greater evil, freight rate discrimination.

A wise move, this writer believes, would be for our leaders to condone the determined fight being made by the governors, while at the same time warning that freight rates is not the only discrimination that is harmful to the South. These leaders might point out that all discrimination is wrong, whether sectional or racial; that economic and political inequalities are breeding grounds for discontent, whether practiced on a local, national or international scale.

FITS OUR FIGHT

They too, could supplement their slogan campaign with one designed along the lines of the Colonial era rallying cry, "Taxation without representation is tyranny." Here is a tailor-made catch phrase which fits the plight of millions of Negro citizens like a glove. This Eighteenth Century slogan, though revolutionary to most of our 20th Century reactionaries, certainly bears no mark of a foreign 'ism,' with which conservatives delight in smearing all progressive moves. It is purely American in origin and should be American in practice.

The only 'ism' with which taxation without representation agrees is hated fascism, against which the great democracies are solidly aligned. It is most embarassing and another one of the hard-to-answer arguments when examples of our own special brand of 'made in America' fascism comes to light. Exposing them now in view of our professed war aims, would be a real service, not a hindrance to America.

What is that could do a more effective job of impressing attention on our native fascism than those who are daily victims of its evil ways? Until this pernicious system has been completely eliminated at home and abroad, there can be no victory worthy of the name, there can be no durable peace.

WELL WORTH A TRY

The slogan campaign is well worth a try. Who is that can refute with sound argument the slogan, "If a man's color is no barrier to his fighting for his country, it should be none to his voting?"

It is merely a simpler way of letting the nation and the world know that we are wholly dissatisfied with our half-slave status under a government pledging freedom to all. It states in every day, down-to-earth language that while we are more than willing to fight and die for America, we also want the opportunity to work and live, to serve America.

NEGROES ARE FED UP

Christian Recorder

They Take The Four Freedoms Literally and Insist On Some For Themselves

By PAUL MURRAY

Philadelphia, Pa.

Many honest Americans thought we could fight a war against fascism abroad without interference from domestic upheavals at home. They felt that the Negro, the coal miner, all the underprivileged in our midst should wait for justice until we had defeated the Nazis. Perhaps they were right, but Detroit blasted the whole idea. And if any one is tempted to ask the Negroes to trim their sails and wait unil victory," he fails to understand the mood of America's tenth man.

For this much is basic: The Negroes in America are determined to obtain justice and nothing will stop them. The determination is unanimous. It is expressed on every level of Negro life from zoot suiter to college president, from sharecropper to soldier, from preacher to labor leader.

The very existence of the Negro ghetto and the neglect of its manifestations by most of the press may keep this fact from the mass of whites. But they can read it on the face of every black man. They can read it in the words of Negro writers who are dipping their pens in the hearts of their people and writing with unprecedented truth and passion.

The rebellion will stop nowhere short of its goal. No matter how faltering, disorganized or reckless in expression, it is a deep instinct, the most precious of all human instncts—the determination to be free. Suppres sit and you suppress the heart of America. For the Negro today is the symbol of all our own yearnings, of our equally faltering and disorganized groping toward democracy and human brotherhood. If we as a nation, will free the Negro and [illegible] brother—saying the word as if we mean it—we will be well on the way toward a justly deserved world leadership. That is the challenge.

Whether or not we accept this challenge matters little to the black man in his present mood. College graduates who have fought their way through Jim Crow in government pools and on the assembly line are saying, "Let the riots come—we don't give a damn!" Negro soldiers and sailors admit that they expect a "revolution" upon their return from the war because "we intend to get our rights and they're not going to give them to us without a fight." When you hear the tale of the almost guerrilla-like [illegible] that occurs on busses, trains, streetcars, restaurants and any place where "prejudice as usual" meets head on with this new belligerency, you know that the mood is not a passing one.

Terror will not stop it. The tragic consequences of terror are a deepening o fresentment, a sharpening of hatred—and a spirit of retaliation. Official eyebrow raising will not stop it. White House slence, except to order out troops, will not dampen it. Denouncing of rumors and hanging the blame for riots upon "fifth columnists" will not explain it away or deflect it. The Negro is adopting the war slogans as his own. He listened to President Roosevelt's remarks on June 7 in connection with the United Nations Food Conference:

Our ultimate objective can be simply stated: It is to build for ourselves, for all men, a world in which each individual human being shall have the opportunity to live out his life in peace; to work productively, earning at least enough for his actual needs and those of his family; to associate with the friends of his choice; to think and worship freely; and to die secure in the knowledge that his children, and their children, shall have the same opportunities.

At these words, the most humble Negro lifts his head, points to his war stamps, or to the picture of his son in uniform, and says, "This means me."

Anyone who takes the trouble to study history should be able to understand this eruption. The campaign against slavery got impetus from the passion for freedom which swept Europe and found an outlet in the French and American revolutions. The Revolution of 1848 fed the struggle which was to flare up in the war between the states. We should never forget that millions of Negro slaves, untutored and encompassed by every imaginable legal restriction, nevertheless knew instinctively that their freedom was the issue. They had an uncanny faculty for kepnig up with every turn of the war. They even helped to turn the tide in favor of the Union forces by mass exodus from the large plantations when ever Union armies approached. This robbed the Confederacy of its labor force and broke its economic backbone. History—American history—is repeating itself. Freedom for the common man is in the air again.

The basic needs the Negro American have been chanted with the consistency of a dirge wharever he could get a voice—equality before the law, in housing, in employment, in education, in health facilities, in public accommodations, in the right to the vote and the protection guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. Beyond all this is the acute desire to be accepted as an American without the chilling distinction, "your race," and "your people. The rebellion against the denial of these rights is speeded by war.

In an atmosphere of war nerves, individual acts of violence—physical or mental—breed mass violence. A white sailor dashes the tray of a Negro girl war worker in Washington to the floor in a crowded government cafeteria. An irate conductor catapults a Negro woman from a street car because she does not have the patience to explain a slight confusion over transfers. Two Negro war workers are arrested a monkey wrench by a white doctor and fined for riding in their accustomed seats to the Pentagon Building. A Negro USO worker in Raleigh, North Carolina, is beaten with impunity because she stands on her constitutional rights. Negroes who could afford it simply avoided the humiliation of travel on public conveyances. They bought their own cars and sensed in the power which comes with controlling the means of getting free from the restrictions of Jim Crow camps. Transportation is one of the most widely-used of the war white man's restrictions. It is here that the racial gas rationing, they cannot escape segregation is most significantly brought

It is physically impossible to separate the races as the law requires in southern states. When seats are available in the Negro sections, whites will take them rather than stand in their own sections. Whites will spill over into Jim Crow trains. But the Negroes cannot do the same thing when they outnumber the whites. The racial tensions bottled up in the jammed confines of a bus explode the moment somebody resents being pushed around and lets is be known. In the South, bus drivers have thrown Negroes from their vehicles and have themselves been tossed out of their busses commandeered or overturned by Negro soldiers. Tales circulate of restaurants that have been wrecked by squads of Negro soldiers because service was refused.

When these tales are repeated over and over again among Negroes they create an atmosphere of tension from which the victims must find relief. They look to the law enforcement agencies in vain. Desperate, they resort to buying the respect of the white man with their blood. The gang spirit grows on both sides, and the individual Negro or white has little chance in the cross-fire.

I have no easy solution for this deep crisis and I know no one who has. I know that economic insecurity, or the fear of it, will always breed suspicion among races. But economic security is still a distant hope. I know that many organizations have long lists of legislative and executive proposals that could alleviate the immediate situation. They are sound suggestions. They would help. But when will Washington act?

Those of us who will not yield to despair will continue to fight for a solution through long-range and immediate programs of group action. But I think the situation also demands a revolution in our individual thinking. It requires a moral ethic which reaffirms a fundamental kinship in all mankind. It needs the reclamation and redirection of the southern personality which has grown up in a jungle of racial deceit on both sides, surrounded at all times with potential physical and spiritual violence.

But not too many northerners have the right to assume a holier-than-thou attitude toward the professional southerner. The Negro will tell you he has far more respect for the downright hatred of the southerner than for the indifference of the northerner. In the approach to our race crisis indifference can be as fatal as active intolerance.

Paul Murray is a student at the Howard University Law School. She has been active in behalf of Negro and labor rights through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Workers Defense League. Her main interest now is the development of non-violent direct action techniques in resistance to Jim Crow.

—Common Sense.

SOUTHERN SAY-SO

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Frank Discussions of Problems Will Impress Southern Negroes

BY M. S. STUART

NEGROES will understand just how far the following condensation of an editorial, Memphis Commercial Appeal, September 3, misses being the unrationed piece of sweetness it was obviously intended to be and just how skillful the editor was in stopping just short of related observations so obviously helpful and proper that he must have found it almost necessary to shoo them away from his typewriter, to wit:



Mr. Stuart

"According to the New York Post, Attorney General Biddle has made a sweeping proposal to the White House to halt completely all Negro migration from the South to Northern war jobs. If it is true it will suit the South as few things emanating from the liberal wing of the New Deal have recently done. As we interpret the decrees, such migration is prevented without the necessity of further steps, and thus hard times, indeed, are brought to the agitators and long-haired gentry who have been leading Negroes off to an illusory promised land in the North, where living conditions, freedom and opportunity are infinitely more restricted than in the South.

"Our reactions are far from selfish, though we do admit the importance of the Negro to Southern agricultural progress and to our economic stability.

"The truth is, that we feel that the Southern Negro will benefit most if he remains among the people who understand and appreciate him.

"In the South he is getting better schools, his health is being given great consideration, and his lot has improved immeasurably over what it was a quarter of a century ago.

"Those things have come to him because the South itself is progressing spiritually and intellectually as well as materially.

"The Negroes who remain in the South will get along and the South will get along. What both want and will prosper through is an end to outside influences. Left to themselves they'll work out a decent and proper destiny."

MISSED THE NAIL HEAD

A careful reading of the above discloses that the writer was hedging throughout. He was trying to be inoffensive to Negroes and yet not violative of a certain school of Southern thought. It was a thin line along which he tried to worm his way, requiring a tenor of timidity which never makes an outright hit. In his theme, so plainly in perspective as to defy oversight, were all of the elements for writing the kind of editorial in behalf of the South which is at this very time so much needed.

THERE IS a crying need for a frank confession of mistreatment of the Negro by the South and a declaration of intentions to go about correction in a sincere, sane way. But this editor missed the boat. He inched right up to the point, then only wet his toes in the edges of the deep, clean waters of justice, human equity and real progress. He tiptoed all around the Hall of Greatness, even peeped in at the bright light of truth, then backed off in fear of the Ghost of Southern Tradition.

TOO PLAIN TO MISS

The racial discrimination in any such decree (if issued) is so plain and harsh it is not believed here that the leading white thought in the South approves it. If the writer of the above had only said that while he is not pleased by the migration of Negroes to the North, yet could not approve singling out the Negro, or any other group, for special discriminatory restraints, that would have done more to endear the South to colored people than any amount of abuse of "long-haired gentry and agitators."

THAT WOULD have been "hitting the nail on the head," and that is what the Southern Negro is waiting for his Southern white friends to do. He wants to believe that his South is at least moving in the direction of a fairer deal for him, and he knows that it is looking back towards slavery to restrict his freedom and leave others unhindered.

MORE FRANKNESS NEEDED

To all but the most illiterate Southern Negroes, the tone of jubilation in which the alleged discriminatory dictum of Attorney General Biddle was applauded, will be counted as just more evidence that freedom and opportunity in the South are still more restricted than in other sections.

HEDGING and veneering Southern defects will not get it. It will take frankness to confess the wrongs of the past and the courage to begin now to correct them. Southern Negro leaders believe it is best for the masses of Negroes to remain in the South; but they know it will not help to keep them content here for Southern white leaders to applaud discriminatory dictums by any public official.

Moreover, Southern Negroes do not need "long-haired agitators" to lure them North. Going to and from both North and South now every week are many friends and relatives of Negroes telling each other all about conditions in both sections. Detroit and Chicago are now quite common to colored people in the Mississippi Valley as are Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York to those of the Atlantic aboard.

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

Political Chief Talks Of 'Gagging' Harlemite

'Blatherskites' Told They Must Go; Randolph Maps Speech In Memphis

MEMPHIS — Any Negro who has his mind set on social equality had better give the matter serious thought if he expects to live here. This was the grim warning of Ed. Crump, undisputed boss of Shelby county, when it came his turn to talk about the debate on free speech and free assembly that has stirred up a hornet's nest here since the cancellation three weeks ago of a meeting A. Philip Randolph was scheduled to address at Mt. Nebo Baptist Church.

Cancellation of the meeting followed a conference between Attorney General Gerber and a group of Negroes. At the conference, the Negroes were told that the meeting might stir up feeling detrimental to the fine spirit between the races. The Negroes took a hint and called off the meeting.

Mr. Crump was a bit more forthright than the attorney general. He said:

"Memphis has been placed on a list of 12 cities where racial trouble is a possibility. Many of us would actually walk from here to Chicago, if that would prevent any serious race trouble in Memphis, killing perhaps thousands and thousands of law-abiding, respectful citizens of the Negro race and many whites; but I am sure we would walk that distance to deal with any man or set of men if they were trying to stir up trouble between the races and disrupt our friendly, amicable relations.

Blatherskite Not Wanted

"While I am on the subject," Mr. Crump said, "no blatherskite or demagogue of the North or South should be permitted to interfere with the friendly relations between the races that now exist in Memphis."

In discussing the present and future relationship between the races here, Mr. Crump left nothing to be misunderstood. He said:

"About 99 per cent of the Negroes in Memphis appreciate what has been done for them — housing, health, medical centers, schools, playgrounds, parks, swimming pools, tuberculosis hospital, preparing help for the blind, crippled children, incurables and feeble-minded and innumerable other helpful things.

"About one per cent of the Negroes," he said, "will never be satisfied no matter what is done for them unless there is complete social equality. The few in this part of the country who want that had better give this matter serious thought as long as they live in this section. That unhappy one per cent with a mistaken sense of their wrongs, usually pass down unwise thoughts to those [illegible] down the ladder and then there is mischief."

Another Meet Arranged

The county boss said there is a large Negro population in Memphis and that some white people hate Negroes and some Negroes hate white people, a fact he considers unfortunate. He added that if serious trouble should occur here with loss of life and destruction of property, it would take 25 years to recover and regain "our friendly relations."

Last [illegible] in New York Mr. Randolph said steps were being taken by a group of Memphis citizens to arrange another mass meeting and invite him to speak.

Mr. Randolph had gone to Memphis from Dallas, Texas to address a mass meeting at Mt. Nebo Baptist church and to two meetings with members of the local Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Following the conference with Attorney General Gerber, the officials of the church ordered the auditorium closed, but the porters defied city officials and held their business meeting [illegible] banquet as originally planned.

Mr. Randolph has announced that he will take the matter up with Attorney General Francis Biddle to determine if officials of Memphis have not violated the provision of the Constitution by curbing free speech and free assembly.

Civil Liberties Union

The Union
Fights For Rights!
Cincinnati, Ohio

Following [illegible] reports that Attorney General Francis Biddle has recommended to President Roosevelt the use of wartime powers to prevent further migration of Negroes from the south as a measure to curb racial conflict in northern cities, the American Civil Liberties Union today urged the Attorney General to withdraw a proposal in favor of "more constructive policies." The Union suggested a vigorous criminal action adding that it may be argued with force that the migration of workers from one part of the country to another "based upon race," should be placed upon the movement of Jim Crowism in the armed forces, for a national Fair Employment Practices act, abolition of the poll tax and repeal of the [illegible] exclusion legislation.

No restrictions, the Union said

New York World-Telegram
New York, N. Y.

Group's Program Sent to President

The executive committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation announced today that it has sent a program to President Roosevelt urging him to make an address to the nation and to give leadership in [illegible] discriminations to which the federal government is a party. [illegible] carry with them established preju- dices against Negroes."

56k-1943

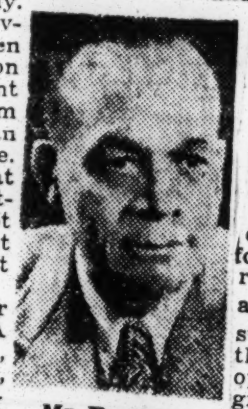
Rogers Says:-

ILL-TREATMENT BREEDS DISLOYALTY; PSYCHOSIS OF BILBO, COTTON ED SMITH SIMILAR TO ROBERT JORDAN

BY J. A. ROGERS

JAN 9
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

BY WAY of leading up to my subject I'm going to present two facts, one historical, the other sociological. The fact is: In the good old days when a man had epileptic fits or other forms of lunancy it was believed that devils had taken possession of his body. As a cure the doctor would order the patient to be well whipped. The idea was that the devils would feel the blows and leave the body.



Mr. Rogers

Accordingly several lusty men would set upon the poor patient and thrash him to within an inch of his life. Please note that under this treatment it was not the disease but the patient that was punished.

The other fact is this: A Frenchman, Pole, Greek, Jew or Hollander from one of the Nazi dominated countries manages to escape to the United States. Having thrown off the Hitler oppression here he feels an immense gratitude to America, and a correspondingly greater hate for Hitler. But suppose, on arriving here, such an emigrant found conditions akin to or worse than under Hitler! What would his feeling be towards America then? Let us suppose further that he left America and went to Brazil and there he found freedom at last? What would be his likely attitude? He'd become strongly pro-Brazilian and anti-American and anti-German.

If this emigrant re-visited America or Germany again what he would say to his friends about those countries while in them would be plenty. If he were a crackpot or somewhat off in the head, he'd say a lot of extreme things that would get him into trouble, and even into jail. But please note again that if this emigrant had been rightly treated in Germany or the United States, his extravagant statements, his lunacy, would be in favor, not of Brazil but of Germany or the United States. A Nazi crackpot in a fat job, for instance thinks there's no place on earth like Germany, with which we, crackpots and others, in America emphatically disagree.

THE CASE OF ROBERT JORDAN

JAN 9 - 1943

NOW for my point: The case of Robert Jordan, the so-called Black Hitler, who was found guilty of sedition in New York last week. Jordan is a native of the British West Indies, where the natives, though not subjected to official jim-crow or to lynching, are terribly under-privileged. Trying to get away from this, Jordan came to the United States. But what did he find here? He found that although he had better economic opportunities, he was even less of a human being than he was in his native land because while there are several social color lines in the British West Indies, the government does make some attempt to preserve human dignity. No Negro there is ever made to feel like a dog as he is, say, in every Southern state.

Leaving the United States, Jordan went to Japan. Here, probably **for the first time, he met no color** restrictions, and even got a job as a quartermaster on a Japanese steamship. Result, like our hypothetical white emigrant, he developed a fondness for Japan, and a greater hatred for Britain and the United States. If, however, he had been badly treated in Japan and had been well treated in China instead, he'd have been for China. For instance, I know Negroes not born in Holland or France, who are fanatically for those lands because they were well-treated there. I, myself, for instance, cannot bear to hear anything said against France because I recall the real freedom from jim-crow I had there. In short, one loves a place where he is well-treated and speaks against a place where he is ill-treated. And if one is somewhat off in the head as Jordan undoubtedly is, he's sure to say a lot of crazy things, which, of course, no sane person can condone. Since most Negroes are level-headed, Jordan hadn't a corporal's gaurd of followers, which in opinion, makes his imposing trial in Federal court, not only belabored but provides unnecessary propaganda for Japan.

AND speaking of crazy utterances, permit me right here another parallel. I have always been struck by a certain similarity in the psychology of the average Southern white and that of the Negro in the United States. For instance, the Southern white usually has a persecution complex whenever he thinks of the North. He cannot forget the South was beaten in the Civil War and is forever trying to justify himself.

A SOUTHERNER FIRST, AMERICAN LAST

Most Southern literature, like Negro literature is defensive, as for instance, the Clansman, "Gone With the Wind," etc. Furthermore, just as most Negroes have little love for white people so most Southerners do not like Northerners. The latter are still "Damn Yankees" to them. And just as Negro history is often radically different from "white" history, so is Southern history opposed to Northern history. Your average Southerner is a Southerner first and an American last. Politicians like Bilbo, Ellender, Connally, Talmadge, Dixon, will boast of their Americanism but you'd be darn lucky to find a tenth of one per cent of genuine American spirit in them. They are professional Southerners. Northerners are usually American at heart; perhaps very few Southerners really are.

NOW since the South, like every where else, has a high percentage of crackpots, and since a crackpot usually has a monomania, the monomania in the South expresses itself in crazy utterances about the Negro. I have been reading these for many years and the collection I could make of them would make many a madhouse look sane. Some of them were from educated Southerners; and bushels of them from Southern congressmen and statesmen.

JORDAN IS LIKE BILBO OR COTTON ED

JAN 9 - 1943

Now a crackpot is a crackpot, regardless of color. So, if by some magic, as in the Arabian Nights, you could suddenly transform Bilbo or Cotton Ed Smith from white to black; from the ranks of the oppressor to that of the oppressed, you'd have just another Jordan, or worse.

TO punish Jordan and not punish along with him those whose evil treatment of him was the cause of his sedition is a high travesty of justice. It is the old barbarous method of beating the patient to get the devil out of him.

Globe and Independent
Nashville, Tenn.
MAR 25 1943

"KEEP ON FIGHTING," IS ADVICE WILLKIE GIVES NEGRO RACE

Racial Injustices Must Be Ended; Says 1940, GOP Presidential Nominee

By Lowell M. Trice

MAR 5 1943

NUSHVILLE, Ind., Feb. 25 — (ANP)—Declaring that he fervently hopes the Negroes of America will continue their fight for social, civic, and economic equality Wendell L. Willkie, Republican presidential candidate in 1940, re emphasized his belief in the fundamental rights of world minority groups in an exclusive interview with the writer Saturday after-noon.

The interview took place in the front parlor of the rambling 10 room Rushville home of Mr. Willkie's mother-in-law. It was a three-man conference—Mrs. Willkie modestly remaining in another room. The third person was Lemuel Ones, personal assistant and traveling companion to the man who someday might occupy the White House.

"Living conditions in the United States are far superior to other parts of the world that I have visited upon my two trips abroad," he began in his typical Hoosier drawl. "However, this is far from saying that they are entirely satisfactory here in our own country. We have yet to rid ourselves of the many racial injustices and inequalities before we can truthfully say that our democratic form of government is ideal."

Mr. Willkie, who had just completed a hectic week-end of speech making and interviewing while in Indianapolis, stated that he was much in favor of certain portions of the administration's foreign policies and opposed to others to be specific, he replied: "I have been opopsed to our dealing with Darlan, Giraud and Vichy France because I don't believe that we can rightly fight one thing while condoning another of the same stripe."

Prodicts Republican Victory in 1944

Regarding his own political ambitions Mr. Willkie was non-committal. However, he was of an optimistic mind concerning the Republican party and its future on the American political scene. He predicted a Republican victory in '44, but was emphatic in his view that such would not be obtained because of the seemly trend toward a new leadership.

"We of the Republican party must work for the achievement of the right kind of program. We must become affirmative and not remain negative. We must throw away the old stencil and adopt a far-seeing attitude."

MAR 5 1943

"Likewise there can be no dohbt," he said, "concerning our responsibilities toward the great social aims of our times. But we must take the leadership in converting those aims into realities."

As to America's role in the post-war period, Mr. Willkie referred to his Lincoln day radio address delivered before the Women's Republican club of Indianapolis in which he said:

"There must never again be any question of the right of workers to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, or of the fundamental right of all citizens to be free of racial discriminations.

MAR 5 1943

Labor Meet Raps Governor's Talk

Pittsburgh Courier

COLUMBIA, S. C., August 5 — In no way The Fort Jackson speech of Gov. Olin D. Johnston and charges of Sen. Burnett R. Maybank that 50 per cent of colored draftees are being rejected because of illiteracy, were scored heavily in a labor mass meeting here Tuesday.

Criticism of the governor's pledge to evict from the state any persons working for "social equality" and agitation among Negroes was made by James M. Hinton, secretary of the South Carolina Citizens' committee.

Turning to Sen. Maybank's charge, the secretary said that the

All Groups Interdependent, Not Antagonistic'—Willkie

FEB 20 1943
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Feb. 18—Asserting that all groups racial and economic are interdependent, not antagonistic, Wendell L. Willkie, in a speech broadcast over the national hookup of the Columbia Broadcasting Company, thrilled the Women's Republican club at its annual Lincoln's Day banquet.

"There can be no doubt concerning our responsibilities toward the ment from labor and both from great social aims of our times," declared Mr. Willkie. "We must take the leadership in converting those aims into realities. There must never again be any question of the right of workers to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, or of the fundamental right of all our citizens to be free of racial discriminations. And we must not listen to the strident voices that would argue otherwise seeking to divide us into

FEB 20 1943

BASIC NEEDS ONLY MINIMUM GOAL

NO RACIAL INDEPENDENCE

"For all groups racial and economic are interdependent, not antagonistic. For The accomplishment of these objectives is a task requiring only minimum goals. Basic protection is but a starting point. We do not want a society where men are merely protected in their basic needs. We want a society in which men—regardless of race, creed or color—have a duty toward every citizen may advance through their initiative and their energies. In this land to protect him or her their initiative and their energies. every citizen owes to every other citizen basic protection against the hazards of unemployment, old age, and ill health.

New York Age
New York, N. Y.

BIGOTRY ON THE BENCH

IT IS HIGH TIME that the hidebound Brooklyn Republican, Magistrate Abner Surpless whom Mayor LaGuardia placed on that borough's judiciary, put a brake on his race-baiting, anti-Negro remarks.

Recently when a well-dressed, decent-appearing (even the dailies admitted it) young Negro mother confronted him on a charge of losing her temper and assaulting a teacher who either had or had not struck her young son, Magistrate Surpless issued forth with some nonsensical noise about Mayor LaGuardia being "responsible for the conditions in Harlem," and branded the defendant, a Mrs. Alice Thompson, a "disgrace to her race" and a "menace to society." He continued to point out that she ought not be allowed to walk free in the streets of the city.

Well, in the opinion of THE NEW YORK AGE, Magistrate Surpless has shown himself to be a disgrace to the New York City judiciary, a menace to the system of democratic justice and ought not be allowed to continue his unharnessed verbal vindictiveness whenever he is confronted by a Negro defendant.

Witness the statement credited to the Magistrate two weeks ago when another Negro defendant was brought before him:

"I am tired and sick of these muggings. If we had a Mayor who was not so concerned about the various groups which go to make up the population of our city, we might be able to get protection for the whole population."

The honored judge then continued to advocate that our Police Department had turned into a junior Gestapo and recalled the days of the late Mayor Gaynor as days when the City of New York received protection.

In the Thompson case, there was involved no question of mugging. There had been no issue involving Harlem. But Magistrate Surpless allowed himself to issue a vicious prejudice-ridden attack on the Negro citizenry of two boroughs.

Now, he re-emphasizes that attack by jacking up the Mayor because the latter gives what he thinks is too much time and attention to the "various groups which go to make up the population of our city."

Magistrate Surpless, by his attack, has labeled himself one of the Northern Bourbons who ought to be yanked out of positions of power if the cause of the common people is to progress. The words he utters are spleen, the thought he reflects is reactionary and the philosophy he espouses is Fascist.

The citizens of Brooklyn will do well to demand his removal from the bench as temperamentally, mentally, intellectually and morally unfit to be a judge.

The Republican Party to whom he has always been loyal, can gain very little by this type of public service.

Race Nonsense

Race Prejudice Based Mainly on Distorted Facts

A lot of prejudices will have to be swept away before the road is cleared for the Century of the Common Man. Race prejudice is one of the most stubborn obstacles along that road. The pity of it is that so much of this prejudice is built on gross misunderstandings of a few simple, basic truths about race.

The late Prof. Franz Boas probably knew more about this subject than any man who ever lived. The facts that follow are based mainly on his teachings.

What Is Race? A lot of the nonsense disseminated by racists—those who would see the world divided between "superior" and "inferior" races—is based on a fundamental confusion between race on the one hand, and language, culture and nationality on the other. Boas and other scientists tell us that race applies only to biological groupings of human types.

Prof. Ruth Benedict, a disciple of Boas, divides humanity into three primary races,—the white-skinned, black-skinned and yellow-skinned. Other anthropologists list four, five or more races. Skin-color is by no means the only determinant of a man's race. There are other physical factors, such as color of hair and eyes, shape of nose and head. These features usually, though not always, bear some relationship to skin-color.

Racial Types. Within these three or more primary races, there are a number of "local types" which do not constitute distinct races but nevertheless share certain biological characteristics in common. There are, for example, European sub-groups or types that may be called Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean. All these types overlap. All may be found living side by side in practically every part of Europe.

Race has nothing to do with national boundaries. There is no distinct "race" of Frenchmen, Germans, Irish or Italians. The round-headed, squat people of southern Germany are further, biologically, from their fellow-countrymen to the North than many natives of northern France. Many of the Russian soldiers are more "Nordic-looking" than the Nazis whose blood is now mixing with Soviet soil.

There is no Aryan, Semitic, Slavic or Latin race. All four terms belong to languages, not races. There is no Jewish race; the Jewish people are bound together by social, religious and cultural ties having nothing to do with biology or race.

Pure Races. No race is pure—whether black, yellow or white. All are the products of countless generations of ceaseless crossings of people on the move. Race is not static, but mobile. It changes constantly with the intermixtures of great migrating masses of people. Boas, in an epochal study three decades ago, showed that by scientific measurement that there are significant bodily changes in the American descendants of European immigrants.

The Germans who proclaim themselves "pure Aryans" are really a blend of many Asiatic and European peoples. The U. S. A., greatest of modern nations, is the greatest melting pot of them all. There is no proof that intermixture of races or racial types weakens a group or a people. All the available scientific evidence is to the contrary.

Bystander

Des Moines, Iowa

Willkie Urges Negroes to Continue Fight for Rights

By LOWELL M. TRICE

Rushville, Ind. (ANP)—Declaring that he fervently hopes the Negroes of America will continue their fight for social, civic, and economic equality, Wendell L. Willkie, Republican presidential candidate in '40, re-emphasized his belief in the fundamental rights of world minority groups in an exclusive interview with this writer Saturday afternoon.

The interview took place in the front parlor of the rambling 10 room Rushville home of Mr. Willkie's mother-in-law. It was a three man conference—Mrs. Willkie modestly remaining in another room. The third person present was Lem Jones, personal assistant and traveling companion to the man who some day might occupy the White House.

"Living conditions in the United States are far superior to other parts of the world that I have visited upon my two trips abroad," he began in his typical Hoosier drawl. "However this is far from saying that they are entirely satisfactory here in our own country. We have yet to rid ourselves of the many racial injustices and inequalities before we can truthfully say that our democratic form of government is ideal.

Regarding his own political ambitions Mr. Willkie was non-committal. However he was of an optimistic mind concerning the Republican party and its future on the American political scene. He predicted a Republican victory in '44, but was emphatic in his views that such would by the *Amsterdam Star-News*, a New York Negro news.

Nation
New York, N. Y.

In the Wind

WHEN Lucius Cliett, a Negro jeweler of Albany, Georgia, bought $3,000 worth of war bonds, the Albany *Herald* quoted him as saying, "I am buying bonds of freedom," and the Atlanta *Journal* editorialized that "it would be difficult to persuade Lucius Cliett that he is underprivileged or downtrodden by a ruthless majority. His ability and industry and thrift have met with abounding success in a small city in the Deep South, where—the radicals and the busybodies at the North will tell you—the Negro has no chance."

THE AMERICAN TOBACCO COMPANY, a New York

56k-1943

These Words Let All Americans Remember

The Herald
New York, N.Y.



NOV 28 1943

PAUL ROBESON

"We are determined that we shall gain total victory over our enemies, and we recognize the fact that our enemies are not only Germany, Italy and Japan: they are all the forces of oppression, intolerance, insecurity and injustice which have impeded the forward march of civilization."

President Roosevelt: August 14, 1942, on the second anniversary of the Atlantic Charter.

NOV 28 1943

By PAUL ROBESON

Chairman, Council on African Affairs

[Text of an address delivered Tuesday afternoon, Nov. 16, at the First Session of the New York Herald Tribune Forum on Current Problems at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York.]

NOV 28 1943

I AM here today to discuss the problems of the Negro American.

As for all Americans any approach to these must be in the light of the new historical necessity dictated by our full participation in the World War II. For we live in a period of human history when the greatest, the most sacred, the most human task has become the destruction of fascism in whatever form, wherever it may be found, and the ushering in of a new epoch in our civilized life.

As a Negro American, I can understand the importance of this task because I have seen fascism grow from its early days—days when, as a young American abroad, I had little understanding of what was to come. Much later with the rise of Hitler, I sang for refugees, went through Germany in 1934 where I encountered trouble that might well have meant my life—saw the great anti-thesis of this monstrous ideology of Superior Race and the enslavement of mankind, and its eventual destroyer—For in the same year, 1934, I visited the Soviet Union where I found new life, not death, freedom, not slavery, true human dignity, not inferiority of status. Upon my return to Western Europe and to England, I saw the suffering about me with different eyes. I realized that the suffering of my own people was related to the sufferings of equally oppressed minorities. Later I saw Austria in its dark days, Norway and Denmark on the edge of destruction. I saw Spain in the travail, and helped struggle against the policy of these who sacrificed the Republican state, and by so doing made necessary the needless sacrifice of thousands of precious lives.

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Confident of Stake in Victory

During this period the lessons to be learned were very clear; the danger ever present. For good and sufficient reasons these lessons and this danger were not easily comprehended.

Other people however besides the direct victims of Axis aggression also have a genuine awareness of the democratic significance of the present conflict. Their awareness is born of their yearning for freedom from an oppression which has pre-dated fascism and their confidence that they have a stake in the victory of the forces of democracy.

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The American Negro has such an outlook. It dates from the fascist invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. Since then, the parallel between his own interests and those of oppressed peoples abroad has been impressed upon him daily as he struggles against the forces which bar him from full citizenship, from full participation in American life.

There are three things in the American scene which today arouses the bitterest resentment among black Americans and at the same time represent the greatest handicap upon his full participation in the national war effort. First is their economic insecurity which they know to be the result of continuing discrimination in employment even now, coupled with other forms of economic exploitation and social discrimination in urban communities such as Harlem.

Second, is the segregation and inferior status assigned to Negroes in the armed forces, and their complete exclusion from most of the women's auxiliary services. Added to this are the insults and acts of physical violence nurtured by the segregation policy, which have been inflicted upon them in many of the camps and camp communities, even in areas which, before the coming of the army camp, had been free from racial prejudice. This is the shameful condition. Several appeals have been made to the President, from whites as well as Negroes, urging him to issue an executive order against racial discrimination and segregation in the armed services. Such an order is as essential to the morale and fighting spirit of our war machine as to the morale and productive capacity of our industrial machine.

Third, is the poll tax system of the South, which operates to maintain undemocratic elements in places of authority not only below the Mason-Dixon line but in our national life as a whole.

It is not my purpose to discuss these evils. I only want to say that so long as day Americans continue to tolerate these conditions, just that much more difficult is America's task in winning this war and that much further removed are all Americans from winning a people's peace.

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Gains That Have Been Made

Some progress has been made in righting these wrongs. The most positive action has been in the accomplishments of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices. And let it be said to the credit of our Commander-in-Chief, that he has twice interceded to prevent this agency from being rendered powerless. The Marine and Air Corps have abandoned their policy of excluding Negroes, the Navy has cracked the door for them, and some Army officers are doing their best to change the pattern of distinction between white and black American soldiers. But these gains are pitifully small, indeed, when measured against the loss of manpower, the lowered morale, the inter-racial friction and national disunity which characterizes America at war.

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And yet there are some who deplore the Negro's present-day struggle for democracy and equality as endangering the national unity and our war effort. They point to the trouble (so they say), that the FEPC has stirred up in the South, and to the disgraceful race riots—insurrections or pogroms would be more accurate—in many industrial centers, which resulted (so they say), from Negro militancy.

Such people do not understand the basis of this conflict. The Negro asks that we be clear about the great moral and practical issues involved. Do we want to fulfill our historic destiny and build a good world and a good life for the many (as is clearly possible)?—abolish inequalities in great measure; provide tremendous opportunities for the hitherto oppressed, or shall we follow the fascist idea of dog eat dog and let the many starve—live endlessly in poverty—deny the fundamental equality of all men (we'll excuse genius) and their equal potentialities given equal opportunities.

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The objectives of the first way have been well expressed by our President and Commander-in-Chief, by our Vice-President, by the great leader of the Soviet people, and must less desiredly expressed by the English leader Mr. Churchill whom, however, I sincerely believe the English people will push on to broader and more inclusive objectives.

Again the Negro asks that we be clear about whose freedom and opportunities are concerned. First, the freedoms and opportunities of the underprivileged and oppressed everywhere; the underprivileged in many as yet not fully democratic lands. Including our own; the people laboring in mine and mill and [illegible] field; the minority peoples, be they white or black, mon and Brattle Hall symbolize. Today's [illegible] yellow or brown, of whatever re- the height of human striving for [illegible] ligion or creed. free men in a free world)—we recent election of the

Attacks upon the representatives of the laboring people, upon these minorities which, in the last analysis, are fascist attacks. We have seen many in recent months—vicious ones upon labor. We recall Detroit, Los Angeles (and so terrifying for one who, as the son of a slave, was reared and nurtured upon the abolitionist tradi-

To paraphrase a famous states- Council and the general tre man: "Freedom is indivisible," the Negro vote toward Americans must be as outraged Negroes of their goals, the chief allies in the struggle for In other continents, Asia and

Africa, and India, and in the islands of the Caribbean and the Pacific, black, brown and yellow peoples are likewise alert to the issues of this war. Our Japanese enemies, taking full advantage of this fact, are seizing every opportunity to try to convince these peoples that they, the Japanese, and not we, the members of the United Nations, are their true liberators.

Great Numbers Not Yet in the War

The great majority of these peoples, especially in Africa, are on the sidelines of the war. They have not been mobilized to any appreciable extent by their colonial administrators in either the military or production services. Their participation now in the United Nations' war effort—just as in the case of the American Negro—is the measure of the kind of victory and the kind of peace that is in store for them.

Let me read to you something that a Negro leader in South Africa recently said: "I know like anybody else that although we are fighting for Democracy, we do not enjoy democratic rule in this country, but I look with hope to the influence that will be exerted by American and Russia towards our rights, as I think that if the Allies win, a new order of government will be brought about."

"I look with hope to the influence that will be exerted by America and Russia toward our rights." Those words represent the thought of millions of colonial peoples throughout the world.

This last quotation brings to mind that once again as in Munich, we stand at another crossroad in this Fascist struggle but this time the lessons to be learned and the ever present danger are much more easily comprehended, and a great responsibility lies with us here in our great America. I feel it my duty as an American to press the need for collaboration and friendship now and in the postwar world with the great peoples of Soviet Russia, for Negroes hate Fascism to the death, and of all its destroyers the Soviet people have been the most potent and self-sacrificing. In their blood they are wiping much of this monstrous thing from the face of the earth. We either collaborate with the Soviet Union, England, China (our decisions must deeply influence the other nations concerned), or we can pursue a selfish path which can only lead to further imperialistic ambitions and wars which in my belief, could well lead us to disaster.

We Again Stand At the Crossroads

In Moscow we have just made an auspicious beginning in the right direction but already the attacks have begun and in high and powerful places. The struggle is on its way to be won, but it can be delayed, and in essence, lost, if we are not fully aware. As for Negroes, anyone who, in view of the world's suffering—and on the other hand, of the possibilities of a decent life for all (measured in a purely scientific manner by our experts)—I repeat, anyone who still says "No" to the end of the war and its causes, and insists upon an impoverished world—this person is not an anti-Fascist, and is, whatever the reasons, an enemy. They are many and powerful. One of the greatest hopes today lies in the spirit of the oppressed themselves. The underground peoples in France, in Yugoslavia, in Norway, in Denmark, in Czechoslovakia. The oppressed everywhere—yes, here in Boston, Detroit, Los Angeles, in the South—are dedicated to liberty, opportunity, and human dignity. Thanks to the blood of our boys and that of our Allies, and at this point no one could cavil at my singling out the Soviet Union. Thanks to these sacrifices the hitherto oppressed will have this liberty, opportunity and dignity.

People can take hope from the words of their Commander-in-Chief, President Roosevelt, spoken on the second anniversary of the signing of the Atlantic Charter: **"We are determined that we shall gain total victory over our enemies, and we recognize the fact that our enemies are not only Germany, Italy and Japan: they are all the forces of oppression, intolerance, insecurity and injustice which have impeded the forward march of civilization."**

These words let all Americans remember.

Leaders Here Map Aid to Negro Area

Washington Tribune

Washington, D. C.

Leaders from trade unions, civic and church groups met together yesterday afternoon in the center of the Bedford-Stuyvesant area where the Negro citizenry is under almost unprecedented attack and prepared to mobilize thousands of progressives for defense of the beleaguered section.

Called by the Brooklyn chapter of the National Negro Congress and the Bedford CIO Community Council more than a score of outstanding [illegible] attended the meeting which was held at 474 Sumner Ave., headquarters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Among those who took part and spoke were Edward Strong, executive secretary of the National Negro Congress; Councilman Peter V. Cacchione, Saul Mills, secretary-treasurer of the Greater New York CIO Council; Norman B. Johnson, Negro councilmanic Republican candidate in the last election; Dr. Bella Dodd of the Teachers Union; Barney Conal of the CIO Industrial Union Council; the Rev. Boise S. Dent; Charles S. Collins of the Negro Labor Victory Committee; Dr. Alpheus Hunton, educational director of the National Negro Congress; Arthur Osman, president of Local 65, Wholesale and Warehouse Workers and others.

Mr. Strong, in an address before the leaders, warned that unless public pressure calls a halt to the frenzied lynch-like attacks in the press [illegible] reactionary political interests against Brooklyn's Negro population, these forces may bring about "another Detroit" in New York City.

The leaders present at the meeting agreed to act for the establishment of a headquarters in the Bedford area where Negro and white residents could report landlord violations, "rough-house" police activities and obtain free legal advice.

Meanwhile, preparations went ahead for a huge rally to be held tomorrow (Thursday) night at the Broklyn Academy of Music, where some of the city's most prominent labor, church and civic leaders will speak in answer to the Kings County Grand Jury attacks upon the Bedford Stuyvesant Negro population.

Urging an all-out attendance at the rally, Councilman Peter V. Cacchione, Brooklyn Communist leader, declared:

Within the last fortnight we have been treated to a series of biased, prejudiced reports in newspapers arising from the findings of the Grand Jury in Brooklyn relative to the investigation of so-called [illegible] conditions in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area. Certain individuals who have always publicly proclaimed their anti-Negro prejudice have used this report as a basis for further verbal attacks against the Negro people, using the tactics of Adolph Hitler in efforts to disunite the population of our borough.

The lynchlike uproar against Brooklyn's Negro citizens was characterized yesterday as a "renewed plot to employ organized anti-Negro attacks as a method of real estate business and a strategy for political power" by the American Labor Party of Kings County.

An assertion made last Sunday by policeman David Liebman that Mayor La Guardia's handling of the police department has resulted in "lowered morale" was flatly denied yesterday by officers of four police associations. The signers said they "are happy to state that the morale of the Police Department has been on its highest plane under the leadership of Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine.

Liebman, who was questioned by police officials Monday night as a result of his attack upon the department, the Mayor and his slurring remarks against Negroes, is reported to be awaiting standing trial on charges.

Pearl Buck Urges More Militant Cry For Rights

Journal and Guide

Norfolk, Virginia

LOS ANGELES, Calif., (ANP)—Committing herself more than she has at other interviews since she arrived here, Pearl Buck, world famous author, told the NAACP youth council last week that Negroes must be "still more militant" for their rights. The meeting was held at the 28th street YMCA.

Miss Buck urged that Negroes be "more vocal" when their rights are violated. "Nothing that is evil likes the light of day," she said. "Draw your problems to the attention of as wide a section of the nation as possible. I am a great believer in making a lot of noise when one is oppressed.

"I believe that the vital world forces of today are moving against imperialism. I believe that you young people will live to see the day when all segregation and all discrimination will be wiped out in the United States."

From the Editor

PM New York, N. Y.

Intolerance Is Un-American

Over the weekend, two separate organizations met in New York to take up the same problem: racial and religious intolerance and discrimination. Our weekend edition went to press before the final sessions were held, so we are reporting on the meetings today on Page 9.

More important than anything that was said or done at either meeting, was the fact in itself that the meetings were held. In this fact is evidence of a growing realization that a dynamic, unified democracy at home at once both embracing and stemming from all our people—regardless of racial origin or creed—is our strongest weapon, and defense, against the plunderbund of fascism. For the fascists do not always come with armies; as often they arise within, to spread and to live on the same hatreds and oppressions Hitler used to enslave Europe.

Race hate helps our enemies as much as a direct gift of war goods or sabotage for it divides and depoils, behind the lines, the democracy which the fascists are trying to destroy in the field. Intolerance is un-American.—JOHN P. LEWIS

56k-1943

CHINA SPEAKS

Treat Negroes As Human Beings And There Won't Be Any Race Problem Here

BY LIU LIANG-MO

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

SEP 18 1943

THIS week I am deep in the heart of Texas, the land of cotton and oil. I was greeted warmly by the people here, white and colored alike, as the representative of the Chinese people. They admire the Chinese people and they are eager to help China. Texas is the home of Gen. Chennault, who is fighting bravely with his Flying Dragons in China.

Texas is also the home of Rep. Gossett, who is going to propose a new bill to repeal the Chinese Exclusion Act.



Mr. Liu Liang-Mo

Yet, I also met many people here who are doubting the wisdom of repealing the Chinese Exclusion Act; though they respect the Chinese people, their attitude is self-contradictory. Fundamentally, they are afraid of changes. They want the "good old days" to remain the same, and yet time is marching on. As President Roosevelt pointed out in his Ottawa speech, we are looking forward to the "better new days."

TENSION HIGH BETWEEN RACES

Texas is also the land of many races. I saw Mexicans, Indians, Negro and white people. I can feel that racial relationship in Texas is in high tension, especially between the Negro and the white people.

THE war has spurred the Negro people's desire for equality, and the white people can certainly feel the pressure. I have met some white people who are simply bewildered by this question, and who do not know how to face it.

SEP 18 1943

WOMAN OFFERS CASE IN POINT

I met a white lady who is the housekeeper of a big hotel and who has to supervise quite many colored workers, both men and women. With the shortage of labor and with the Negro people's demand for fair treatment, she doesn't know what to do. She took a special course which was offered by the state on "Management and Psychology," still she could not find the way to solve this problem.

SHE doesn't know what the Negro people are thinking. She is studying many books by Negro authors in order to understand what the Negro people are thinking and feeling. In her eagerness to understand the Negro people, I see hope of a peaceful solution of this serious problem. There are thousands of white people down in the South like this woman. We must make effort to let them know how we are feeling and what we are thinking. Better understanding and relationship must be established between them and the Negro people. It takes able leadership of the Negro people and the white people to do it.

SEP 18 1943

TREAT NEGROES AS HUMAN BEINGS

She asked me what to do. I said: "Of course, that course in 'Management and Psychology' would do you no good for it is a problem much more fundamental than that. Time has come for a basic change. If you try to treat the Negro people just as human beings, then you will find that there will be no problem at all. This is the key to understand the Negro problem, and the Chinese question also."

SHE asked me: "How are the Negro soldiers feeling?" I told her first that the Negro soldiers are among the bravest fighters of America, and yet they are being discriminated against in the army and in the navy, therefore the feeling among the Negro soldiers and the civilians is bitter. The Harlem incident was caused by it.

She is going to try what I have suggested to her, and I hope that she will get good results.

KLAN RIDES AGAIN

On the other hand, there are white people who are very much afraid of the change that they resolved to use drastic measures. Ku Klux Klan is riding again. They are active everywhere. Many Texas and other Southern white lawyers have withdrawn from the American Bar association because it decided to allow Negro membership. Governor Chauncey Sparks is planning to launch an Anti-Negro and Anti-New Deal movement in the forthcoming Democratic National convention. Under the cover of the slogan: "Make America American," the America Firsters are very active down in the South. All these will play into the hands of the Nazis and the Japanese imperialists. It will lead to a bloody path in America in the future. If they are truly patriotic Americans, as they claim they are, they should try very hard to avert it.

SEP 18 1943

I THINK the children know better how to live happily together among different races and how to help each other. Two weeks ago, I went to Newark, N. J., and there I found 50 poor Negro children who are shining shoes to earn a little money to help the Chinese war orphans. Their goal was $10 and on that day I went there, they got only $7.50. I was so moved by them that I sent a special article to China for the Chinese children telling them what the Negro children are doing for them.

LITTLE CHILDREN SHALL LEAD THEM

I also went to Camp Wo-Chi-Ca (Workers' Children's Camp) with my friend, Mr. Kumar Goshal. There we saw white children playing and living happily with the Negro children. Together, they resolved to help the Chinese children by contributing what little money they have got. In their letter to the Chinese children, they said:

"WE, the children of Camp Wo-Chi-Ca, Negro and white, living together in a true democracy, regardless of race, color, or creed, understand and realize the meaning of freedom and your struggle. Together we shall march on!"

These children have pointed out the right direction to a better, new world.

SEP 8 1943

Columbia, S. C. Record
November 3.

Collins Urges Segregation Of Races Continue In S. C.

Demands that South Carolina's two senators support a program of international cooperation to preserve peace after the Second World War, an address by State Senator R. M. Jefferies on "Preparing for Peace in South Carolina," and a declaration by the Rev. Mazie Collins, chairman, that removal of segregation of the White and Negro races in this state would not mean "Democracy," marked the one-day convention of the Congress for Democracy in South Carolina here yesterday.

On motion of Miss Mary Frayser, chairman of its Post War World Committee, the convention voted last night to notify Senators E. D. Smith and Burnet R. Maybank that it was the sense of the convention that America should cooperate with other nations to preserve world peace upon the conclusion of the present war, and to request their support for such a program.

Segregation of the races, Mr. Collins said, is the method which the South has chosen for handling the conflicting problems of Caucasians and Negroes, and he expressed the personal opinion that it is a better solution than either of the other two which make up the three methods which mankind has devised. The other two, he said, are first, slavery, and second, amalgamation.

At the night session, Mr. Collins was re-elected to head the organization for another year.

Mrs. Eunice Ford Stackhouse, of Columbia, was elected first vice president; Miss Mary E. Frayser, of Winthrop College was elected second vice president; W. H. Ward, supervisor of the extension division of the University of South Carolina, was re-elected treasurer; and Mrs. Byrd B. Holmes was elected treasurer.

Mr. Collins had served during the preceding year as general chairman of the organization but on the motion of the nominating committee, made last night by Mrs. S. N. Burts of Spartanburg and unanimously affirmed by the convention, the titles of the chairman and vice chairmen were changed in the course of the nominations to president and vice presidents.

Ralph O. Tuten, executive secretary of the Preparedness for Peace Commission, spoke on "Preparing for Peace in South Carolina" at the afternoon session, and the remainder of the afternoon was devoted to ten forum-type committee discussions.

In his annual address as chairman, Mr. Collins said that different races inhabiting the same territory have hit upon three and no more than three methods of adjustment. The first, he said, is slavery, which America has rejected. The second, he continued, is amalgamation, which, he asserted, has never reproduced the highest development of either race through inter-breeding of races as different as the whites and the Negroes. The third, he added, and the one which the South has deliberately chosen is segregation—not of the Negro alone, for the white people are just as much segregated from the Negroes as the Negroes are from the whites.

18 Objectives

Mr. Collins presented a program of 18 objectives for South Carolina, including various phases of economic, industrial, educational and sociological improvement.

On the latter topic, and concerning the question of two races, he said that segregation is a method which has its shortcomings. "However, on the whole, I am confident that it has offered more freedom to both races than either of the other methods could possibly offer. . . . Some of my liberal friends are opposed to the two races being separated in meetings such as this. However, I have insisted upon it because I felt that I had no right to undo that which the wisdom of all the people for generations past has done. I plead with all of you to see that the abolishment of segregation in churches hotels, trains, buses, schools, and in such meetings as this would in no wise mean democracy. Democracy is equality of opportunity for all men to become the best citizens they are capable of becoming. The removal of segregation will not assure such opportunity to either white or Negro.

"However, we have two races in this state. All of us are the children of a Divine Father. All of us are citizens of South Carolina. There are those who would serve selfish and monstrous ends by creating animosity between these two races. I trust that all of us will undertake to face this fundamental fact: we have to live together in this state. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that we ought to try to live together peacefully, and that we ought to realize the democratic ideal of equal opportunity for all men regardless of race, creed, or previous condition of servitude."

West Indians Told to Obey Dixie Laws

OCT 30 1943

Afro-American

U.S. and Jamaica Scrap Agreement Against Jim Crow

MEN TO WORK IN FLA. THIS WINTER

Baltimore, Maryland

Can't Bring Wives; Warned of Death Penalty for Rape

OCT 30 1943

CAMP CONNOR, Stafford, Conn. — Eight hundred of the 1,066 Jamaicans who came here to work on tobacco plantations are stranded here because it has been impossible to arrange transportation home.

By MARGARET LEWIS

OCT 30 1943

WASHINGTON

The United States and Jamaican governments late last month scrapped their mutual agreements that Jamaican farm laborers imported into this country would not meet with the American brand of discrimination, the AFRO learned this week.

The 8,768 foreign laborers, authoritative sources said, were informed that if they wished to remain in the United States for the winter, they must go to Florida; their employment would then be confined to work with sugar cane, they would be housed in groups of not less than fifty, that they would have to eat in camp, and that their contracts could be terminated for "misconduct and indiscipline," or a "sudden change in the weather."

Can't Bring Wives

OCT 30 1943

While warned that rape was punishable by death, the Jamaicans were told that they could not

"The workers were told they must sign new contracts released to them under the signature of Herbert G. MacDonald, liaison officer, representing the Jamaican government.

The laborers are said to have been given the new regulations secretly and been told not to pass

Ruled Given Secretly

OCT 30 1943

agreements in-ment that we do not intend to tolerate racial discrimination," he insisted, "is the fact that any-where such discrimination occurs, we will move the workers to another area."

This retracted the agreements signed by the two governments in April reading that the Jamaicans shall not suffer discriminatory acts of any kind in accordance with Executive Order 8802."

Pointing out that the Mexicans have been moved from such discrimination, Mr. Tolbert added: "We cannot afford to be lax in the enforcement of these regulations because there are international agreements in-

ported into this country for farm labor would absolutely not be tolerated.

'Speak Out'—Nation's Leaders Demand Of FDR

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

JUL 3 1943

NEW YORK — Forty national leaders of religious, trade union, Negro and civic organizations meeting in an emergency session called by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and the National Negro Congress this week urged President Roosevelt to utilize every resource and every agency at your command to stop the national anti-war conspiracy which has resulted in shocking racial disturbances and disruption of war production in eDtroit, Beaumont, Texas, Los Angeles Mobile, Ala., and other American cities.."

"This pattern of activity, of which Detroit is the latest and most shocking example, is clearly instigated and encouraged by pro-Axis elements," the statement said.

Immediate civic meetings to prevent racial outbreaks in other cities were urged in a joint statement issued by representatives of the YMCA, YWCA, National Urban League, the NAACP, the Phelps Stokes Fund, the Catholic Interracial Council, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the Labor Temple, and the Catholic publication, **America**. The statement said the meetings would also seek to determine the attitude of public officials toward the problem.

"No industrial centers of any size in the U.S.A.," the statement read "c look complacently or even objectively on what has happened in Detroit.

"This outrage can be repeated in any one of these other cities and it can happen overnight for the reason that too many of our citizens have left to too few an active interest in combatting the prejudices which condition a relation between the dominant and minority groups."

The statement which was released after a meeting at Russell Sage Foundation here was signed by the following persons:

William H. Baldwin and Lester Granger, president and executive secretary, respectively, of the National Urban League; Eugene E Barnett, general secretary of the National Council, YMCA; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, senior secretary for colored work, National Council, YMCA; Prentice Thomas, assistant special counsel, NAACP; Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director, Phelps Stokes Fund; Harold Stevens, president, Catholic Interracial Council; the Rev. John La Farge, S. J., executive editor, **America**; Mrs. Helen Wilkins, secretary for interracial education, National Board, YWCA; Miss Elsie Hopper, secretary of public affairs committee, National Board, YWCA; James Myers, industrial secretary, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Mrs. Adah Kieffer, National Board, YWCA; the Rev. Lawrence T. Hosie, director of Labor Temple; Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary, Department of Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

The National Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs of Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority through their legislative representative, Mrs. Thomasina W. Johnson, urged that the President prepare and deliver immediately a "fireside chat" on race relations.

The request further stated that a "public policy and an administrative policy of silence on this issue is directly responsible for the recent race riots in America. We believe that unless a firm step is taken by the Federal Government to guarantee Negroes, regardless of what state they happen to reside, basic and fundamental rights of democracy, this is but a prelude to what is to come."

Biddle Urged to Act to Ease Racial Tension

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

JUL 3 1943

WASHINGTON

Declaring that the wave of violent outbursts against racial minorities and increasing racial tensions constitute a grave danger to the nation and the war effort, representatives of ten national organizations conferred with Attorney Biddle this week, urging Federal intervention.

Spokesmen for the delegation charged that the outbursts formed a national pattern and had been fomented by persons and groups associated with the Ku Klux Klan, the Christian Front and similar subversive groups.

"It is unnecessary," said a spokesman, "for us to emphasize the effect of the terror and disruption which these outbreaks have caused.

"Destructive Effect Obvious"

"Their destructive effect upon the morale and unity of the American people is obvious; their effect upon the production effort in centers such as Boston, Beaumont, Mobile and Detroit is equally clear."

The group then urged the Attorney General to bend every resource of the Department of Justice to the apprehension and prosecution of the persons and groups responsible.

Attorney General Biddle then cited the inability of the department to act in many instances because of the necessity for working within existing statutes under which the department operates.

It was stated, however, that the department was making and would continue to make every effort to prosecute in every case of violation of the civil rights laws.

Clear-cut Stand Requested

A suggestion that the Justice Department issue a clear-cut, well defined statement of the lengths to which it might go in the prosecution of fomenters of racial outbursts and ill-will was taken under consideration by the Attorney General.

Members of the delegation included:

George Marshall, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; Miss Dorothy Strange, Committee in Jobs for Negroes in Public Utilities; Edward Strong, National Negro Congress; Elwood S. Chick, International Union Mine Mill and Smelter Workers;

The Rev. S. T. Prichtman, Miss Frances Sayler, Miss Cleomine Lewis, National Non-partisan Council of the AKA Sorority; Harry S. McAlpin, Emergency Committee on the Warren Decision; Ernest Johnson, People's Committee of New York City.

Tram Conductor Assaults Woman

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

AUG 2 1943

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Aug. 19—(ANP)—A warrant charging assault and battery was sworn out Wednesday in Warrant Clerk Brook's office by Mrs. Willie Mae Monroe, 31, against Thomas V. Weaver, white, street car conductor here. Mrs. Monroe said that the conductor got off the car, slipped up behind her and knocked her down with his fist, struck her on the temple with the butt of his gun and then pressed the barrel of the weapon against her stomach. The motorman, she said, came to her rescue, pulling the conductor away and begging him not to shoot.

She said the trouble began as she was riding to work early Tuesday. She contended that though she had rung the bell, the trolley carried her two blocks beyond her stop. As she was getting off, the bruised woman said, she reminded the conductor that car had carried her beyond stop.

The conductor, she said, cursed her and said that she should have rung the bell and moved to the door. She told him that I did ring the bell but I couldn't get any closer to the door because the car was so crowded," she said.

"I don't allow n———rs to talk to me that way," and then struck her from behind with his fist. She admitted that she fought him with an umbrella.

News
Birmingham, Ala.

AUG 23 1943

KEEP THE MATCH AWAY

There is little danger in a powder keg if the match is kept away. In these days of taut nerves there are many powder kegs lying around and perhaps the one most potential danger is the one having to do with race issue. This one seems harmless now and will continue so if no match is applied. At this time in this state there is no apparent race strife and will be none unless there is interference either from the outside or the inside.

Any fool can start trouble about anything, anywhere and at any time. An incident can and does throw nations into war.

Always there is a powder keg about and unfortunately there are those too ready to toss a match. That's why there's always so much trouble in the world.

A political campaign is in the offing and politicians are prone to seize on the race issue because they think it offers them the opportunity to attract a following by appealing to prejudice. Those prospective candidates who would do this should be given no tar but should be looked upon as a public menace and outlawed.

AUG 23 1943

The colored people in the state as a whole are peaceable, submissive and law-abiding. The white people are dominant in all affairs and have nothing to gain by allowing race agitation and strife. Let's not dig up snakes.—Ashland Progress.

Detroit Licks Its Wounds After Red Hot Election

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Mayor Calls for Interracial Peace; Colored Voters United for First Time

NOV 13 1943

By W. A. BROWER
AFRO Staff Writer

DETROIT — Any one visiting this city with a trained eye for news is bound to leave with a story, simply because it is still a hotbed of racial hatred.

Everyone here feels that he is still sitting on a keg of dynamite, although in some quarters there is sentiment that it won't explode soon.

Antagonisms Under Cover

The situation in Detroit is different from that of Baltimore, for example. Whereas, in Baltimore, racial antagonism is invariably frank and [illegible] it is subtle and covert. But it is there, nevertheless.

The most pronounced aspect is the renewed vigor of Klansman activity. During last week's elections the KKK was quite active in campaigning for the re-election of Mayor Edward Jeffries and distributing hate literature.

NOV 13 1943

Post-mortems on the elections have occasioned much speculation of what is going to happen since Mayor Edward Jeffries was re-elected in face of concentrated anti-Jeffries balloting by colored voters and labor.

Appeals for Racial Amity

Jeffries himself indicated no malice because of the fight against him. After his election was assured, he issued a statement appealing for racial amity and pledging to be mayor of all the people.

But whatever the consequences of the elections, there is a strong belief that colored citizens, labor and progressives made definite gains. Moreover, there is an even stronger belief that colored voters have been unified politically as never before.

5 Labor Candidates Win

In the election, Edward A. Simmons, attorney, colored candidate for city council, with 99,000 votes, failed to win a seat.

Considering, however, that Detroit elects councilmen by a city-wide vote, and that there are only 83,000 registered colored voters, Simmons made an excellent showing, it was pointed out in political circles. It is estimated that about as many whites voted for him as did colored.

Labor endorsed seven candidates for city council and five were seated.

Li[illegible] Re-elected

NOV 13 1943

George Edwards, former UAW, CIO, international representative, outstanding liberal and regarded by many as the "guiding light of the body," was re-elected.

Edwards is noted for incurring enmity of reactionary elements by advocating occupancy of Sojourner Truth Homes by colored

are promoted by the Mayor's Commission for Greater Detroit and the Interracial Fellowship.

Although the possibility of re-currence of bloody June 21 is always imminent, it is pointed out that at the moment cold weather is against it.

Riots thrive in hot weather, according to this viewpoint. However, it must be noted that the Sojourner Truth conflict occurred in cold weather.

Under way now are parallel programs which are intended to assuage the tense situation. The latter group spoke out vehemently in the election against the injection of racism in the campaign.

jury programs for a grand and by asking investigation following the race riots last June.

56k-1943

Mexico Protests Discrimination In Texas Schools to State Dept.

PM
New York, N. Y.
OCT 16 1943

31 Families Resist Order Requiring 'Separate' Education

By GARDNER JACKSON
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Oct. 15.—The Mexican Government has protested discrimination against Mexican children in Texas schools to the State Dept., and is supporting 31 families of Mexican origin at Boling, Tex., who have refused to send their children to a Jim Crow "Mexican School" at New Gulf, six miles from Boling. This was learned today from sources close to the State Dept.

The parents of these 31 families have been asked to enrol their children in the New Gulf school because the school authorities in Boling will not permit the attendance of Mexican children from the first to the fifth grades with children of American parents.

Boling school officials have stated that Mexican children will have to go to New Gulf. The Mexican consul in Houston, Adolpho G. Dominguez, is understood to have advised parents to comply with their orders pending the outcome of his report to his government.

Reports from Goose Creek, Tex., indicate that children of Mexican parents there likewise are being kept from attending school with American children. The school superintendent there, N. S. Holland, has declared that his teachers are opposed to mixing Mexican and Anglo-Saxon children in their classes.

OCT 16 1943

Racial discrimination in Texas has been brought into dramatic prominence by the refusal of the Blue Moon Cafe in New Gulf to serve a meal to Dominguez. The Mexican consul was told he must go into the kitchen of the cafe or else get nothing to eat. He was in New Gulf in connection with the celebration of Mexican Independence Day, Sept. 16th.

Allejandro Carillo, member of the Mexican Congress and right-hand man of Vincent Toledano, the Mexican labor leader, also was in San Antonio for the celebration and has laid accounts of a whole series of episodes of discrimination before President Avila Camacho of Mexico.

State Dept. officials are investigating the situation.

Asks "Yes" Vote On N. J. Constitution

Journal & Guide
Norfolk, Va.

Urban League Secretary Urges Voters to Act

NEWARK, N. J.—An appeal is made to the citizens of New Jersey, and to the Negro minority in particular, by Harold Lett, executive secretary of the New Jersey Urban League to vote "Yes" on the question of a constitutional convention to be printed at the top of the ballots that will be used in the election of November 2.

The question to be voted on is whether the legislature that meets in January shall sit as a constitutional convention and write a new constitution to be submitted to the people for approval or dejection at the election next year.

In his appeal for a "Yes" vote on the question Mr. Lett says:

"New Jersey's present state constitution was adopted 33 years before the Emancipation Proclamation. It declares that "all men are by nature free and independent," but all states at that time recognized Negro slavery as legal, and the laws of New Jersey, as of other states, did not recognize Negroes as human beings endowed with the 'certain natural and inalienable rights' claimed by free men.

RACE DISCRIMINATION

"Today this 99-year-old constitution prohibits discriminations only on the ground of religion. All prohibitions of discrimination on account of race or sex are laws passed by the legislature, which may be repealed at any time.

"Racial equality in New Jersey cannot be considered as safely and permanently established until it is included in the constitution. Our right to work, to play, to be educated, to teach, and to live on the same favorable terms as other citizens can be best protected by a guarantee against racial discrimination written into the constitution, which is the foundation of government.

"The only anti-racial laws we have in New Jersey are those prohibiting discrimination between colored and white persons by insurance companies, exclusion of children from school because of race or nationality, propaganda inciting racial hatred, and asserting the equal rights for all persons, regardless of race or color, to the same accommodations, facilities and privileges in places of amusement, hotels, restaurants, inns, taverns, etc.

"Only this year the legislature refused to pass a bill that would have given all persons the same right to qualify for teaching, and to be employed as teachers without discrimination on account of color, race or religion."

Chaplains Work For Same End

Atlanta, Ga., Constitution
October 2[illegible] 1943

Racial and religious prejudices existing in Army camps today are a hangover from the prejudices formed in civil life, in the opinion of Chaplain Samson A. Shain, Jewish chaplain at Fort Benning.

Chaplain Shain, one of three speakers representing the Jewish, Catholic and Protestant faiths, spoke to the Atlanta Committee of the National Conference of Christians and Jews at a luncheon yesterday at the Henry Grady hotel.

"These prejudices, I am thankful to say," Chaplain Shain said, "are being erased in the Army and there is a vast field for their eradication among civilians.

Work Together.

"At Fort Benning, the priest, the Protestant minister and myself all occupy the same office. We work together and virtually live together. I call the priest 'Rabbi,' and he calls me 'Father O'Shane.' We are fighting together for a common cause, and we are working together here for a common cause, the Kingdom of God."

Monsignor McNamara, who has been active in conferences with Army chaplains in the southeast in work of the conference, told the gathering that in his opinion considerable headway had been made with the chaplains he had contacted.

"And it is through the chaplains that the bulk of this good work is accomplished," he said. "They are the ones who come into contact with the men and it is through them we must work. We all found objective values in the three beliefs, and I am happy to say headway is being made."

Prayer Card Used.

Exhibiting a prayer card, with three different prayers, one for the Catholic, another for the Protestant and one for the Jew, Dr. A. W. Gottschall, of Washington, executive head of the conference, told the gathering that the first men to land in Sicily had these prayers, prepared by the conference, on their person at the time of the invasion.

"I know this for a fact, for one of the invaders, badly wounded and now a patient in an American hospital, showed me his bullet-riddled card," Dr. Gottschall said. "He was grateful for it, and said all the other men in his unit appreciated and carried the card as they went on that mission."

Dr. Gottschall also told of plans recently completed whereby the conference will spread its work next year among civilians. Dr. M. Ashby Jones presided at the luncheon, which was attended by local leaders of the three faiths.

Sarah Hawkins DAR Holds September Meet

Johnson City, Tenn. Chronicle
September 30, 1943

Mrs. H. C. Black Speaker on Program At Home Of Regent

September meeting of the Sarah Hawkins chapter, DAR, was held Tuesday evening at the home of the regent, Mrs. Edgar D. West, East Unaka avenue. Hostesses were Mesdames West, George Oldham and Miss Rose Reynolds.

Mrs. H. C. Black was speaker for the evening. Speaking on part one of the program study for the year, "The Negro Problems" and "Countries at War," Mrs. Black gave a resume of the book, "Dr. George Washington Carver," written by Mrs. Racham Holt. Miss Frances Miller was program chairman for the evening.

Mrs. West conducted a short business session, at which time routine business was transacted. It was announced that the Appalachian DAR district meeting would be held in Knoxville October 28, at Hotel Farragut from 11 a. m. until 3 p. m. with the Simon Harris chapter, hostess.

Refreshments were served.

Members present were Mesdames E. L. Burke, E. N. Campbell, T. E. Deakins, L. H. Lyle, H. D. Miller, J. P. McCormick, J. G. McMurray, George Oldham, Sam H Sells, E. D. West, and Misses Frances Miller and Rose Reynolds.

It was announced that Mrs. Nelson Burris was coming back into the chapter after an absence of several years.

The next meeting of the chapter is to be October 26, to which meeting Mesdames Ray Fields, J. G. McMurray, and L. H. Lyle will be hostesses. Program chairman is to be Mrs. Harry D. Miller.

The Washington Scene

JUL 31 1943

F. D. Still Silent on Killing of Soldiers

Southern Advisors Afro-American No Aid to Justice

—Baltimore, Md.—

By EDGAR G. BROWN

The continued silence of President Roosevelt, in the fact of more killings of colored soldiers in uniform, has revealed the Chief Executive's true attitude on the race question.

JUL 31 1943

The White House definitely draws the color line. No word comes officially from this source to assure equal protection of the law, as guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution, and freedom from fear for the 13,000,000 colored Americans and the 700,000 colored soldiers and sailors.

When the verbal feud last week between Vice-President Wallace and Secretary Jesse Jones got out of control, the President acted promptly, summarily and publicly pinning back the ears of both.

The President has made no public statement, following the killing of one colored soldier, with others injured, in a race riot at Shenango, Pa., ten days ago.

Lawyers Unanswered

In a public statement released to the American press from the nation's capital, last week, the National Lawyers Guild attacked "continued civilian violence, particularly by police officers, against the colored soldier."

It accused Attorney General Biddle of failing to prosecute civilian offenders, even when requested to do so by military authorities. The guild cited the slaying or wounding of five colored soldiers in this country during the first three months of 1943.

This is an indictment of the administration's discriminatory practices by the liberal, New Deal legal fraternity.

Group Pleas Ignorant

The National Negro Council and Chicago Citizens' Committee of 1000, following a public mass meeting, called on the President "to halt the killings and rioting of American soldiers, especially colored soldiers . . . "and criticized the exclusion of colored women from the WAVES as officers.

The resolution urged the President to assist the Democratic *New Deal administration has run out on the colored soldier.*

Dixie Breed Advisors

Jimmie Byrnes of South Carolina, Colonel Vinson, who boasts of Southern ancestry, and Harry Hopkins, with a background are constantly to the ear of the President in settling racial matters.

These dyed-in-the-wool Southerners are also augmented by the ready support of the President's long-time lily-white race advisers.

There is the other old Kentucky "colonel" Marvin McIntyre, Presidential Secretary, also the unsung hero of the Press who won his laurels way back in the thirties, when he reported to the chief how he dusted off that bunch of incident to order guilty commanding officers court-martialed for all such attacks upon colored soldiers in army camps.

The President, Commander-in-Chief of the armed services, says nothing for publication in the face of the unquestioned patriotism and heroism of colored soldiers and sailors.

The Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy reply with proposals of more jim crow.

ROSE LANE SAYS:

Americans Ignore Reality In Blinding Attempts to Solve Racial Problem

BY ROSE WILDER LANE

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

IN my opinion, the whole idea of "white friends of the Negro race," is totally false.

Therefore, like any lie, it can only undermine reason, distort personal relationships, and cause ever growing disaster. Word by word, the thing is false. Who is white? What does the word mean; what reality does it express? It refers, of course, to an attempt, which utterly failed, to divide humankind into "races" by colors. Biologists and anthropologists can't find anybody whom they can even classify as white, except maybe an albino. If you mean an albino, say "albino." Saying "white" is a lie; it treats as fact a theory that is not a fact.



Miss Lane

Then, "friend." Friendship is an emotion felt by one person for another person; it is as unique and exclusive as love. Nobody can be a friend to anyone whom he never met nor saw, whose very name he doesn't know. Just try it yourself. You have a friend, haven't you? Is he, say, a New Yorker? Then try being a friend to New Yorkers. Maybe he is a musician. Try being a friend to musicians. It can't be done; the notion that it can be done is ridiculous. It's part of the fog of totally false ideas that replaces reason nowadays.

I REMEMBER when this fog was a cloud no bigger than a man's hand; it was the do-gooder, the lover of humanity. At the time I often wondered why these lovers of humanity, who actually worked at it, living in settlement houses in slums and doing good with all their might, were so brutal to a helpless human being that my neighbors (for I also lived in the slums, for cheap rent) hated and feared and fled from them like rabbits. But it is clear enough now. Nobody can love humanity; a person who imagines that he does is running away from reality because he doesn't like reality. And living persons are real; so he doesn't like them.

ONLY SKIN DEEP

As for "Negro race," there isn't any. Like the Average Man, or the Economic Man, the Negro doesn't exist.

SO here you have a phrase, "white friend of the Negro race," which is totally a lie. And you have many Americans trying to be (even imagining they are) "white friends of the Negro race," and many other Americans being very serious (though slightly skeptical) about them. Unfortunately the skepticism, like a complexion, is only skin deep. It concerns itself only with the question, "Can So-and-So be depended upon as a white friend of the Negro race?"

INDIVIDUALS START TROUBLE

No wonder Attorney General Biddle suggests keeping "the Negro race" out of towns where it may get hurt. Any roustabout will do as much for a friend.

ACTUALLY, a "race" doesn't start any trouble. (How many times must I say, I don't mean any "race"?) People start riots and keep them going; real people—a person, a man. It is a fist attached to one body, controlled by one will, that hits a chin or throws a brick or stabs with a knife or smashes a window or pulls a trigger. Or wields a policeman's club.

A MORAL PROBLEM

The problem that Attorney Biddle contemplates is not a "racial" problem. There is no Negro race in this problem, for him to be a friend to, even if he could. This is a problem of individual behavior, a moral problem.

FOR the Attorney General, and for any man responsible for police action, it is a problem of maintaining public order by enforcing criminal law, which applies only to individuals, and, in these States, applies equally to all persons. If this law is not so enforced, the failure to enforce it is a failure of morality in the men responsible for enforcing it.

That is the truth of the matter. And how can any decency or public order be expected, so long as Americans ignore all reality and wander befuddled among attempts to solve "racial problems" by "racial" or "interracial" action and to be "white friends of the Negro race"?

Writers Kept From Contacts With Negroes

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

Say Prejudice Is Barrier To Understanding

CARACAS, VENEZUELA (ANP)—The four prominent editors of Venezuela who have just returned from a tour of industrial centers in the United States have been a unit in their impressions about the great republic, which lies to the north.

The men who made the trip as the guests of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American affairs, Nelson Rockfellow, director, were: Luis Esteban Rey of Ahora; Pascual Venegas Filardo of El Universal; Manuel B. Pocaterra of El Heraldo and Jose Miguel Ferrer.

In a composite report of their impressions the Venezuelean writers agreed:

That the power and magnitude of the war effort being made by the United States was so great that the allies were certain to win the war.

FDR TERMED GREAT

That North Americans were absolutely ignorant of Venezueleans and for that matter most South American countries, had never taken the trouble to learn about them and were perhaps friendly but slightly disdainful.

That President Roosevelt is one of the truly great figures in the world today.

But overshadowing everything and looming important in the future relationship of the United States and the South American countries to which she is attempting to play the "good neighbor and big brother" was the racial prejudice which they found in the United States. As the greatest exponent of democracy in the world, the editors regarded the stand of the United States on racial matters as an incomprehensible paradox.

HARD TO STOMACH

To Venezueleans and most of the inhabitants of the western half of South America, accustomed as they are to judging men and women on their worth, accustomed to racial and color equality, with intermarriage common, the racial discrimination in the United States was hard to stomach. It was the only thing about the United States they did not like. It smacked of hypocrisy and among themselves they said so though they were too polite to say much about it to their hosts.

American journalism, they said, left them astounded. They had little opportunity to observe Negro journalism. In fact, the state department and the office of the Coordinator of Inter-American affairs steered them entirely clear of any Negro contacts whatever.

Jim Crow Loses To King Cotton

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Texas Abrogates Laws Affecting Mexicans

WASHINGTON, Sept. 2 — Jim crow laws in Texas have been declared null and void by the Governor of Texas—so far as Mexicans are concerned. This information came to light here this week when War Food Administration officials revealed that Governor Coke R. Stevenson of Texas had issued a proclamation guaranteeing that Mexican farm workers migrating to Texas to harvest the cotton crop would be guaranteed unrestricted access to public places and had appointed a committee on race relations to carry out the proclamation.

It was a battle between Jim Crow and King Cotton—and King Cotton won!

Here is the story as it developed from several sources this week:

Faced with a grave shortage of farm labor, the War Food Administration has imported over 50,000 farm workers—more than 40,000 of them Mexicans—to relieve the situation. Thousands of Mexicans sent to Texas in the Spring and early Summer found that in Texas they were denied access to public restaurants, theaters and other public establishments. They complained to the Mexican government. Asked to furnish 5,000 farm workers for the Fall harvest of the cotton crop in Texas, the Mexican government last week refused to permit further migration of workers and closed all registration of workers for migration to the United States.

BAN JAMAICANS FROM DIXIE

The Mexican government, declaring that its citizens were entitled to be free from racial restrictions in public places, insisted that the governor of Texas issue a proclamation and give effective assurances that no further instances of racial discrimination against Mexicans would occur. Confronted by the fact that either jim-crow laws had to be abated or else the cotton crop might rot in the fields, the governor complied with the demands of the Mexican government.

Meanwhile, last week, Col. Philip Bruton, administrator of the program for importation of foreign farm workers, flew to Mexico City to urge that the program of migration be started up again.

"None of the farm workers from Jamaica may, under the agreement between the British and American governments, be used below the Mason-Dixon line," a spokesman of the British government told The Pittsburgh Courier last Saturday. While this spokesman did not give reasons for the provision, it is known that Dixie was included because of the South's jim-crow laws. Jamaican workers are now restricted to areas in the East and Middle West and are to be sent back to their homes at the end of the harvesting period in these areas—about the end of October.

War Food Administration officials are now seeking an agreement with British officials for use of these roughly 8,000 workers in the Southeast cotton areas.

BLOOD AND SEGREGATION

Christian Recorder
Philadelphia, Pa.

Racial segregation is regnant in English speaking countries the world over, yet the non-whites are in the minority. It reaches silly and asinine heights in Hitler's Germany, yet America and Great Britian vie strongly for second place. The impact and pressure of the war tend to ease the tension but the paramount program is still white supremacy.

There is only one race of men on the earth, and the blood-stream has been mixed from the beginning of animal life thru millions of years until now. Back of the most rabid race hater is a long line of ancestors. We would be shocked and startled could we for a moment glance at some of our forebears,—Rhodesian, Grimaldi, cave men, troglodites, [illegible], freebooters, robbers, warriors. Men of all colors from anthracite black, red, yellow, brown, to bleached-out Negroes because of selection, transmission, adaptation, and the environmental milieu. Every man has in his veins the blood of all who have gone before.

Truth-fronting science in the field of ethnology, anthropology, biology, sociology and psychology aver that the program of segregation on the bases of blood and color shade of skin are unscientific, spurious, and ill-founded. In many instances the church of the dark skinned Syrian Jew, Jesus of the race of Abraham who came out from what the Herodotus calls "the black headed" Babylonians, quibbles, and compromises for the sake of economic values. Men must decide either to regard each other as brothers in deed and bury their hatreds or exterminate each other until they become extinct as the diplodocus, sloth, dinosaur, or sabre tooth tiger. Men with all their intelligence have not as yet learned the fine art of living together.

Three Leaders To Discuss Race

Washington, D. C.

An amity meeting will be held tomorrow at 8:15 p. m. at the Baha'i Hall, 1308 I st. nw., with leaders of three faiths participating.

Thomas N. Roberts, assistant to the director of personnel, Department of Agriculture, will discuss "The Negro and Race Unity;" Mrs. noted Negro singer and actor, has sang at a mass meeting commemorating the 10th anniversary of the national vice demanded a full investigation of re- rating the 10th anniversary of the Raphael Cooper, president of the Hadassah, "The cent alleged anti-semitism in Bos- establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Jew and Race Unity," and Philip A. ton Birmingham, Ala. Fascist idea of dog eat

Marangella, Government auditor "As a son of a slave, reared on Russia. and lecturer, "The Baha'i Answer abolitionist [illegible], he said, "the to Race Unity." recent attacks on Jews in Boston to me are terrifying."

Currently starring in Margaret Webster's production of Shakespeare's "Othello"—one of this season's Broadway hits—Robeson came

Negro Asks Inquiry Into Anti-Semitism

BOSTON (ANP)—Paul Robeson, here Sunday night and spoke and I trust that the colored race, and I trust that Negroes in Boston are as outraged as though the attacks had been on

[illegible] that [illegible] America has a [illegible] its historic [illegible] abolish inequalities or

[illegible] the Jews is to attack

[illegible] the United States and

[illegible] choice [illegible] dog. . . .

"To attack the

56k-1943

Knife-Wielding Gangs of "Little Harlem" Get La Guardia's Goat

The Worker
New York, N. Y.
NOV 27 1943

Juvenile Delinquency Up 35 Per Cent in 10 Months; Use of Clubs Fails to Curb Youthful Lawlessness

By RICHARD R. DIER

NEW YORK—With gangs of organized young hoodlums roaming the streets after nightfall, brandishing knives and threatening passersby, Brooklyn's "Little Harlem" is proving to be a very sore spot on Mayor La Guardia's big thumb.

This section, which comprises the Bedford-Stuyvesant area in Brooklyn from Flatbush Avenue to Broadway and from the Navy Yard on Flushing Avenue to Eastern Parkway, has been declared a district boiling over with crime and vice by the Kings County Grand Jury.



All boys are potential gangsters unless they are kept in school and then given jobs when they are old enough to work. City provision for proper housing and recreation can keep youngsters off the streets.

Delinquency Increase

Juvenile delinquency has jumped 35 per cent here in the past ten months, and is steadily on the increase. The area is largely populated by colored people, a good many of them having come from the South recently.

Unable to adjust themselves to big city life, they've remained without employment and have had to accept home relief. The buildings here are old and unsanitary, the streets dirty, and conditions in general even worse than in Harlem.

I met a white man who told me he recently escaped with his life in an attack by a gang of young criminals. Here's his story:

Attacked by Kids

"I'm a defense worker. On my way home from work, while waiting for a train at the nearly deserted Morgan Avenue subway station about 8 o'clock one night, I found myself temporarily alone on the platform. This wasn't for long, though.

"Pretty soon a bunch of young colored boys — five of them — appeared on the platform. I didn't mind them at first since I saw that they averaged 12 or 13 years of age. However, they kept edging toward me, talking, meanwhile, in whispers to each other.

"They began to spread out, and I could see this meant trouble. Two of them tried to get behind I was scared stiff because I was no match for five n of their ages.

kes Fake Gunplay

"I remembered a trick I often see in the movies. I moved back to the wall and quickly put my hand inside of my coat as if I were going for a gun.

"Boy! You should have seen those kids run! In about ten seconds, they'd disappeared from the platform! There was no sense in my running after them. They might have had knives, and I wasn't looking for trouble.

"The train rolled along and I was happy to get on and get home safely. I really believe I was in for a mugging by those boys. Something should be done about the crime wave in this section.

Misuse of New Freedom

"It's getting so that a man is afraid to be around the streets after dark. If this keeps up, I'm going to move out of the district. I'm not taking any more chances."

I spoke to a white barber in the neighborhood who has been at the same location for more than thirteen years. He said:

"Believe me when I say that I've got nothing against the colored people. They're among my best customers. It's just the new ones who came up from the South.

"They're not used to the liberty we have in New York, and are going crazy with it. We need more police protection. Mayor La Guardia is playing politics. The police should be allowed to clean them up.

"Otherwise, we're going to have a hell of a situation here. I know the cops would like to move in and clean up the whole mess, but they've got orders from the higher-ups and their hands are tied.

Business Frightened

"Business people are leaving their stores and real estate is falling every day. People are moving out. They don't want to stay and place their own lives and the lives of their children in danger. Sure, it's the young colored boys that are doing the damage.

"But, do you see where their folks are controlling them — or even trying? I'm telling you, it's up to the cops. They're the only ones who can do the trick. Leave it up to the mayor and the grand juries and we'll all go under!"

Neither of these two men could offer the real solution to the problem. All they could think of was that force should be used to quell the disturbances. The same opinion was given to me by more than a score of white storekeepers.

Ineffectual Approach

What they all overlook is that this area is diseased. It contains some of the worst slums in the city. Old buildings and shacks should be torn down, fire and health regulations enforced and new, low-rent housing projects built like the Red Hook project here in Brooklyn.

The young would-be gangsters should be rounded up and sent to school and some effort made to place their parents in worth-while employment.

NOV 27 1943

Possible Manpower Aid

We yell our heads off about manpower shortages while here, right in this section, is an abundance of labor which can be used to help win the war.

It's much cheaper to put them to work than to maintain them on public relief rolls indefinitely. Besides, they have a chance to become useful citizens and adjust themselves to New York life.

Nightsticks Don't Teach

You can't educate people by using nightsticks on their heads, but you can help to educate them through social and economic means.

Mayor La Guardia's statement regarding the grand jury's presentation of the facts in this case is entirely unworthy of his past record.

"Purely political," said the mayor.

A grand jury refused to indict.

Pvt. Raymond Carr, a military policeman, was shot and killed by a civilian patrolman in Alexandria, La. The Department of Justice declined to prosecute.

Killed by Bus Driver

Pvt. Henry Williams was shot and killed by a bus driver while riding through the streets of Mobile, Ala. The civil authorities did not even go to the trouble of a grand jury presentment.

Pvt. Larry Stroud was shot through the back of the head and killed by a policeman in Columbia, S.C. The policeman was tried for manslaughter and acquitted. This is probably the only case that went to trial during the year.

Race Bias Worst In U.S., Prof

Defender
Chicago, Ill
NOV 27 1943

LOUISVILLE (ANP)—In an address last week on the Latin American workshop program conducted the past month at the University of Louisville, Dr. Robert Redfield, author and professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago, declared that the United States is the only country of the Americas given to racial prejudice.

In a comparison of certain legal practices in South American countries with those existing in the United States, he explained that our practices of segregation and discrimination are as incomprehensive to the Latin American as the class prejudice existing in Latin America is to us.

Move to Curb Racial Strife

New York, N. Y
Federal Council of Churches and Other Groups Working on Problem
New York Times
NOV 27 1943

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Your editorial, "How to Prevent Race Riots," contains some very timely words in these days of excitement. In line with your statements, there is a movement which has been growing to national scope for nearly a year to forestall and to ease the tensions and conflicts that close observers have expected. This movement, sponsored by the Federal Council of Churches and allied agencies, is helping "To End This Day of Strife" by enlisting for inter-racial brotherhood the active, courageous service of individuals in the local community.

Each individual is asked to declare his decision: 1. "To act positively and constructively wherever racial tensions can be corrected and interracial justice and good-will advanced. 2. To seek fellowship with others who are likeminded and to work with them wherever mutually agreeable. 3. To become informed about the facts of race relations, especially the phases that affect me and others of my community in our daily living. 4. To seek Divine guidance and vision for carrying out these intentions."

The primary aim of this declaration is to recruit a larger number of people from different walks of life and different racial backgrounds in the local community "to become well informed and active instead of passive spectators in the struggle for interracial justice and good-will," within the scope of each person's daily living in his work, home, church or synagogue and community.

It aims also to improve racial attitudes and behavior now while war morale needs such improvement and "to prepare for the time when our men and women return from the armed services and war industry to peacetime employment."

It is proposed that these enlistees become liaison leaders of age and sex groups in local religious and social agencies to link them into some central interracial committee or commission. Suggestions are made for mutual planning and for counseling with leaders of labor unions and employer organizations, with the Mayor, police officers and other public officials about policies and plans to change unfair economic and social conditions and to be prepared for emergencies when tension arises and conflict threatens.

Leaders in a score of cities are act-organized and focused to overcome the selfish ing on these ideas. Information and ill-will and lawlessness of the experience of the past are being made and prejudiced.

GEORGE EDMUND HAYNES,
Race Relations Secretary,
Federal Council of Churches.
As in all matters of peace, law and order, the good will and sense of fair play of the large majority have to be

New York, Aug. 18, 1943.

Indians Throw Bombshell Into 44-Nation Session

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md

Official Segregation Ends at Final Atlantic City Reception

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.—Segregation in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation headquarters disappeared here Saturday when forty colored government workers out of Washington, detailed to the UNRRA here, participated in the final council reception and dance.

This was the first reception during the meeting of the forty-four nations in which colored persons participated freely.

The conference closed Wednesday, but not before Sirdar J. Singh, president of the India League of America, threw a bombshell into the gathering.

Food Needed in India

Singh demanded aid for India's starving millions now and not after the war. He estimated that 100,000 persons in India are dying of starvation each week.

British representatives said this could not be done, since the rehabilitation program is limited to persons living in areas liberated from the enemy.

Japs Use Propaganda

Singh asserted that in one city, Calcutta, 250 persons died in hospitals each week from starvation and that Japan is making use of the famine situation by urging Indians to revolt against the government.

Japanese have already dropped bags of rice by airplane in some cities, he declared.

Japanese propaganda also advises Indians that, while they are starving, the British are still having their regular eight-course meals, their Scotch and soda, and their dancing to jazz music.

Pickets Parade

Pickets from New York paraded in front of the conference headquarters, Tuesday, carrying banners demanding "Food Supplies for India Now." They said they were hired by Singh.

Ex-Governor Lehman, in a press conference, said the council can do what it wanted to about India.

New Orleans Tense Over Negro Arrests

Daily Worker

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 29—Racial tenseness has been aggravated by the wholesale arrests of Negro citizens perpetrated by police, following the murder of a white shipyard worker who was killed by a shoton. In another report it was revealed that "Records at police headquarters showed that of 530 persons were arrested . . . only 54 have been fined in recorders court . . . 141 were freed by recorders acourt and affidavits were executed against 113 others. Charges of carrying concealed weapons are pending in criminal district court against 32, and 20 are being held as suspects in connection with recent holdups. **There was no record at police headquarters of the disposition of more than 200 cases in which arrests were reported."**

Trade unions, civic organizations and progressive citizens in New Orleans are protesting vigorously the police action taken. The president of the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Daniel E. Byrd, charged police with wholesale violation of civil rights.

The entire Negro community is alarmed over the situation, many of them being afraid to go out to a movie or a restaurant because of arrests being made.

This murder occurred at a corner which is almost a half block from the French hospital. Although the section is very dark at night because of trees and shrubbery, a nurse and a woman visitor from a second-story window of this hospital identified the assailants as Negroes. On this circumstantial evidence police began wholesale arrests in New Orleans.

To date over 600 Negro men (many of them 'teen-age boys) have been arrested. Some were fingerprinted, photographed and held for investigation.

HURTS WAR EFFORT

Due to the fact that there are thousands of Negroes engaged in vital war industries in New Orleans, and who are daily displaying increasing patriotism, action which the local police is taking is detrimental to the war effort. It is a policy deliberately aimed at the growing Negro and white unity which has been gained since Pearl Harbor.

Previously, on Aug. 7, police raided a local Negro-owned restaurant, which is frequented by Negro soldiers. Thirty-seven Negro women who were patronizing the restaurant were charged with an ordinance relative to being veneral suspects and additionally charged with an ordinance relative to loitering.

CIVIL RIGHTS VIOLATED

The roundups are continued despite an announcement by Chief of Detectives Grosch on Monday, Aug. 23rd, that police had arrested a man who actually had been one of the four men involved in the killing.

Following a conference with employers, Recorder Gaston Rose and George Gardiner of the Association of Commerce, Mayor Robert S. Maestri issued a "work-or-jail" edict. Invitations were extended to employers to attend all sessions of Records Court and 'recruit' workers from the men arrested. The mayor stated that jail sentences would be suspended if the men agreed to work.

These arrests have caused a great lost of man-hours. The day after this edict was put into effect 76 persons (predominantly Negroes) were charged with loitering. Virtually all testified or provided identification papers showing that they were employed, according to court attaches.

It was reported that on Aug. 26, of 113 men arrested overnight 112 were Negroes. All were booked with vagrancy except one who was booked with carrying a concealed weapon.

RACE RELATIONS IN SOUTH

Troy, Ala., Herald
December 2, 1943

The attached (a letter from a Negro minister, the Rev. J. A. Brodie) is sent you because it is a true expression of Southern inter-racial relations, a vital matter for other sections of our country to apprehend. The appeal by Southern Negro leaders to the good will of their white compatriots in the name of themselves and their followers is of itself proof of mutual good will.

As doing justice to the fundamental good will existing between the two races in the South, and for its emollient effect upon a war-aggravated misconcept of racial relations here in its chief habit, I thought you might want to publish pertinent parts of it.

Montgomery, Ala. ROBERT H. SCOTT.

It should ever be remembered that during the period of the War Between the States, the Southern white men left their wives and children in care and under the protection of their slaves and without thought of any betrayal of that trust, and that trust was not betrayed. You trusted us then, you may trust us now. . .

There is a close tie between the Southern white man and the Southern negro that only they can understand. There are no two races that can live together and understand each other like the Negro and the Southern white man. There is no Negro born in the South that wants to live apart from our white friends and there is no Negro born in the South that wants "social equalities." We teach the Negro boy and girl that racial integrity is best attained by racial purity and solidarity, and that the South is the home of the Negro and that the only friends of the Negro is the Southern white man. We preach from our pulpits that the Negro must train to be better servants along industrial lines, better cooks, laundresses, waitresses, amore trustworthy servants.

Whatever may be said of the hardships of slavery, it must be acknowledged that slavery was a blessing to the Negroes. It must be admitted that the slave owners turned out four million men, women and children better trained in trades, industries, morals, manners, and religion than any other four million people since.

The Southern white man is noted for his generosity, his hospitality, and for his adherence to customs. Among the outstanding things that he has always done is to feel a great responsibility for the Southern Negro, and the Negro is 100 per cent American. We are willing to die side by side with the American white man for democracy.—The Christian Science Monitor.

To Battle Jim Crowin Capital

Bystander
Des Moines, Iowa

Washington (ANP)—Following the successful methods of "non violence by direct action" adopted from the Hindus, a group of government employees have launched a concerted attack upon the jim crow restaurants in the nation's capital.

The organization known as the Race Institute of Race Relations, is composed of a well disciplined membership pledged to use pacific but positive methods to achieve democracy in public eating establishments that bar Negroes although under the dome of the capitol and within the shadow of the White House.

Clyde Ashby, a navy employe, explained that the organization numbering about 50, forms into groups of about 35 on Saturday nights and visits counter-type eating places. They will fill up all available space and sit until they are served. If they are refused service instead of a vocal protest they remain seated until the business closes for the night. It is hoped that by this decreasing the number of paying customers proprietors and managers will be induced to adopt a more liberal policy.

Sat for 3 Hours

Ashby said they have sat for as long as three hours in Murphy's Five-and-Ten and various People's Drug Stores without securing service except in one People's store in a Negro district. This victory is not considered a major one because of the location of the pharmacy.

"We're not angry with the management of the stores we go into," stated Ashby. "We are just trying to show them that there is another way of doing business than by discrimination."

Before carrying out their plans of what amounts to a "sit down" strike a delegation of RIRR members called upon Police Chief Edward J. Kelly to advise him of their plans. The police officer admitted he could do nothing to prevent their campaign since their action would violate no laws. He, however, tried to discourage them without success on the ground that such agitation would lead to a race riot.

Successful Technique

The Committee on Racial Equality in Chicago has successfully employed the non-violent direct action technique in breaking down the color barrier in many of the leading downtown restaurants. CORE uses mixed groups of whites and Negroes in its committee of public places. Miss Bernice Fisher, white, chairman, said her group prefers their procedure to legal action, because in a court decision force is the paramount issue whereas in a voluntary capitulation education of whites out of their fixed prejudices has been the deciding factor.

A similar group used the same methods last winter and spring in Denver, Colo., with much success in restaurants and theaters.

56k-1943

Robeson Comes To Conclusion

Daily World Atlanta, Georgia

America Is Best Land Of All

NEW YORK — (ANP) — America gives her minority groups more of a chance than just about my country on each, declared Paul Robeson, as he settled down in his new Connecticut surroundings. The famed baritone and motion picture actor left the USA several years ago to take up residence in Europe to live like a "first class citizen."

"I did a lot of thinking when the war started," said Robeson. "I had planned to leave the United States for good and I was living in London, shuttling over to Russia every summer to see my boy. I thought I saw more tolerance for Negroes abroad than I did here.

"I realized then that the Negro problem here is a minority group problem, not one of individuals as it is in many European countries," he said. "And I realized that America gives her minority groups more of a chance than just about any country on earth.

"Besides, I was homesick and I decided that I wasn't helping the Negro problem in the United States by running away from it."

Elected to Phi Beta Kappa, honorary scholastic society at Rutgers, and holding a law degree from Columbia, Robeson said that he taught himself the Chinese language as part of preparation for writing a treatise on African culture which he promises will demonstrate that it is as old and venerable as Chinese culture.

"I learned the languages of Africa first," he said, adding that he had found the Chinese language similar, and so learned to speak that tongue.

Robeson, now rehearsing for the leading role in the Shakespearan play, "Othello," declared that the show will afford him an opportunity to kill two birds with one stone.

"I am acting," he said, "and I'm talking for the Negroes in the way only Shakespeare can." The problem concerns the problem of minority groups.

"Just because I've settled down in Connecticut, don't think I'm going to stop criticizing the United States," Robeson concluded.

"I'm going right on criticizing this country until Negroes can live like first class citizens."

Decision Reached Following Experiences All Over World

in this section, told the McIntosh superior court grand jury a better understanding between white and Negro races is necessary to avoid stirring hatreds of "dangerous" proportions.

He said he feared "racial equality propaganda" emanating from Washington" would create "dynamite-laden" feelings. Such activity is wrong at any time, he told the jurors, "but it is particularly wrong in wartime when unity is necessary."

Judge Price said persons preaching racial equality could be blamed for a number of disturbances in this section.

One of these, he said, was a case in which a Negro soldier entered a Glennville, Ga., drug store and called for a certain drink. The clerk advised that Negroes were not served at the fountain. The Negro became enraged, Judge Price said, and was killed in a fight with a white man.

He cited another case at Hinesville, site of Camp Stewart, in which a white woman was attacked and both the woman and her husband killed. The attack occurred late in September and evidence produced so far has not been sufficient to bring indictments. "The evidence does indicate, however," the judge declared, "that Negro soldiers were responsible."

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald

December 18, 1943

"Where rumour of oppression and deceit,
Of unsuccessful or successful war,
Might never reach me more."

* * *

"Race and Rumors of Race" is the title of a little volume by North Carolina's famous Howard W. Odum. As the South's most famous sociologist, author of its sociological Bible ("Southern Regions of the United States"), Dr. Odum writes with immense authority. He writes, too, like all good scientists, with immense information, and something near to a totality of analysis. I never read a book of his without a sense of the vast machinery of a mind, the meticulous concerns of science, the calm attentions of the scholar. We need all of these for the race question.

* * *

There is more rumor of race in Dr. Odum's book than race. He has collected, in a manner beyond the ken of ordinary collectors, literally hundreds of rumors that have run around the South in course of racial tensions that came with the war. Most of the rumors, as we know now, were not true. But in the nature and number of them Dr. Odum finds material for as piercing and thorough an analysis of racial attitudes and emotions in the South as has ever been made. It is more piercing and thorough indeed than many Southerners will relish. There are race things here we do not like to be made to face.

* * *

To my mind the conclusions indicated or suggested by Dr. Odum are important but may be held apart, if the reader chooses, from his even more important point. And that point is that we of the South who rightly insist on being let alone to settle our Negro problem must not cease to seek that settlement, and to do it with increasing charity, humility and courage. It is our problem, and that means two things. It means we must be allowed to settle it ourselves. And it means that the settlements we make or approach must involve much improvement in the Southern Negro's lot.

* * *

Because he of all Southerners stands for the facts and uses of "regionalism," Howard Odum is not likely ever to forget, I believe, that there are differences in places, ways, emotions and men. And that these differences are precious things, making for the productive varieties which are at once life's spice and its experimental process. So when he speaks as he sometimes does in this book of world forces operating towards a common culture for the common man, he is not to be understood, I believe, as talking the sort of One Worldliness some people (mistakenly) think Wendell Willkie meant. No two things on this earth are the same. Nature never meant them to be, won't let them be, would die if they were. No two leaves on any tree, no two grains of sand, no two nations, no two races. The only One Worldliness which is permissible or will work is that which sets one umpire over differences, one justice over disputes among the differing, one equality of opportunity for their differing talents.

* * *

Equality is a wonderful thing when it means opportunity for all men to go forward after their own natures and lights. But it is a deadening thing, and a false thing, when it overlooks an earth's eternal and productive variety. If ever our airplanes, radios, electronics and the like, threaten to make us One World to the extinction of that variety, we had better pass a law against them.

* * *

Two years ago when this column began talking its head off for the Forgotten Man who must meet high prices and taxes with the same old income, some said that such talk was unpatriotic, that it was no time for anyone to be complaining since there was a war to win. Today the Forgotten Man—sometimes called the "white collar worker" even though he often wears overalls—is all the rage. Except that nothing has been done for him.

* * *

The message of religion comes in many forms. A form rarely employed but of possible great effect—is fiction. Birmingham's H. L. Anderton is out this month with a book called "Blue Skies Beyond" in which a love story is made a vehicle of Christian principles. The book is sure to have much reading. Mr. Anderton, one of the state's best known attorneys, has twice been elected president of the Alabama State Baptist Convention and has been active in social welfare for years. He is a man of aggressive imagination, and his book proves it.

Racial Perils

Constitution

Cited by Judge

Atlanta, Georgia

DARIEN, [illegible] Dec. 8.—(AP)—Judge Mel P[illegible] citing instances of what he term[illegible] racial discord

Race Problems

Daily World Atlanta, Georgia

High On List

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(SNS)—A total of 16 topics and projects could be worked into local programs for civic organizations and racial groups but no Negro has announced he will speak on any one of the 16 subjects and projects and begin work on it, if you desire a representation on all of the curbing hoodlumism, such as Public Safety Commissioner Connor, Police Chief Riley, Judge Martin, Sheriff McDowell and Solicitor McAdory have not been invited to appear on a forum or roundtable discussion on the sub-ject.

Nothing has been done about the anti-crime campaign, riot-prevention, public conduct, new approaches to interracial cooperation are subject crying for discussion which will lead to constructive action.

Interest in the ballot seems to

13 States Show Dissatisfaction Over Handling of Negro Problem

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

Administration Is Criticised

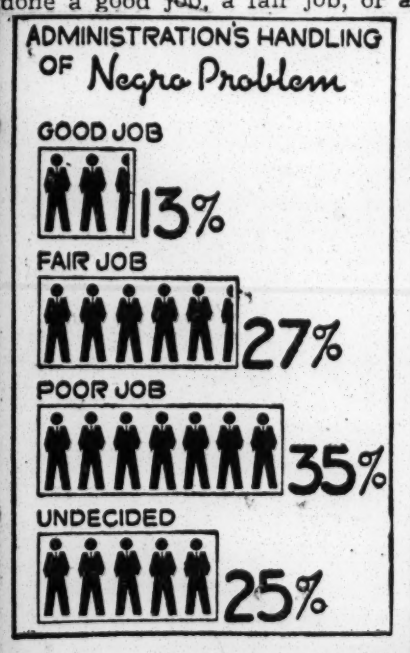
By GEORGE GALLUP.
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion.

Princeton, N. J., Aug. 27.—Although public opinion surveys have failed to reveal any large-scale defection from the Roosevelt Administration on the part of Southern Democratic voters, there is evidence of considerable dissatisfaction among Southerners with its handling of the Negro problem.

Want to Help Negro.

The extent of this dissatisfaction was measured recently in a special poll by the institute throughout thirteen Southern states in which 101 field reporters put this question to a cross-section of Southern white voters:

"Do you think the present administration in Washington has done a good job, a fair job, or a poor job in dealing with the Negro problem?"



Here are the findings:

Believe Administration has Done a Good Job	13%
A Fair Job	27
A Poor Job	35
No Opinion	25

It will be seen that the number who think the Administration has done a poor job is more than twice as great as the number who think it has done a good job.

An analysis of the reasons given by Southern white voters as to why they feel as they do reveals this significant fact, that the typical Southerner is not opposed to the general aim of improving the status of the Negro. Many more Southern whites want to help the Negro as a race than want to repress him further or even to continue leaving his status unchanged.

What many Southerners do criticise is the means taken by the Administration to improve the status of the Negro.

Favor Gradual Evolution.

They feel that large-scale reforms have been undertaken too swiftly, that the improvement of the Negro race must of necessity be a process of gradual social evolution.

They tend to criticise the Administration therefore not for its aims, but for its policies in carrying out those aims, and claim that the desire for swift and immediate reforms has made the Negro unruly and unmanageable in many parts of the South.



THIS MORNING

Age-Herald

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

What is the proper retort when you are called a liar by the Secretary of State of the United States one day and by the president of the United States the next? Drew Pearson seems to know. The young man is not abashed. An interesting element in the situation is that Pearson is a New Deal columnist. So much so that in other days he was thought to speak with inside information and authority. Here is Mr. Roosevelt breaking with another old associate as he has broken with Welles and Henry Wallace. Alabamians have painful evidence of certain aspects of Mr. Pearson's New Dealing in his amazing and questionable story last Monday to the effect that Chauncey Sparks is planning to lead an anti-New Deal delegation to the next Democratic convention and to insist on a showdown on the Negro question. Famed Dr. Howard Odum, scientist, as well as a realist on the Negro question, is so concerned about the story that he has written me his fervent hope that it isn't true. "The one thing we are trying to do now," he writes me, "is tell the rest of the nation to let us go ahead and work out our own plans (on the race question). It would be a mistake from every viewpoint for the South to inject the race problem into the national picture."

Birmingham, Ala.

Gov. Sparks will have to say something about this piece, it seems to me. "A situation which may bring the entire Negro question to the floor of the Democratic convention is brewing in Alabama," Pearson wrote. "Alabama's ebullient governor is laying plans, first, to elect a pungently anti-New Deal delegation to represent his state. Second, he proposes to make a speech on the floor of the convention on the race issue, denouncing Mrs. Roosevelt, and attempting to obtain adoption of a plank in the Democratic platform for white supremacy . . . His moves have met with the vigorous opposition of certain of Alabama's liberal Democrats, led by forthright Col. Harry Ayers, of The Anniston Star. They feel that any anti-Negro move such as that proposed by Gov. Sparks would do the country no good, would alienate millions of colored voters in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago, and would definitely swing the Negro vote securely back to its traditional position in Republican columns . . . War Department executives are aghast at the Sparks' proposal, say it would play directly into the hands of Jap propagandists, already doing a good job of harping on the color issue in the Orient . . ."

New York, N. Y.
New Republic

A Meeting South

SIR: After reading some of your comments on discrimination against Negroes, I thought you might be interested in my experience, which happened on the streets of this supposedly enlightened city [Miami] in which I have been a resident for eighteen years.

Walking leisurely one lunch hour from my bank to my office, I met an old Negro friend of mine, whom I had not seen for more than a year. Naturally, we stopped, shook hands and began conversing in the usual casual manner of all friends and acquaintances who have been separated for some time, when the gruff voice of the traffic officer screamed at me to step to the curb, which I did. He dismissed my Negro friend with "Beat it, Nigger," and turning to me, asked for all identification evidence down to the minutest detail, Selective Service registration card, membership cards in all civic organizations, driver's license, etc. Being a law-abiding citizen, I presumed that he was looking for a criminal who might resemble me, and this did not infuriate me, but after examining all my credentials, he disgustedly handed them back to me, and for the first time I was informed of my "offense." With utter contempt, and facial expression to match, he warned me never to shake hands with a Negro on his street, and if I did, he threatened me with something or other which I did not hear, being upset as to be beyond even the sense of hearing. He also added that if I had no respect for myself, other members of the white race had, that I had defiled it in the most disgraceful manner.

As I did not care to argue with such an ignorant officer, I immediately dispatched a letter to the City Manager, which I carried to him personally, and he informed me that "proper steps would be taken to correct this." Knowing some of the past history of Miami, even this was quite a concession to a common taxpayer. . . . Yes, this happened, not in Germany, Poland, or some occupied country of Europe, but in the good U. S. A.

Miami, Fla.

Broad Measures Called Best.

Miss Helen Beauchamp, director of the Division of Public Assistance of the State Welfare Department, said that broad enabling legislation was the most effective and that programs are dependent on specific legislation, she said, they often are handicapped by "procrastination, politics, deceit, delay and double-crossing."

How the League of Women Voters goes about the job of aiding social legislation was related by Mrs. Spafford Ackerly. Citizen participation in good government, nonpartisanship, development of "well-informed citizens acting in the public interest," and concern with getting well-qualified representation, were among the processes she described.

A second institute, on mental hygiene, heard Dr. Carl A. Whitaker, psychiatrist of the Louisville Children's Center, lead a discussion of needs of Kentucky children in this field and of ways of quickening the work particularly as to children.

The conference will hold its business session today, with a discussion by Howard W. Beers, Lexington, organization's president, on its responsibility in developing practical things like employment, welfare programs to provide means of filling the gaps not possibly to be supplied by the State or Federal governments, but of the people themselves, financed mainly by parks, as well as opening avenues public funds but by private groups and individuals."

The Mayor said he would have it supposed that the Louisville planning is a vision-ary thing, but concerned with legislation. William M. Duffy, of the organization, senior administrator, Louisville, Lexington attorney, presided at a concluding discussion of how to get social-economic betterment.

Afternoon sessions were devoted to round tables. Tom Mooney, annual business session today, discussion by Dr.

56k-1943

THE LIVING SOUTH

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

—By HAROLD PREECE

Breaking Race Hate

IT IS very rare indeed that a born-and-bred white southerner will talk up on the issue of race prejudice the way Tom Powers, a famous Broadway actor, does in the current issue of the magazine "Tomorrow."

JUL 3 1943

Because his piece gives a real insight into the mores and background of the South, I am taking the liberty of devoting this week's entire column to his article which follows:

"We southerners just naturally love darkies—in their place, of course."

How many thousand times have I heard those charming people say those equivocal words! I myself have said them; being southern, I could not have grown up without saying them. Every southerner says them.

I remembered those words on a night that I want to tell you about, and I suddenly knew them for what they are.

When I was twenty, I came to New York to become a great actor. At my audition at Carnegie Hall I did Hamlet's soliloquy with an accent that wuold have made Simon Legree reach for his black-snake whip.

A few years later I became, for some reason, that new, successful, juvenile leading man who arrives each year on Broadway to be swamped with offers and praise. Of course I loved it. I met all the famous people, and enjoyed enormously the feeling that I was one of them.

Irene and Vernon Castle were the world's darlings. We drove around in their new Stutz, and enjoyed that world hugely, little dreaming that within a few years Vernon would return from France, would teach me to fly in the R.A.F., and would so soon be killed in Texas. But those pre-war days were gay and full of fun.

Go To Army

ONE NIGHT we got dressed and dashed up to Harlem where I had never been. Irene was to present a cup to the colored couple who danced best the Hesitation Waltz, the One Step, and the Castle Walk.

JUL 8 1943

We arrived at an armory, and I was delighted to see many Negroes, all dressed in their best, all gay and smiling and excited as they always are over any big, stylish social occasion. I beamed. It was just like being "down home" again.

We sat in a box, looking down on the enormous dance floor. There were a few parties of white people in other boxes, but they were only a scattered few in that throng.

We were the center of attraction. All eyes were on Irene in her beautiful, simple clothes, sitting in the front of the box with that tilt of her head, that lift of her shoulders so characteristic of her.

I had on my best black pearl studs and felt completely happy.

Then we went down to the dance floor, and she presented a great silver cup to the winners, who shone with pride and gleaming teeth and sparkling eyes. There was prolonged applause, and the winning couple danced the Castle Walk alone.

Irene floated up the stairs, Vernon and I following. We settled down to watch for a while longer before going on to a party at the Biltmore roof.

Suddenly there appeared in our box an officer of the colored regiment that was sponsoring the dance. He had come to thank Irene for appearing and making it more gala than anyone else in the world of that day could make it.

We stood up.

Irene and Vernon both knew him. And then I heard Irene say, "I want you to meet Mr. Powers who is playing in Oh, Boy! at the Princess."

He put out his hand.

I had been surrounded by Negroes from babyhood. Aunt Mag Jackson's lap was my cradle. Uncle Ellis was my playfellow and my story book. Will Wade, our butler during my adolescence, was my advisor and my friend. I had played and fought with Negro children, gone with Uncle Ellis to his church to hear him preach and sing. I was relaxed, easy, smiling, happy, completely at home with them.

JUL 3 1943

But never before had I been introduced socially to a colored man and seen his hand come out to me, as one man to another. I could feel my face go pale. Something inside me said, "No, we southerners don't do this." And it was a perceptible moment before something outside me, some purely social, but better advised, instinct said, "The Castles brought you here, and if it kills you, you mustn't make a scene." I shook hands.

The Biltmore party broke up very late, but I don't remember anything about it.

Irene and Vernon dropped me at my hotel, and I locked the door and sat down to think.

Superiority?

I HAD NEVER used my mind on the southern question. I had taken it for granted that I was right, that it was right. Of course, I liked Negroes; I loved them, but—in their place.

I was no fool, mind you, and here I had to admit to an almost physical revulsion from meeting as an equal a man whom I would have slapped on the back and given a quarter to and talked and laughed with, with perfectly relaxed friendship, had I been sure that he was conscious all the time of my superiority. Superiority in what? I began to question the whole system.

How dared I feel what I had felt when another of God's creatures proffered his hand? At what point had my ancestors decided that his ancestors were of inferior clay?

Perhaps they had had to force themselves to believe it before they could bring themselves to do what seemed expedient. But what about me? They had obviously succeeded even unto the third and fourth generation.

The sun began to light the canyon below my window.

I put aside my pearl studs, dressed, ate breakfast, and set out for Harlem to find that officer and to ask his help.

I found him, explained my problem, what I had felt and how ashamed it made me that I could feel it.

He was kindness and understanding itself, and he helped me finally to laugh a little wryly at myself. I asked him to introduce me to other Negroes, and I met people much better educated than I was to whom I told my trouble. They told me their side of the equation and something of the colored man's individual struggle toward understanding of his own submerged and often justified reactions, and from that day to this I have never felt the slightest shadow of prejudice between me and any other of God's creatures, and I hope I never shall.

JUL 3 1943

REASON FOR COMPLAINT

"Before the bar all men are equal," our friend Jeff Davis, was in an SEP 7 1943 book he had chanced upon. Jeff read the statement again and then went into deep meditation.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

In Charleston, a few days before, a white man had been convicted of attempted criminal assault upon three young colored women. He was sentenred to 75 days in jail and a taxi driver who was an accessory, was fined 25 days. The daily newspaper had referred to the jailing of this man as proof that the law applied equally to colored and white but Jeff could'nt see the "equally" in it. A few months before a colored man had given a ride by a white women near Charleston, had been accused of "rape" and drew forty years. For weeks, his people had half-whispered, "He must've been innocent, else he sure wouldn't have been let off so light". That kind of crime is always certain death and Jeff thought of many cases in which that had been the case.



McCray

While thusly engrossed, Jeff picked up the afternoon paper the carrier had just thrown in. His eyes stuck to an item relating the trial of two white men accused of having shot to death from the rear, a fourteen-year-old colored boy. The jury had found involuntary manslaughter, carrying a sentence of from three months to three years. With "time off for good behavior" the men did not have to serve the full sentence. Jeff remembered another three-year sentence in this city about two years ago. A white man was convicted of committing criminal assault upon a fourteen-year-old colored girl and was given a three-year sentence. A little over a year later, he was a free man. No colored man, suspected of thinking of rape, has been so fortunate.

SEP 7 1943

Jeff was not a "complaining man." He believed only in equality to the extent of the Golden Rule: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." That rule, when applied to the quotation from the book he had just read, was all he wanted out of his courts. But now he was complaining. His mind whirled. Somewhere he had heard, "it don't cost nothing to kill a Negro." He had heard that from his own people. He remembered too many cases in which it had been borne out, in which a man would slay his brother, get charged for manslaughter and wind up with two or three years, or in many cases, a free man. It was a different story if he harmed a man of another race.

Jeff lit his pipe, threw down all his papers, puffed a little and thought a little. Finally, he aroused himself and said: "O, what's the use? That man who said 'all men are equal before the bar' was just about as crazy as the man who said 'all men are created equal.' My people have something to whimper about when such glaring inequalities are handed them. All they want, and all I want is that the law be made to apply as vigorously on a other people as it is applied to me."

SEP 17 1943

Jeff's logic was honest and fair. It was the ideal thing. But how many ideal things do we have around today?

White Southerners Resent Soldier's Plea For Racial Equality

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Aug. 19—(ANP)—Charleston's colored population, the whole, "its friends of democracy" Adolph Hitler's Aryanism Wednesday when the News and Courier, white race-baiting daily, the whites in mind, morals, or ulace, nearly 50 per cent of the taste of how it feels to live under
Mrs. Edgar N. Bigby of North Charleston, wrote among other things: "The Negro is not equal to the whites in mind, morals, or
Conlon's letter, published in the Courier last week, asked if there was any difference in Hitler's race theory and that of the South.
letters of reply to published four a letter of Pvt. Thomas F. Conlon, white Northern soldier stationed at the Citadel, famed military college.

color (read yo[illegible]). She said, "a Negro if given an inch will take a mile."

SAYS SOCIAL EQUALITY MYTH

Richard F. Seward of Charleston held, "If you care to check the records, you will find that 50 per cent of the Negroes are illiterate . . . I hope I never live to see the day that a Negro can "date" a white person . . . and I assure you that there is not a Southerner who is not willing to fight to keep jim crow. There shall never be social equality in the South."

William J. Mood of Charleston thought that Gov. Olin D. Johnston had made it clear on what would be tolerated from "outsiders" and concluded: "Pvt. Conlon might well be glad that he is in uniform, for if he weren't he might well be on his way out of Charleston."

L. C. Soppenheim, whose name hints of Germanic strain, wrote: "If you had a sister would you permit her to marry a Negro? . . . I am a Southerner, a native of Charleston, and I firmly believe in discrimination and segregation of Negroes . . . The Negroes are your equals up there, but they are our inferiors down here . . . You are showing your ignorance when you compare us with Hitler."

Wagner Pleads For Tolerance In Radio Speech

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa

NEW YORK, Sept. 9—Declaring that "more remedial action must and will be taken, especially in combating discrimination in war industry and in the armed forces," Sen. Robert F. Wagner, (Dem., N.Y.) last night called on "public spirited citizens of every race, creed and color, to organize committees to marshal the forces of tolerance and goodwill."

Senator Wagner was one of the nationally prominent speakers in the local radio series on "Unity At Home—Victory Abroad." His plea was heard over station WMCA.

Pointing out that "the heart of the Negro's economic problem is the limited opportunity for a job in private employment," he asks, "when the war ends, will the Negro worker, who was the last to be hired, then be the first to be fired?

HEROISM UNREWARDED

"Will the returning American soldiers of the Negro race find their heroism unrewarded by a chance to earn their own living? Will these tensions, in various parts of the country, develop into the serious racial conflicts that followed the first world war, and threatened every minority group and religion?

"These are not mere post-war issues," he said, "to be laid on the shelf for the time being. The manpower needs of the armed forces, and war industry, continue to increase. Throughout the world, thoughtful men and women are coming to understand that real peace and security can only be achieved by extending the frontiers of liberty, by elevating the standards of living for all. Those who scoff at these goals, breed an isolationist approach to world problems, and a reactionary, intolerant approach to domestic problems," he declared.

AMERICANS ALL

"Throughout the war, as in the years preceding, our diverse population, with very rare exceptions, has shown remarkable co-operation. Without regard to race, creed, color, or country of origin, they share and cherish a common devotion to America, and their sons fight shoulder to shoulder in a common democratic cause . . . they are Americans all.

"This unity on the sidewalks of New York is symbolic of America's strength. Only in a democracy would we find citizens of a minority race, such as the Negro, serving with distinction as judges and police officials, in legislative and executive positions, in the City and the State of New York.

"Only in a democracy could people, drawn from the four corners of the Earth, live as citizens and neighbors, uniting in their efforts in the progress of our City and Nation."

Referring to the recent Harlem disturbances, Senator Wagner said:

"Those individuals guilty of crimes must be punished; but no law enforcement officer worthy of the name, and no self-respecting community, would stop at that. It is plain common sense, as well as good government, to correct the underlying causes of this disturbance.

"We do not need more investigatioin so much as we need to apply remedies already well known, from past investigations in city, state and nation. At the root of such outbreaks, we find well-known conditions of segregation, discrimination, insecurity, over-crowding, and bad housing," Senator Wagner declared.

BETTER HOUSING WILL HELP

"In the last 10 years," he said, "with the sympathetic leadership in New York City and State, and in the Federal government, much progress has been made in improving such conditions. As an example, the Federal public housing program, which I sponsored in Congress, allotted more than one-third of all peace-time funds to Negro housing throughout the country, including a number of New York City projects. Yet this is the beginning of what needs to be done, through public funds and private capital.

"Better housing, along with better city planning of recreation and other facilities, will go a long way to reduce antagonism, and cut down the cost of police, fire, and health protection," he said.

"In every other field, the picture is the same; the continuing need, overshadows what has been accomplished. More remedial action must and will be taken, especially in combatting discrimination in war industry and in the armed forces."

As An Indian Sees It

To the Allied Leaders: "You Can't Beat Hitler By Protecting Jim Crow"

BY KUMAR GOSHA

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa

WHILE talking to a friend of mine about the emotional eruption in Harlem, the thought came to us simultaneously that it was in many ways similar to what is happening in India. It was not a race riot, nor was there any trace of mysterious fifth columnists slinking through the shadows of the night provoking disturbances. The reasons for the Harlem upheaval would be glaringly visible even in a total blackout.

The explosion had its roots in the same anomaly of bondage in the midst of freedom. It had been nourished by all-around discrimination against a minority, fed on the bitter sap of economic distress, and aggravated by segregation. It reached a boiling point when the Negro people — ready to die for their country in a democratic war — met with jim crow in the Army, and death at the hands of fellow Americans of a different color. The story of a white policeman shooting a Negro soldier in Harlem, supplied the spark needed for the explosion.



Mr. Goshal.

COMMISSIONS PLAY FOR TIME

In India, too, political bondage and economic distress are at the root of all disturbances. The failure of the Cripps mission, Churchill's statement that the Atlantic Charter did not apply to India, and the arrest of the Indian leaders, precipitated the rioting that followed. Since then, food shortage and high prices, and the obvious determination of the British Government to hang onto India as a colony, have resulted in periodic outbreaks of violence.

EVERYBODY deplores these disorders, but what is being done to prevent them? In New York, joint Negro and white committees have been set up, which is all to the good. But there is also talk of setting up a commission to investigate the causes of the outburst. Coming from a country which has had plenty of experience with commissions of investigation, I am naturally suspicious of them. Whenever the Indian people showed militancy, the British Government set up commissions to postpone a showdown. The investigation always took years, and in the course of marking time, the government had many opportunities to break down the militancy of the people.

CAN'T BEAT HITLER BY PROTECTING JIM CROW

I am not denying that investigations are often necessary and commissions sometimes do present concrete programs. But in heaven's name, what more is there to investigate? For that matter, the reports of a previous commission have been gathering dust on the desk of the Mayor of New York for a long time. Do we need another commission to realize that the solution lies in price and rent control, decent housing, more playgrounds for the children of Harlem, and the elimination of racial discrimination in the armed forces of the United States?

ANOTHER Roosevelt-Churchill meeting is taking place, and I hope, while deciding upon the obvious strategy of attacking Hitler in the west, the eminent leaders will realize that . . .

"Looks like by now
Folks ought to know,
It's hard to beat Hitler
Protecting Jim Crow."

Before they decide to make another speech, they should listen to the great poet, Langston Hughes, as he continues:

"You can't look to Gandhi,
Club Roland Hayes,
Then make fine speeches
About Freedom's ways.
Freedom's not just
To be won Over There.
It means Freedom at home, too;
Now . . . right here!"

Says Poll Tax, Discrimination Barriers To U.S. Leadership

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World

AUG 29 1943

Must First Achieve Democracy, Here, Says University Prexy

CHICAGO— (ANP)— President Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago last week told delegates to the American Bar Association meeting at the Drake hotel that "one has to be permitted to doubt whether America is in any sense prepared for world rule of all for the good of all— democracy" when it permits these things to exist at home.

"Though we are the most democratic of nations," he declared, "we have yet to get rid of certain ideas that must be persuaded to become democratic. Dr. Hutchins who continued that:

"Surely the most persuasive argument which proves that democracy is not an undesirable ideal is the practice of democracy in one great country and those who work and those who don't work, the poll tax, which brings with it, the peace and the justice, the happiness of very painful operation, the removal of the beams from our eyes."

Other nations must not be forced to become democratic added Dr. Hutchins who continued that:

"Surely the most persuasive argument which proves that democracy is not an undesirable ideal is the practice of democracy in one great country and those who work and those who don't work, the poll tax, which brings with it, the peace and the justice, the happiness of very painful operation, the removal of the beams from our eyes."

SEP 4 1943

New York, N. Y. New Republic

Who's Afraid of the Big, Bad Wolf?

A letter in Life.

If a Negro is given the same rights as that of a white man, he will use them to make the white man his servant.

56k-1943

The Real Facts in Detroit

New York, N. Y.

ALMOST two months have sped by since the Detroit insurrection; practically a month since the outbreak in Harlem. America stands breathless at the possible recurrence of similar tragedies in those great communities and elsewhere. Our people want to hear that the authorities have gotten down to brass tacks and that a remedial course of action has been adopted. We can, at this writing, report the following: first, evidence at hand that the Army has begun some measures—albeit haltingly—to improve the status of the Negro soldier; second, that the general approach adopted by the New York authorities has won the approval of all patriots who now wait for the word to become deed; third, that the situation in Detroit is, if anything, worse; and finally, that Attorney General Biddle has evidenced no sincere concern over abolition of the evil.

Let us consider the Detroit question first, since little official progress has been made there. The police authorities who failed the community, and the nation, those tragic days of June 20-21, have failed America again. Governor Kelly's Fact Finding Committee, composed mainly of police authorities, came to veritable Kluxist conclusions in their report last week. They blamed the Negro, whitewashed the pro-fascist groups whose record of disruption is no secret. Not only are progressives, labor and Negro leaders dismayed, but even such a conservative Republican organ as the Philadelphia "Inquirer" abhors the calcimine. The "Inquirer" said: "The very makeup of this committee was enough to make its findings suspect from the start." It consisted of the state attorney general, the county prosecutor, the police commissioner, and the head of the state police, all of them officials charged with law enforcement. "To ask them," says the "Inquirer," "to sift the causes of an outbreak that got beyond police control was absurd on the face of it." Plenty of Detroiters felt likewise, including Councilman Edwards, who announced: "I still think we need a Grand Jury to investigate these foul murders and restore public confidence." Sheldon Tappes, leader of the Ford local of the United Automobile Workers, likewise urged federal grand jury investigation.

New Masses

As a result, many throughout the nation wonder today whether the fact finders are really clear of ties with the Klan and other pro-fascist gentry they so generously vindicated. Small wonder: the callous attitude displayed toward the daily injustice suffered by the Negro people of Detroit, injustice arising from the medieval institution of Jim Crow, can only provoke such suspicion. So long as fundamental issues like job discrimination, wretched housing, meager educational facilities are skirted by officials, their sincerity will be questioned.

For these reasons people are eyeing Attorney General Biddle's actions with concern. Such an outcry arose last week over his reported proposals to curb Negro migration as a solution to racial tension that he was constrained to deny knowledge of any such "present plan." The wording of his denial, however, left doubts of his genuine intention. Moreover, he is under fire for having taken no measures against the fifth columnists running rife throughout Detroit and elsewhere. Nor is this all. It is common knowledge that the War Department has urged action in a number of cases involving murder of Negro soldiers, but the Justice Department has failed to move. And shows no intention of doing so. Unfortunately the War Department has itself not taken the initiative in publicly condemning these outrages. However, it is considered most significant that Secretary of War Stimson conferred recently in Tunis with Lieut. Col. Benjamin O. Davis, Negro commander of the 99th Negro fighter squadron in Sicily. Observers interpreted this as a step in Secretary Stimson's desire to study the whole problem of our Negro troops with an eye toward improvement. It is hoped that Mr. Stimson will be moved to more aggressive action regarding the rights of Negro soldiers here at home. And that the War Department will realize the sinister role of pro-fascist organizations and will demand action against them.

In fact, leading civil rights organizations have begun a drive for 2,000,000 signatures to a petition to President Roosevelt urging him to instruct the Attorney General to eliminate the Klan, the America First Party, and other fascist-thinking groups whose avowed programs labor toward fostering dissensions between Negro and white. How many times need this be repeated: that the Axis' final hope of averting catastrophe lies through disruption of our nation's unity? It is clear enough to the average intelligent citizen: what prevents Attorney General Biddle from seeing it?

Good Neighbor Rally Raps B'klyn Anti-Negro Smear

Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

The Good Neighbor Rally, called Monday night by the Citizens Committee of Good Neighbors at the Regina Mansions, 601 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, presented the following speakers, who made these points on the Kings County Grand Jury presentment:

Joseph Derner (chairman of the CIO Industrial Council and chairman of the meeting): ". . . The Grand Jury statement was timed to injure the War Fund drive in Brooklyn, and it succeeded. Fund drive volunteers, frightened at the Grand Jury tales of attacks on 'helpless' women, turned in their kits. The dastardly attacks by Sumner Sirtl and Monsignor Belford caused the failure of the War Fund drive and the potential loss of American lives . . . I have personally interviewed the six men and women whose pictures were spread over the Journal-American Nov. 18, under the heading of 'Terrorism in Brooklyn.' They each admitted that in no case was the alleged attacker a Negro. . . ."

Councilman Peter V. Cacchione: ". . . Certain newspapers in this country are doing Hitler's work. For instance: the editorial in the Daily News attacking the morals of our young women in the Army kept 200,000 out of the WACS. Which means that some 200,000 men, who otherwise could have been relieved of clerical jobs for active service against the enemy, cannot be relieved. The Daily News did Hitler's job well. . . ."

Judge Myles Paige (a Negro and a Catholic): ". . . The Grand Jury's charge, concurred in by Father Belford, that people stopped going to certain churches at night, because they feared being attacked, is untrue. They stopped going when the Mayor clamped down on Bingo games . . . (Applause) And I can prove it! . . . There was hardly a member of that Grand Jury from the district it criticized, the Bedford-Stuyvesant section. I was called before that Grand Jury. They asked questions mainly to prove their pre-conceived prejudices about the Negro. If they had wanted the truth on this matter they would have included at least one Negro in its membership. . . . **And now the newspapers are using the Liebman incident in an effort to make a rift between the Jews and the Negroes. We must not allow it.**"

Other speakers included Rabbi D. Burack, Isadore Philip Sipsen, and Lyman Levy, the last named representing the International Workers Order. Sipsen, young labor attorney and chairman of the 6th A. D. American Labor Party, assailed the scheduled speakers who had failed to appear. He charged that they had contracted 'cold feet.'"

State Senator Louis H. Heller, along with Lisa Sergio, Father Weist and George Wibecan, had been prominently advertised as speakers. They were not present.

Birmingham, Ala., Age Herald
December 21, 1943

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

"This in mine own, my native land . . ."

* * *

In Durham, N. C., last Friday, I was permitted to talk to students of the North Carolina College for Negroes. I would be hard to find more excellent members of the race. As interested as any other colored people in advancement, their interest includes what they can make of themselves with advancements that have come already. No Negroes I know are more self-respecting, more ambitious for their race, but they see nothing in that to stop them from having good manners with the white race, from self-improvement, good faith, loyalty to work, physical and moral cleanliness, and an understanding that the two races must get along together in the South on a basis of the present situation as well as in hopes of a better one. Part of the secret of excellence in these Negro young men and women is their president, James E. Shepard.

* * *

The colored people of this nation, like the laboring people, have much to gain. But they have won enough to have a constant duty to themselves and the nation. A duty to improve themselves and love the nation. The spectable of a Negro leader acting and speaking first of all as an excellent American is inspiring. President Shepard, stalwart, distinguished-looking president of this North Carolina College for Negroes, is such a leader. He has a heart for his race, its needs and deserts, its wrongs and bitter stories. No one more so. But he is capable always of thinking of America, and of his beloved North Carolina, in terms of the sums total of what they contain and remember and promise all men, not just his own.

* * *

This country is precious as it stands, in Dr. Shepard's sight. Much needs to be done to it, especially for some people in it. But it is a country worth the while of all of its people, and all need to tell themselves so without fingers crossed. "The Negro realizes that the American dream has never come fully true for him," this Negro leader told a New York audience a few weeks ago, "that in spite of the injustices which have been heaped upon the Negro in America, there is no country other than ours in which 12,000,000 or more Negroes have found the opportunities we find in this country . . . Living in a democracy means responsibilities as well as duties. It is easy to complain of the rights which are denied us, while we never yet has he felt evade the responsibilities and the duties which must be shouldered . . . While I know that immorality never yet has he overand crime thrive and breed in fact that his race must slums, I also know that man may itself with what it has rise above his physical surroundseeks for more, must ings, and thus come to serve those it advances. That makes who are weaker than he . . ."

* * *

Never yet has esigned from ce. But never t necessary to own in course ship. And never looked the fact improve itself even as it seek qualify as it adv him a leader fo nation, too, in proaching. *We know," he told If America is to succeed there must be more James Shepards*

leading America's elements. More of them leading the business men who seek free enterprise, the citizens who demand states' rights, the labor unions, the farm organizations, the Southerners, the colored people. More to tell the ones they lead that America is greater than any of its parts and that every American can and must be a better human being in exercise of the things he has and realization of the things he seeks.

* * *

"Symptoms arising from faulty nutrition can be confused with neurotic and psychopathic states of undetermined origin," writes Dr. Tom D. Spies in an article in The Journal of the American Medical Association describing the nutritional rehabilitation at his Hillman Clinic of 100 selected workers for industry. It's a two-way street, apparently. The mind affects the body, but an older truth which has been neglected a little is that the body affects the mind. Enthralled with new miracles of psychology, we have tended to overlook old miracles of physiology. A plain, old-fashioned healthy body is still a factor in well-being in spite of all the mental and nervous wonders accomplished or to be.

* * *

Full many a case of indigestion has been cured by treating the owner's point of view. And full many an immortal soul has been soothed with bicarbonate of soda.

State Department Passes Buck On Issue of Slighted Minister

The first minister to be sent to this Country from Ethiopia arrived NOV last Sunday without fanfare and without the usual courtesies which are extended arriving dignitaries by the State Department.

The Honorable Blatta Ephrens Tewolde Medhen arrived at the National Airport was met by an Army second lieutenant, and driven to his home in an Army Plymouth car, in the 2100 block of Kalorama Road, Northwest.

The State Department explained that word of the envoy's arrival reached the department too late for an official of the department to be dispatched to meet him. Consequently, it was said, a call was put through to the lieutenant in charge at the airport, to meet the dignitary, and to escort him to his home.

Some dispute arose as to whether the minister was transported in a jeep or a Plymouth sedan. The minister's secretary, Gethaum Tesemma, didn't know the difference. All he could say to reporters, was that the car was "quite little, oh, very little."

Fifteen hours had expired after the arrival of Minister Medhen before the State Department would admit that the envoy of Emperor Haile Selassie, the Conquering Lion of Judah, and the Elected One of God, had made his arrival here to take his place beside the ministers of other foreign countries.

The minister's secretary declined any extensive interviews until Mr. Medhen had opportunity to present his credentials to the Presiden NOV 10 1943

Declaration of Negro Voters Reveals Political Maturity

The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

DEC 13

By James W. Ford

The joint statement on political action released by 20 Negro leaders of important organizations has already begun to provoke serious consideration in many circles. There are many facets to that declaration. Each one requires special consideration in order to get the full import of the document. In this article we deal with one of these facets, viz; how decisive will the Negro vote be in the 1944 elections. The New York Times tackled this question in its issue of Dec. 4.

The Times seems to doubt the effect of the Negro vote in 1944 and asks, can the "retreat of the Negroes" from the Democratic Party be stopped on the part of the Roosevelt Administration. "The answer might be Yes," says the Times, "if you believe in such things as 'voting blocs'," and, "no if you believe that such alleged blocs are themselves carried back and forth by the national tides and trends."

The "Declarations of Negro Voters" states: "The Negro knows that his voting strength in 17 or more states with 281 or more votes in the electoral college gives him the potential balance of power in any reasonable close national election and in many state and local elections."

What are the facts? By 1928 the Republican Party has begun to lose its hold on the Negro people, who began at that time to support the Democratic Party in increasing numbers. By 1932 the voting power and political maturity of the Negro people had grown tremendously, especially in industrial centers in the North. In the South they exercised little political power.

Nineteen thirty-two was the beginning of new times and new alignments for the Negro people.

The elections of that year found the Negro people in a maturing alliance with labor and progressive voters and they helped to give Roosevelt a smashing victory over the Hoover Republicans. The greatest economic crisis in the history of the country faced the Negro people.

NEGROES IN THE CIO

By 1936 the trade unions and especially the CIO had begun to understand the problems of Negro labor and to take serious interests in them. There was tremendous strength and power in this alliance mutually beneficial to labor and the Negro people. With the advent of the CIO, the organization of Negroes into trade unions took on a mass character, never before seen in the history of the country.

In the early days of the CIO campaign of organization, Philip Murray, now president of the CIO, at a meeting of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in Pittsburgh, declared, that the CIO "was out to organize the Negro workers for their economic advancement, and that this movement had prospects of political emancipation for Negroes." Thus, the election campaign of 1936 brought about a closer alliance of the Negro people with labor in the political field.

FDR EXECUTIVE ORDER

The Negro people faced the 1936 election conscious of the reactionary role of the Republican Party. They declared that not only must they defeat the Landon - Liberty League forces, but they must secure an extension of democratic rights.

In the 1940 elections the political maturity of the Negro people, their organizational power and close alliance with labor and progressive forces had taken on a more solid character. The Republican Party was still the source of strength of reaction in the country. In 1936 it had fostered the Liberty League and the Black Legion and encouraged the Ku Klux Klan.

There is no doubt that under Roosevelt the Negro people have made great gains throughout these unprecedented years of great change and new alignments.

The President has acted in good faith in attempting to overcome discrimination. This can be seen in the President's Executive Order against discrimination in war industries and by the various bodies set up to combat discrimination. This pronouncement went a long way in meeting the demand for equality. The Negro people have historic testimnoy of this in the recent decision of the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee against the railroads for discrimination in the employment of Negroes.

The Negro people understand the reactionary trends of the times by their coming in conflict with the chief enemies of Roosevelt and progress, namely, the Republican-anti-Roosevelt - Democratic bloc, and they are moving against these enemies, behind Roosevelt, to win the war.

It is this political maturity of the Negro people that is indicative of their potential influence in the 1944 elections. This influence will be strengthened in proportion as they align themselves more solidly with the progressive political movement in the nation and in the first place with labor. DEC 13 1943

Their numerical voting strength in key industrial northern centers is an important vehicle for making their power effective in their own interest and in interest of the nation as a whole.

56k-1943

ATTITUDE OF THE ADMINISTRATION ON RACE ISSUE IS REAL PROBLEM IN THE SOUTH

President Roosevelt Makes It Clear That Anti-Discrimination Clauses Of His Fair Employment Practices Committee Be Included In All Government Contracts And Sub-Contracts

Greenville, S. C., Observer
November 19. 1943

By H. E. C. BRYANT

Washington, Nov. 12.—The slogan "Hold the Line" is passing; John L. Lewis and Secretary Harold Ickes broke it; now, every group of organized labor has designs on it.

Lines, or bars here seem to be for certain parties. Comptroller General Lindsay C. Warren has been overruled by the President in the controversy over the order against discrimination because of race, creed or color under which the Fair Employment Practices unit operates. The President has the whip hand in the conflict.

The President told the Department of Justice that his executive orders on that subject are mandatory. In other words, any individual, firm, company or corporation that does not wish to comply with that order need not ask for government contracts. Negroes must not be discriminated against because of "race or color." If they are as well qualified for employment as whites they are to have jobs side by side with them. This is one of the live issues here now, and the administration, from the President down, seems determined not to offend the Negro. The truth is, white employees are the ones that suffer when differences arise. Negroes on guard in every office see that nothing that resembles discrimination goes unnoticed. They are quick to protest, and have the ears of higher-ups.

The attitude of the Administration toward the colored people is a real problem for the South, for it inspires the rougher, and more lawless element to be hostile not only to white people who have helped them through their struggles for decades but also to friendly Negroes who are doing well in the South, and here. It encourages [illegible] but there is nothing one can do about it as the government

The overruling of the Comptroller General did not come as a surprise but it established a precedent that will live to harass Mr. Warren and many others.

In an editorial on the action of the President The Washington Post said: "President has made it clear that his Fair Employment Practices Committee is no dummy corporation. When he reestablished it some months ago, he implemented it with a general order than anti-discrimination clauses be included in all government contracts and subcontracts. Recently this order was called into question by the Comptroller General on the ground that it was a mere directive and therefore not binding upon contracting officers. Now the President has stated categorically that his order was in fact an order and that the inclusion of anti-discrimination clauses is not mandatory."

Washington is keenly interested in the announcement of the President for one of the most important matters pending before the F E P C is the demand of Negro organizations for men of their race to run street cars, and buses as motormen, conductors and drivers. Now that the President has asserted that his "order" is just that and its enforcement mandatory the Washington branch of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People will insist on an early decision in that matter, Unionists in the employment of the Capital Transit Company, which controls the cars and buses in the District of Columbia, are adamant in their opposition to Negro platform workers. But a showdown of strength must come soon.

Twenty-four railroads and 14 of their unions are awaiting opinions from the FEPC on questions brought to it some weeks ago, when hearings were held, and quick decisions promised. The Negroes hope to break down, what they describe as barriers, against promotions from firemen to engineers and other changes important to them.

That there has been stubborn resistance to the anti-discrimination requirements for contracts in other sections than the South is shown by the Warren action on a Kansas City, Mo., telephone case, and similar protests from other western states.

The Gallup Poll

Post
AUG 28 1943

Many in Southern States Dissatisfied on Way Administration Has Handled Negro Problem

Washington, D. C

By George Gallup AUG 28 1943

Director, American I

Princeton, N. J., Aug. 27.—Although public opinion surveys have failed to reveal any large-scale defection from the Roosevelt Administration on the part of Southern Democratic voters, there is evidence of considerable dissatisfaction among Southerners with its handling of the Negro problem.

The extent of this dissatisfaction was measured recently in a special poll by the Institute throughout the 13 Southern States in which 101 field reporters put this question to a cross-section of Southern white voters:

Do you think the present Administration in Washington has done a good job in dealing with the Negro problem?

Here are the findings:

Believe Administration has done a good job	13%
A fair job	27
A poor job	35
No opinion	25

It will be seen that the number who think the Administration has done a poor job is more than twice as great as the number who think it has done a good job.

An analysis of the reasons given by Southern white voters as to why they feel as they do reveals this significant fact, that the typical Southerner is not opposed to the general aim of improving the status of the Negro, Many more Southern whites want to help the Negro race than want to r[illegible] AUG 28 1943 or even to continue leaving his status unchanged.

What many Southerners do criticize is the means taken by the Administration to improve the status of the colored man.

They feel that large-scale reforms have been undertaken too swiftly, that the improvement of the Negro race must of necessity be a process of gradual social evolution. They tend to criticize the Administration therefore not for its aims, but for its policies in carrying out those aims, and claim that the desire for swift and immediate reforms has made the Negro unruly and unmanageable in many parts of the South.

On the other hand, those Southern whites who think the Administration has done a commendable job with the Negro problem offer few suggestions as to method and place a large amount of emphasis upon what has been accomplished.

Here Are Eight Cases in Which Colored Soldiers in Uniform Got Rough Treatment in South from Civilians Who Still Are Unpunished

Afro-American
Baltimore, Maryland
NOV 27 1943

WASHINGTON

The alarming number of cases of violence by civilian policemen and other peace officers against colored men in uniform poses the question as to why the War Department doesn't do something about it.

Beginning with the riots at Alexandria, La., in January, 1942, in which some thirty soldiers were injured by civilian and military police, there have been at least eight c[illegible] in which colored members of the armed services have suffered at the hands of civilian police.

Remedies Listed

At least three remedies for these cowardly practices have been suggested:

1. That the War Department get a voluntary agreement with local authorities that persons found guilty of attacking soldiers will be punished;
2. That when this fails, the army demand prosecution in the Federal courts; and
3. That in the event this also fails, the army declare local communities guilty of outrages against colored soldiers out-of-bounds to all soldiers, no matter whom it hurts.

Enforcement of this third suggested procedure would insure the co-operation of officers, colored and white soldiers and the various communities in preventing such outrages.

Case of Pvt. Bell

The most recent victim is Pvt. Rilves Bell, who was sentenced to three years in the Mississippi penitentiary after he had been involved in an altercation in Starksville with some white men who demanded that he take off his uniform. The civilians went free.

Here are some of the other cases reported during 1942:

Pvt. [illegible] shot and killed by a city policeman in El Paso, Tex. The case was submitted to a grand jury but nothing ever came of it.

Army Nurse Beaten

Lieut. Norma Green, an army nurse, was beaten in Montgomery, Ala., by two police officers. Civil authorities did not even condemn such brutality, much less punish the offenders.

Sgt. Thomas Foster, a soldier stationed at Camp Robinson, was shot and killed by a city policeman in Little Rock, Ark. Evidence showed that Foster was shot while lying dazed on the ground.

A Solution Is Needed

Birmingham, Ala
age-Herald

BY ARTHUR KROCK
In The New York Times

WASHINGTON—When two groups of different ethnical origins seek out each other and come together in violence, that, strictly speaking, is a race riot. It is race riot whether one group or both go out for trouble. By this definition, Monday disturbances in Harlem were not—as Mayor LaGuardia has said—"race riots."

But, in the opinion of officials and investigators here, the seeds of race riots were in all the recent disorders; these seeds have not been extirpated; they abound in other civic soils throughout the United States; and the condition is one of deep and troubling importance, especially in time of war. While these officials and investigators

For various reasons many Negroes in

this country are more restless and dissatisfied than ever before, according to reports that have come to Washington, and more than before are responding to the urgings of hot-heads and outlaws among them to try to get rapidly and by force improvements in their condition which politicians long have promised them, and something extra beside. Some investigators believe that Axis propaganda has had a part in accelerating this state of mind. But not a very important one. What is held to have disposed to violent assertions many citizens, both Negro and white, who have lived near each other peacefully for a number of years, are these factors:

Negroes, being American citizens like any others, have been requisitioned for military service in the defense of the country. In this service they have lived where no such social exclusions are practiced against them as in most parts of the United States; and, as soldiers and sailors, they have enjoyed living conditions superior to those which they have been able to obtain out of their share of the national economy. These experiences have aroused feelings which, transmitted to their families and friends at home, have brought about an urge for more rapid improvement in their way of life at home than is practical or feasible.

Ever since Negroes got the vote, and began to live in concentrations in the Northeast and the Middle West that have given them a political balance of power, many politicians have sought their suffrage by making promises they did not intend to, and were unable to, fulfill. Instead of pledging themselves to help attain that Negroes should receive, as rightfully they should, as good facilities in living, education, employment and recreation as the white majority, these politicians have pandered to those colored leaders —often demagogues themselves—who demanded that all such facilities should be mixed and shared. Since in most parts of the United States the majority is unalterably opposed to this, Negroes have found the promises hollow, and this fact has been used to stir up resentment among them.

Negro leaders like Booker T. Washington and the late Dr. Carver, whose counsel was that their people should recognize the facts of nature and prefer to exist socially apart—so long as their existence was on an equitable economic and political plane—have been ridiculed as "Uncle Toms" by the political demagogues of both colors. This has made poisonous and explosive doctrine among a people so lately free from bondage, despite the fact that American Negroes have made progress in those 80 years never exceeded by a race so long and cruelly oppressed.

* * *

Negroes in this state of mind are likely to become as resentful over being denied equal patronage privileges with whites in hotels, restaurants and theaters as over denials of fundamental rights. It is reported here that there is unrest also (1) among whites who say that draft boards are more lenient in exempting Negroes; (2) among the latter who say that their men in the services are held to menial and non-combatant tasks by the prejudice of white officers, who in reports say that many Negro troops do not measure up to combat qualifications.

Whatever the facts as to this, it is certain that the restlessness is deep. One of the most important postwar tasks of representative white citizens will be to adjust the condition by the light of the lamps of justice, common sense and the general welfare. Meantime some assurances (which can surely be redeemed) should be given that will enable the best Negro leaders to exert an influence that is greatly needed. Students of the problem here think the president and Mrs. Roosevelt can do very much in this respect.

Tenn. Whites Seek To Block Church School For Negroes

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

By W. W. BUTLER
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — A protest originating with the white Hendersonville Civic club against the location near there of a vocational extension of the Nashville Christian Institute, went before a meeting of citizens of Sumner County at Hendersonville Sunday.

The plan to set up the school was drawn up by A. M. Burton, president of the Life and Casualty Insurance company, who is also a member of the board of directors of the Church of Christ Institute here.

According to C. L. Powell, a member of the protesting committee Burton's scheme should be opposed on the grounds that "location of a Negro school in a rural area such as the one proposed would be a decided detriment to that community and to the county as a whole."

Powell argued that the farms of prominent white citizens in the Hendersonville community would be seriously affected by the influx of Negroes "such as is to be expected with the establishment of a school for them." He declared he and other members of the committee were not opposed to such an educational institution but "we do not believe it should be placed in a rural community from which it would draw few, if any, students.

"If this program is carried out," Powell asserted, "a Negro community will spring up in the school's environs within a comparatively few years."

amalgamation and then the destruction of the white race.

Eastman said that there are two great political organizations in America working and demanding political equality for the Negroes. These he said, are the NAACP and the CIO, and the latter is not purely a southern problem, but one that confronts the whole nation.

Eastland pointed out that the civilization of Egypt was destroyed when slaves were brought into the country and a mingling of the races was brought about.

"Progress ceased and for 3,000 years there has been no advancement among those people," he declared.

Sen. Eastland said that the only solution of the race problem was a frank discussion of the issue. He declared that the people of America, both black and white must understand the problem and that it must be solved through knowledge.

Robeson, Who Renounced U. S. Finds It Treats Minorities Best

PM
New York, N. Y.

Paul Robeson, Negro singer who sent his son to school in Russia and went to England so he could live like a "first class citizen," said yesterday that never again would he consider leaving America.



Paul Robeson

"I did a lot of thinking when the war started", Robeson, now rehearsing for a leading role in *Othello*, said. "I had planned to leave the United States for good and I was living in London, shuttling over to Russia every Summer to see my boy. I thought I saw more tolerance for Negroes abroad than I did here."

But Robeson decided he was wrong when the war broke out.

"I realized then that the Negro problem here is a minority group problem, not one of individuals as it is in many European countries," he said. "And I realized that America gives her minority groups more of a chance than just about any country on earth."

Preparing Treatise

"Besides I was homesick and I decided that I wasn't helping the Negro problem in the United States any by running away from it."

Robeson now is preparing a treatise on African culture which he promises will demonstrate that it is as old and venerable as Chinese culture. A member of Phi Beta Kappa, honorary scholastic society, and the holder of a law degree from Columbia, Robeson said that he taught himself the Chinese language as part of preparation for writing the treatise.

"I learned the languages of Africa first," he said, adding that he had found the Chinese language very similar, and so learned to speak that tongue.

Sun Critic

"Just because I've settled down in Connecticut, don't think I'm going to stop criticizing the United States," Robeson concluded.

"I'm going right on criticizing this country until Negroes can live like first class citizens."

Now growing a beard for the Moor's role in the Shakespearean play, Robeson said, he enjoyed playing Othello because he was "killing two birds with one stone."

"I'm acting," he said, "and I'm talking for the Negroes in the way only Shakespeare can. This play is about the problem of minority groups. A blackamoor who tried groups. Othello was a Blackamoor, who tried to find equality among the whites. It's right up my alley."

Robeson Sees Race's Best Chance Here In America

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

NEW YORK — The future of the American Negro is here in America where he has the best chance for happiness despite racial curb, Paul Robeson declared this week.

The noted singer who has been called a "citizen of the world" by many said that the war has convinced him never again to leave this country. " But that doesn't mean I'm going to stop criticizing this country until Negroes can live like first class citizens."

Robeson, rehearsing for a role in the Broadway production of "Othello" this fall, lived in Russia and England for some time and sent his son, Paul, Jr., to study in Russia so he could escape race discrimination.

"I did a lot of thinking when the war started," Robeson said. "I had planned to leave the United States for good and I was living in London shuttling over to Russia every summer to see my boy. I thought I saw more tolerance for Negroes abroad than I did here."

Political Equality Feared By Senator

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

CLARKSDALE, Miss.—(ANP)—In an address of race problems, U. S. Senator J. O. Eastland last week told 12 members of the Clarksdale Rotary and Lions clubs here that the granting of political equality to the Negro would lead to social equality, eventual

56k-1943
Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

'Forward' Helps Dubinsky's Anti-Negro Line

Resorts to Race Incitement in Attempt to Cover-Up Issue

By George Morris

The Daily Worker's exposure of the "cover-up" Negro policy of David Dubinsky and of his associates in the state leadership of the American Labor Party, called forth a two-column editorial and a four column article in the Jewish Daily **Forward**—full of invectives and insults.

The ancient technique of dumping tons of dirt to cover up the basic issue, is familiar to those who follow the contents of the **Forward** or its satellite Social Democratic publications such as the **New Leader**. We certainly don't want to enter into competition on that level.

But we will press for a discussion on the issues raised and we will see to it that those issues are not bypassed as the Dubinsky clique is attempting to do through the **Forward**.

The furious outburst by Dubinsky's people gives obvious evidence that the **Daily Worker** in its first article last Wednesday touched a very sore spot, for we have uncovered their "cover-up" and "don't-raise-it" policy on Negro problems.

ON RETREAT

But there is another reason for their outburst. The Dubinsky forces have suffered one defeat after another in recent months. The great reception to the two Jewish representatives of the Soviet people, Michoels and Feffer, with hundreds of thousands of American Jewish workers turning out to welcome them, has left the Dubinsky-**Forward** clique on the side-lines. Then came the defeats in the American Labor Party primaries. Now they are on the run as members protest against the anti-Soviet speech of vice-president Isidore Nagler, of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union as fraternal delegate to the Southport convention of the British Trade Union Congress.

The evidence shows that these people are losing leadership over the great mass of Jewish workers. They are, therefore, ready to use desperate methods or policies with a passion of people who know neither scruples nor bounds.

They seized upon the issues raised in the Daily Worker article in a belief that they could twist the issues and sow enough confusion around them, to divert the Jewish garment workers from the progressive road they are taking to genuine national unity and policy of victory.

RACE INCITEMENT

Thus they have gone into the dangerous business of race-incitement for the temporary advantage that they think they may gain out of it at the present moment. The harm such a policy would cause the Jewish people is of little concern to them.

The criticism and charges we leveled against the ILGWU leaders, are, thus twisted into charges against a "Jewish union." We, of course, never viewed the ILGWU as a "Jewish union." And we don't think anyone should. For it is a union of people of almost as many national origins as make up America. As a matter of fact, nationally, a majority of the ILGWU members are not Jewish. Even the New York cloak division has a large Italian language local.

DUBINSKY-LEWIS

The **Daily Worker** has spared no criticism of the Dubinsky clique for many years. But this is the first time that such criticism is viewed in this nonsensical light. A survey of our critical articles and editorials would probably show that the space devoted to Dubinsky is second in length only to that leveled against John L. Lewis, who is currently engaged in injecting anti-Semitism into the labor movement.

We have asked Dubinsky several times to explain why he has taken the initiative to bring Lewis back into the AFL, for "he surely must know of Lewis" anti-Semitic line, but he has not yet explained this little detail.

What was the issue raised by the **Daily Worker**?

A Negro, Francis E. Rivers, was



DUBINSKY

nominated by the Republicans for municipal judge in New York County. Rep. Marcantonio, chairman of the New York ALP, announced ALP endorsement for Rivers and stressed that election of a Negro to this highest judicial office yet held by a Negro would be a great victory for racial equality in America. In addition, of course, Mr. Rivers follows a win-the-war policy.

Dean Alfange, ALP gubernatorial candidate last year, issued a blast against Marcantonio, charging that his endorsement of Rivers was "injection of racial issues into the campaign." Alfange follows an old Social Democratic theory that endorsement of a man because of race or even raising issues involving the rights of Negroes, is "injecting" race issues. We took issue with Alfange's entire position and pointed to the situation in the union dominated by his political associates.

MUM ON RIVERS?

It is interesting that in all six columns of printed matter of the Forward dealing with the Daily Worker article the name of Rivers is not mentioned, nor is there even a hint that the basic issue centers on the degree to which Negroes are given a chance to participate in all the country's spheres of life.

What is at the bottom of this issue.

It arises from the fact that the 3,000,000 Negro people are practically denied representation in government or in most other fields.

Of the 435 congressmen there is only one Negro. There are none in the Senate. Of the many thousands of legislators in the 48 states, the Negro Handbook" lists a total of only 25 Negroes, three of them in New York state. Of the many thousands of judges in the country only nine judgeships are held by Negroes. Of all the tens of thousands holding federal, state, county or municipal position, the "Negro Handbook" is able to list only 126 Negroes in Federal posts and 96 in the other subdivisions for the entire United States. Only nine Negroes are in the foreign services, according to the State Department. In the Army there is one Brigadier General and a few Negroes in lower officer ranks.

According to the Alfange-Dubinsky line, pointing to this picture, is "injection of race issues," and we should just close our eyes to it and repeat the old advice that men should be endorsed only on the basic of their ability.

This springs from the old white chauvinist conception that a Negro has no ability and for that reason doesn't get to places.

But we know that a Negro may be the most able of a group of candidates, but because of the absence of endorsement that is broader than the Negro community can give him, he comes out last. The Alfange-Dubinsky policy means leaving matters as they are—with no representation to the Negro people.

Furthermore, as Americans, we reject the conception that the fight for Negro rights is the duty of only the Negro people, just as we believe that it is the duty of every American — Jewish, Protestant, Catholic or of any other denomination—to struggle against anti-Semitism.

How does this relate to the ILGWU or, for that matter, to any other union? Unions are America's principal fountain of progressive influence. Their activity and their own life, does and should drive America forward. Does the ILGWU, a much reputed progressive union, play that role?

A glance through the union, we pointed out, gives us a picture that is approximately about as discouraging as the one above for the country generally.

There is not a Negro on the General Executive Board or among the officers.

There is not a single Negro holding the managership or any other important office in a single New York local.

The number of Negroes on executive boards or business agents in all the New York locals could be counted on your two hands.

There are thousands of Negro members in New York. Their number has been augmented recently because the manpower shortage has forced even some unwilling employers to hire them.

In Local 22 there always have been thousands of Negro members. Of some 30-odd executive board members, two places were given Negroes. Of some 30 business agents, one was hired for trouble shooting on "Negro" matters.

DIVERTING ISSUES

We heard of various excuses for this picture. Some locals conduct their affairs in Italian, others in the Yiddish language, which is true. But that only still further narrows the possibilities for Negro members to take part in the life of the union. We have pointed out that the economic position of the Negro members is pretty well reflected by this picture among the hundreds of office holders and legislators of the ILGWU.

We may argue on the peculiarities of various crafts and differ on the reasons why in this or that field there are no Negroes. But even the **Forward**, after inquiring from ILGWU officials, has not been able to build up a case in those sections where there are Negroes in large numbers. For that reason the **Forward** pointed up very prominently the higher earnings of dress pressers among whom there are Negroes.

The height of deceit is the big case the Dubinsky clique makes through the **Forward** of the union's

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...ations. There are some that are much worse.

Nor do we exempt even some progressive-led unions from such criticism. If the **Forward** was interested, it would look up the record. **Through the Daily Worker, on hundreds of occasions, progressive-led unions were criticized and urged to take steps in behalf of Negro rights in hiring, promotion, training, union leadership.** We take great pride in the fact that our pages have reflected almost every day those struggles that have brought the National Maritime Union to the model example it gives with its national secretary a Negro. So we point to the progress in many steel union locals, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. International Fur and Leather Workers; Transport Workers, and many affiliates of the auto, shipbuilding, culinary trades and other organizations.

SEP 27 1943

Only the **Daily Worker** took up the fight against Daniel Tobin for his attacks upon A. Philip Randolph's speech at the Toronto convention of the AFL. Only the **Daily Worker** took up the fight against the Negro-baiter who heads the fight against the Negro-hater who heads the Federal employes section of the International Association of Machinists. Is it not those who follow the policies of the **Daily Worker** and the **Jewish Morning Freiheit** who are leading the general fight to remove anti-Negro bars in the railroad, carpenters and all unions?

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The record of the Forward, on the other hand, has been one of exploiting racial prejudice and fanning it, as it is doing now. On the very day that our first article appeared, the Forward carried a letter to bolster its campaign placing the blame for the Harlem events upon the Negro people. One of the letters it printed said:

"No wonder that they (the Negroes) do such things, because big people are continually shouting that the Negroes should receive the same rights as the whites."

It is this line of the **Forward**, of fanning race hatred, and ignoring the underlying causes of racial violence that encourages such events as we saw in Harlem or Detroit. In its many years of existence the **Forward** has not run a single editorial dealing with Negro rights in the ILGWU or any other union where it has influence.

This policy of the **Forward** defies the best traditions of the ILGWU, particularly its Jewish membership. A Jewish worker is especially sensitive to the problems of the Negro worker because victimization that springs from anti-Semitism is a twin evil to anti-Negro discrimination. As far as the membership of the ILGWU at large is concerned there is no doubt of their desire to make the life of their union a democracy that would be a pattern for the national unity so urgent in America today.

We again remind Mr. Dubinsky that he still owes a few answers:

1. Why did he and his delegation walk out of the AFL conventions last year and a year before, when Randolph rose to fight for a resolution calling for abolition of anti-Negro bars in AFL unions?

2. Why has the ILGWU, until just a few days ago, been associated with the Workers Defense League in a move to sabotage the fight for the Marcantonio anti-poll tax bill?

3. Why does he still try to bring Lewis into the AFL when he knows he is an anti-Semite, as well a defeatist influence in the labor movement.

Christian Recorder
Philadelphia, Pa.

SEP 16 1943

Negro, Jew United Thru History by Persecution

By BEN RICHARDSON

"ALL LIBERTIES ARE UNITED, and all persecutions are associated. These are the words of the great French statesman, Adolphe Cremieux, spoken at the General Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840.

These are true words, and it is the purpose of this and successive articles to show the inseparable destiny of the Jew and the Negro who are the common targets for home bred and foreign fascists.

SEP 16 1943

UNITY DEVELOPING

As the two most persecuted minorities, Negroes and Jews, are gradually coming closer together. Slowly, each is realizing that neither is safe from the enemy in isolation from the other.

UnAmerican spokesmen mention Jew and Negro in one breath. Propaganda organs carry stories against both on the same page. Hitler's blueprint for extinction of non-Aryans has the Jews and the Negro at the head of his list: both are sub-human and bestial in his sight.

SEP 16 1943

BASIS FOR UNDERSTANDING

In order to get some basis for better understanding let us consider some of the background of Negro and Jewish relationships in this country.

The Negro came to America as a slave. He stayed shackled to the earth all during this nation's heroic struggle for its freedom.

Early America was made up of many nations. Jews were here too. When the cries began to be sounded for the liberation of the black man, the Jews who themselves had been driven over the face of the earth in the worst persecutions ever exacted by humans, cried out against slavery.

SEP 16 1943

JEWISH ABOLITIONISTS

William Lloyd Garrison fought in the north for Negro emancipation through his newspaper THE LIBERATOR. A Jewish rabbi, Dr. David Einhorn, had the courage to oppose the enemy in his own camp and publish a challenging paper called SINAI in Baltimore, Md. Slaveholders finally drove Einhorn from the south, but they could not silence his protests against the evils of slavery.

John Brown, the social messiah of that day, had three young Jewish immigrants in his brave band of abolitionists in Kansas in 1855.

Many Jews fought with distinction in the northern army all during the Civil War, and while Henry Ward Beecher was purchasing freedom for slaves from his pulpit in Brooklyn, Morris Greenbaum bought fugitives their freedom in Chicago.

Solomon Heydenfelt joined the forces of those who opposed the spread of slavery into free territory, and wrote many pamphlets setting forth his views.

When finally a conditioned and not yet realized freedom came to Negroes in 1865, Jewish blood had been shd to help bring it about.

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NEGROES AND JEWS HATED

In America organizations that resent Negroes resent Jews also. This has always been the case.

Mob violence by whites against colored people has existed since the infancy of this nation. Between 1850 and 1860 thirty-eight lynchings took place. These are the known cases. Those not known are doubtlessly innumerable. During these years Jews were held in little repute by Americans. They were resented socially, envied and segregated economically.

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SAME IS TRUE TODAY

This criminal brutality against Negroes has persisted until today, and it is usually sanctioned and even promoted by local, state, and national figures of Church and government.

As a running parallel to this savagery we have the utter exclusion of the Jew from many phases of the social, educational and amusement life of this country. In many cities Jews are confined to residential ghettoes, denied respect on the street and in court. Their persecution is often subtle but no less vicious.

LABOR SEGREGATION

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During the years of reconstruction after the Civil War the patterns of discriminating against Negroes were crystallized. Jews during these years suffered the same privations at the hands of labor as did Negroes. Neither was wanted.

The ku klux klan organized in these hectic days supposedly to preserve the American way vented its distorted hatred on both Jews and Negroes.

In the last war discrimination in the armed forces was greater than in this war, if that is possible, and very often Jews experienced prejudicial limitations thoroughly akin to those undergone by Negroes. In this war the continuation of such conditions is still deplored by all true Americans.

Thus we see at a glance that historically there SEP 16 1943 for the needed and desired friendly understanding and cooperation of Jews and Negroes in their common struggle to be considered Americans and world citizens.

Next weeks An outline of anti-Semitism.

Nation
New York, N. Y.

OCT 9 1943

Soldiers and the Rights of Negroes

Dear Sirs: In something over a year of service among soldiers of varied background and education, I've observed some prevalent attitudes toward the Negro that surprised me and may be of some interest to others. The most striking thing I have observed is the strange intensity of the average soldier's preoccupation with the condition of the Negro minority. More discussions, heated arguments, and exchanges of experience developed about this topic than any other subject.

I could not avoid the feeling that a strong undercurrent of tension, seldom consciously understood even among the most alert and liberal, constantly brought the issue of this submerged group to the surface. Those raised to accept inequality felt the need to defend a system they couldn't whole-heartedly favor; those politically, morally, or environmentally alive to the contradiction of segregation and discrimination in a democracy, those who realize the dangers we face in seeking international comity with a record of national racism, the advocates, in short, of fuller rights and opportunities for the Negro, are on the offensive. The bigots seek refuge in dogmatism, a rosy version of the status quo, or a cautious gradualism.

It would seem that a crisis is approaching, that a vigilant minority is determined to support the Negro in his struggle for recognition, that a deeply ingrained prejudice supported by the economic, educational, and present social inferiority of the Negro is seeking to find a solution that will not disturb its complacence, though the vocal supporters of that prejudice dwindle in number if not in noise.

If these limited observations can be generally applied, is there not reason to suppose that efforts of the Negro to raise himself economically will receive increased support and tolerance after the war? Few still oppose the extension of equal educational chances for all Americans. Social recognition alone seems without sufficient widespread support and thus make possible the occurrence of violent and prolonged resistance, likely to be intense if the advance is too rapid.

OCT 5 1943

Service men are thinking of these problems and won't stop thinking of them when they return home. I do not believe they will bring home solutions, but at least they cannot have avoided a realization of the problem. If post-war adjustments in America provide better jobs and schools and homes and real hope for the Negro, our uneasy consciences may find constructive release. The alternative would seem to be paralyzing social conflict and the retarding of the nation's advance to the freedoms we are fighting for.

OCT 9 1943

PRIVATE

Somewhere in Texas, September 21

56k-1943

NEGRO LEADERS DEPLORE RACE RIOTS AND ASK EQUAL RIGHTS

By LAWRENCE PERRY
Seattle Times

NEW YORK, August [illegible]—Unrest among Negroes throughout the nation is a mass agitation. It originated among the lowly. It is a gigantic upward pressure from submerged millions. The Negro is on the march. Where he will get, and how, remains to be seen.

Prominent Negroes with whom this writer has talked are confirmed in conviction that Negro leaders, and white social thinkers who support their views concerning racial equality, are not at all the spearhead of the present movement.

"It will be well," said William H. Hastie, "if the fact of mass agitation is generally accepted."

Judge In Close Touch

A former member of the federal bench, more recently civilian aide to the secretary of war, now professor of juridical science at Howard University, Judge Hastie is regarded as closer to national conditions than any other member of his race.

The nation, he said, is confronted by a comprehensive uprising, a revolution. Negroes have read the Bill of Rights or have been told about it. They know about the ideals of democracy as they have been set forth with increasing emphasis since the outbreak of the war. They demand that those ideals shall become effective.

Flare-ups of violence, such as have marked conditions in Detroit, Baltimore and New York and threatened racial outbreaks in other cities, were outward manifestations of this unrest, Judge Hastie asserted. More trouble, rioting, bloodshed, general violence he regretfully believes to be inevitable. Whatevr the unfortunate results, they will, on the other hand, Judge Hastie thinks, arouse the general public to a poignant sense of racial injustice that ought to be rectified.

"Indications of mass movement throughout the country are evident in labor conditions where workers of our race are very emphatically begining to think for themselves, and indeed in all walks of life," the educator said.

"This is not understood by most whites, who believe that the Negro is being stirred by a few leaders of his race. Very definitely, whites should revise this belief. They should accept the fundamental fact that a basic change in the status of the Negro is in process. One group holds that the status of the Negro shall not be changed. They clash with those who say what amounts to second-class citizenship must no longen endure. Between these tow irreconcilables is a great mass voice yet to be heard."

Judge Hastie does not deny the charge, frequently heard, that the Negro has seized upon the international crisis as a profitable time to gain his rights.

"Changes by education are a matter of generations," he said. "In time of crisis like this, slow processes are accelerated. This is a revolutionary period in world history. It has come without design on the part of individuals as individuals."

Judge Hastie believes that hope of his race for the future and a solvent for present conditions of unrest lies with the federal government.

Federal Control Increases

"The government," he said, "is entering into our way of living to an extent undreamed even a short while ago. Irrespective of administrative control — Democratic, Republican, or whatever — federal control is a growing and enduring fact. If I am right — and I think I am — the government must set itself, among other policies, to a policy in which the individual, irrespective of race or creed, will be dealt with according to merit. There must be no discrimination, no segregation, on a racial basis.

"Federal participation in education — power obtained by distribution of endowments — will be strong. Negroes in ever-increasing thousands will have advantages of education hitherto unavailable.

"Another solvent would be a changed attitude among organized forces of industry and labor in areas of their influence to give workmen, regardless of race, opportunity for training which does not now exist.

"Again, all media of publicity, press, radio, movies, theatre have a real obligation to break down the stereotyped public impression of the average Negro as a shiftless, good-natured, no-account whose value is chiefly to amuse and who is tolrantly patted on the head.

Discrimination Must End

"The solution of the present crisis? Just give the Negro a sense that a movement in his behalf is actually under way and in which all whites of influence are cooperating and the relief of tension will surely come. One of those tensions is ghetto crowding. Restricted areas such as exist in the North and border cities must be broken up. This done, tension will also be relieved. Price controls must be strictly enforced. I know they are not enforced everywhere but they are less enforced in Negro districts, as, for example, Harlem. Greater fairness would be salutary in its effect.

"Finally, all, white and blacks, who are aware that they have a take in the national commonwealth have got to get together—and the time is right now."

Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, shares in Judge Hastie's views, but stresses the discrimination against the Negro soldier by the Army and by civilians.

Alabama Press

NEWSPAPER AWARDS

If there was such a thing as "E" awards to newspapers for patriotic service, we would recommend first that one by given to Mrs. Mildred White Wallace and her Shelby County Democrat. Since the beginning of the war, she has made all other things secondary to news and letters for the boys in service. Her paper is practically devoted to this cause and she writes in such a way that to the soldiers, a letter from their immediate families could not be more affectionate or interesting. They will remember, without the award. — Sylacauga News.

New York, N. Y

THE "MANHANDLED SOUTH"

The Talladega Daily Home, usually intransigent in its hostility to President Roosevelt, is at last willing to compromise in selection of the state's delegates to next year's convention. What the Talladega paper has to say deserves attention, for it speaks the language of quite a segment of the Democratic party in Alabama and brings up questions that will undoubtedly be aired during the next few months as the presidential campaign warms up. Under the heading, "Definite Stand," The Home says:

"No man should be elected as an Alabama delegate to the '44 Democratic National Convention who doesn't fully and explicitly lay on the line his conviction on matters involving the South.

New York Times

"We don't ask opposition to President Roosevelt, realizing his election is inevitable if the war still is under way next year.

"But we do feel every Alabamian has the right to know he will send to the convention men with the moral courage to get up on their hind legs and whip the party into line so far as treatment of the South is concerned.

"If we, the little people, make ourselves vocal in that regard, we need have no fear of the outcome. The Democratic party dares not oppose the unified will of the section which has given it its most solid support through the generations."

But The Home gets even more specific and as a part of its "definite stand" concludes its editorial on the subject in these words:

"This newspaper will not support any man for delegate who cannot or will not make certain definite expressions, the following among them:

"1. Speak out for an end of government by bureau and by directive.

"2. Insist that the domestic policies of the New Deal be reformed to end the trend which has taken us into actual socialism, call it what you will.

"3. Demand that the South be let alone to regulate her own domestic affairs.

"4. Demand a return of the two-thirds rule to give this section the influence it deserves in party affairs.

"5. And finally, to stand by these demands with a strength that will assure today's mishandling of Dixie by the party of her ancestors will cease."

The first reaction that a normal Alabama Democrat would have to this pronouncement is to say, "Why doesn't he simply declare for Willkie, or some other Republican and be done with it?" The Home is against bureaus, but how long would a bureau last if Congress didn't appropriate the money to maintain it? The editor wants the reforms of the New Deal

Negro, Jew United Thru History By Persecution

Defender
Chicago, Ill
1943
Informer Houston, Texas

By BEN RICHARDSON

"All liberties are united, and all persecutions are associated." These are the words of the great French statesman, Adolphe Cremieux, spoken at the General Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840.

These are true words, and it is the purpose of this and successive articles to show the inseparable destiny of the Je wand the Negro who are the common targets for home-bred and foreign fascists.

Unity Developing

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Basis for Understanding

In order to get some basis for better understanding let us consider some of the background of Negro and Jewish relationships in this country.

The Negro came to America as a slave. He stayed shackled to the earth all during this nation's heroic struggle for its freedom.

Early America was made up of many nations. Jews were here too. When the cries began to be sounded for the liberations of the black man, the Jews who themselves had been driven over the face of the earth in the worst persecutions ever exacted by humans, cried out against slavery.

Jewish Abolitionists

William Lloyd Garrison fought in the North for Negro emancipation through his newspaper The Liberator. A Jewish rabbi, Dr. David Einhorn, had the courage to oppose the enemy in his own camp and publish a challenging paper call Sinai in Baltimore, Maryland. Slaveholders finally drove Einhorn from the South, but they could not silence his protests against the evils of slaver

SEP 4 1943

John Brown, the soc[illegible]essiah of that day, had three young Jewish immigants in his brave band of abolitionists in Kansas in 1855.

Many Jews fought with distinction in the northern army all during the Civil War, and while Henry Ward Beecher was purchasing freedom for slaves from his pulpit in Brooklyn, Morris Greenbaum bought fugutives their freedom in Chicago.

Solomon Heydenfelt joined the forces of those who opposed the spread of slavery into free territory, and wrote many pamphlets setting forth his views.

When finally a conditioned and not yet realized freedom came to Negroes in 1865, Jewish blood had been shed to help bring it about.

SEP 4 1943

Negroes and Jews Hated

In America organizations that resent Negroes resent Jews also. This has always been the case.

Mob violence by whites against colored people has existed since the infancy of this nation. Between 1850 and 1860 thirty-eight lynchings took place. These are the known cases. Those not known are doubtlessly innumerable. During these years Jews were held in little repute by Americans. They were resented socially, envied and segregateed economically.

SEP 4 1943

Same As True Today

This criminal brutality against Negroes has persisted until today; and is usually sanctioned and even promoted by local, state, and national figures of church and government.

SEP 4 1943

As a running parallel to this savagery we have the utter exclusion of the Jew from many phases of the social, educational and amusement life of the country. In many cities Jews are confined to residential ghettoes, denied respect on the street and in court. Their percution is often subtle but no less vicious.

Labor Segregation

During the years of reconstruction after the Civil War the patterns of discrimination against Negroes were crystallized. Jews during these years suffered the same privations at the hands of labor as did Negroes. Neither was wanted.

The Ku Klux Klan organized in these hectic days supposedly to preserve the American way vented its distorted hatred on both Jews and Negroes.

SEP 4 1943

In the last war discrimination in the armed forces was greater than in this war, if that is possiblee, and very often Jews experienced prejudicial limitations thoroughly akin to those undergone by Negroes. In this war the continuation of such conditions is still deplored by all true Americans.

SEP 4 1943

Thus we see at a glance that historically there is some precedent for the needed and desired friendly understanding and cooperation of Jews an Negroes in their common struggle to be considered Americans and world citizens.

Next week: An outline of anti Semitism.

MARCH LEADER SILENCED BY POLITICAL BOSS

Defender
Chicago, Ill

Sheriff Calls Leaders Together — Warns Against Rally

NOV 13 1943

(Special to the Defender)

MEMPHIS — "Boss" Ed Crump, Democratic dictator of Tennessee, Sunday night cracked down on a public mass meeting at Mount Nebo Baptist church for A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and head of the March on Washington Movement.

Randolph was told that he would not be permitted to speak.

Crump issued his dictator-order cancelling the meeting through Sheriff Perry.

NOV 13 1943

Last Saturday—the day before the scheduled meeting—Sheriff Perry and other city officials, including the police commissioner, called a meeting of 18 of Memphis' leading Negro citizens, the group assembling in the sheriff's office in Shelby county jail.

Perry is reported to have told the Negro committee: "Randolph is not to be permitted to speak in Memphis and if you don't want to meet him at the train and tell him, I will!"

Fear Race Riot

Among the group that conferred with the sheriff were Dr. L. G. Patterson, Dr. W. S. Martin, Blair T. Hunt, principal Booker T. Washington high school; George W. Lee, insurance official; Ash[illegible] Hayes, principal Manassas high school, and the Rev. L[illegible] pastor of Mount Nebo, who announced that the officials wanted the meeting at his church cancelled.

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The meeting had been planned and advertised for two weeks and was sponsored by a committee headed by H. F. Patton, president; Charles Cooper, secretary-treasurer, and I. R. Border, officials of the local chapter of the brotherhood.

Randolph, a Spingarn Medallist (1942), was accompanied to Memphis by E. J. Bradley, of St. Louis, vice president of the organization.

L. O. Swingler, prominent newsman here and editor of the Memphis World, when asked his version of the Crump-Sheriff Jim Crow order, stated:

"Last Saturday some of the city officials including Sheriff Perry and the police commissioner, called about 18 or 20 Negro leaders to the office of the sheriff. The police commissioner, the sheriff and the attorney general told the Negroes that they didn't feel a man like Randolph should speak to Memphis Negroes because of his background.

"They said he was radical and that if he spoke it would probably cause a race riot. In other words it was in fear of a race riot that the sheriff had the Negroes call the meeting off themselves. However, the banquet will be held Monday night, as scheduled. Mr. Randolph is in the city. The whole idea of cancelling the meeting was because of his connection with labor and his attitude toward these issues that they didn't want him to speak."

Another leading Memphian declared: "Boss Crump did not use the same methods on Randolph that he used in the persecution of Dr. J. B. Martin. He had Joe Boyle, the police commissioner, do his dirty work on Martin, but the papers here razzed Boyle so for his tactics, and with the threatened police strike, Crump gave the orders to Perry to handle the Randolph meeting.

"Only last month while Martin was here attending a baseball game at Russwood Park, he was arrested by three detectives, put in a squad car and taken to the police station. When he got to the station he was asked by Chief of Police Seabrooks what he was doing in Memphis, then told by the chief to leave, that he was not wanted here. There is no charge against Martin, all he did was to hold meetings for Wendell Willkie, and Crump did not want the meetings held.

"This action by Boss Crump against A. Philip Randolph is the greatest insult ever given the group in Memphis, to say nothing of the bar against free speech."

Negroes Challenge Pro-Fascists at Bedford Meeting

NOV 22 1943

Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

By Eugene Gordon

The mass meeting called yesterday afternoon by Sumner Sirtl, president of the Midtown Civic League, at the Bedford branch of the Young Mens Christian Association, Brooklyn, was, for a brief moment, changed from a series of violent and obscene outbursts against Mayor LaGuardia into a patriotic anti-fascist demonstration.

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This brief [illegible] occurred when Henry E. Ashcroft, Negro probation officer in the Court of Special Sessions, rose to challenge the good faith of a body which, pretending to be concerned solely with improving the people's conditions, had failed to give one Negro a place on the program.

Mr. Ashcroft was supported by many white men and women, who shouted: "Let him speak! This is a democracy, isn't it?" when Sirtl tried to shut him up.

The audience of several hundred, only a scattering few of whom were Negroes, sat in stunned silence as Ashcroft insisted that Sirtl and other speakers were unfair and, inferentially, hypocritical when they attacked the Mayor's "leniency" with "crime conditions" in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section while keeping their mouths shut about the causes of those conditions.

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The meeting was called by Sirtl's notorious Midtown Civic League, a landlord-sponsored, pro-fascist group dedicated to ridding the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Negroes. The purpose of the meeting was to bring into the open the long-smoldering sub-rosa movement against Mayor LaGuardia and to demand his removal by Governor Dewey.

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A resolution to that effect, condemning "bad living conditions" in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section—but making it clear that it referred only to "bad living conditions" [illegible]ple—was loudly adopted by the audience. The resolution charged the Negro people, many of whom, it said, "work for" white people and [illegible] for our children," with being carriers of social diseases.

Sirtl was chairman. The main speaker was Mgr. John L. Belford, pastor of the Roman Catholic Church of the Nativity, in the heart of Bedford-Stuyvesant, and long-time opponent of Negro occupancy of that area. Other scheduled speakers included State Sen. Edward J. Coughlin and David Liebman, the latter, a patrolman (in plain clothes) from another section of Brooklyn.

All the scheduled speakers followed the line established by Sirtl at the outset—that of attacking the Mayor with epithets which stopped just short of unprintable obscenity. It was the unscheduled and unidentified Negro speakers who reminded the hearers that the people of Brooklyn have sons in the armed services and are supposed to be fighting fascism.

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Mr. Ashcroft, a well-dressed, poised, quiet and handsome young Negro man, refused to allow himself to be yelled into silence by either Sirtl or Sirtl's crowd. A minority of the audience, raising its voice above the bedlam, demanded that Ashcroft be permitted to speak. Sirtl, who had failed in his attempt to stop the unscheduled speaker, suddenly found that he had the support of a clique in the middle of the auditorium. Here men rose en masse put on their hats and, grabbing their women by the arm, stamped toward the exits, muttering.

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Ashcroft stood silent, waiting. It was then that Sirtl declared that the unscheduled speaker's time had expired and requested him to leave the platform. Again there arose cries to let him speak. When quiet was partially restored—it was never fully restored—Ashcroft said that the meeting might demand removal of the Mayor and investigation of his administration but that unless the causes of crime in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section were removed attacks on the Mayor would be pointless.

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Many members of the audience seemed confused at the unscheduled turn of affairs—for instance, the president of the Midtown Civic League suddenly forced to shift from offensive to defensive.

A young Negro woman stopped in a seat beside me long enough to whisper: "Today we see organized fascism coming into the open in Brooklyn."

There were contrary facts evident, too, however. Ashcroft's boldness had inspired Negroes scattered throughout the auditorium—not more than six or seven in all—to rise and demand the right to be heard. A tall, dark man, identified himself as a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reminded the audience that white and Negro boys were fighting the fascists in Europe, asked that it remember also that Crispus Attacks, a Negro, was the first American to die for this nation's independence.

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Sirtl finally shut up the speaker.

Sirtl declared the meeting adjourned when Negroes in the audience—backed up by some white persons— rose to challenge a speaker who had yelled that Ashcroft was "a disgrace to the Negro race." "No! No!" they shouted.

Except for the unscheduled Negro speakers they all condemned Mayor LaGuardia and the Negro residents of the Bedford-Stuyvesant section. And that included even those few speakers who began: "Now I've always been a friend of the colored people. . . ."

Police Survey Refutes Brooklyn Jury Charges

NOV 26 1943

Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

By George Morris

The full report of a survey by Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine, made public yesterday by Mayor LaGuardia, blasted to pieces allegations of the Brooklyn Grand Jury that "lawlessness" is sweeping the Bedford - Stuyvesant area.

The report gives a detailed analysis of police findings on each of the charges in the Grand Jury's presentment.

The 61 printed pages in the main contain solid figures and therefore underscore all the more emphatically the sinister effort of real-estate sharks, race inciters and fascist elements of Brooklyn to whip up "Detroit riots" in the Bedford-Stuyvesant district.

A typical sample of falseness, is the allegation that "many fine churches have closed completely" and "most churches have suspended evening services" because parishioners "do not dare to attend."

The survey of the 181 places of worship in the area disclosed that 176 remain open. Of those closed, one was abandoned eight years ago, another ten years ago. A third was destroyed by a fire of accidental origin. A fourth closed because most of the congregation moved to other sections of the city. A fifth merged with another church because of financial difficulties.

Only nine pastors reported cases of crime, mostly petty. Only 23 churches reported curtailment of evening services, chiefly because of migration of parishioners and the dimout. Several gave financial reasons and lack of interest. **But there was nothing to even remotely uphold the claim that people are in fear of "gangs."**

The survey did find that some fear has developed recently among evening church-goers and explained:

"This fear was induced by rumors of crime, by newspaper reports of bad conditions and also may be attributed to the dimout."

"An investigation of the Bedford-Stuyvesant area failed to disclose any 'juvenile' gangs organized for the purpose of committing crime," the report said.

The only "gangs" that have been found are the [illegible] that children form in any neighborhood, the report added.

Regarding the allegation that school children are "beaten, robbed and mistreated," the survey covered the 68 schools in the area, including private and public. **From December 8, 1941 to Nov. 14, 1943, a total of only 68 arrests connected with school acts were made.**

Upon investigating the charge that "penknife-carrying" gangs of juveniles were stealing, beating, and otherwise spreading terror, the report shows that the number of arrests of persons under 21 was well below the general Brooklyn figure. In the case of youths under 16 for the first 10 months of 1943 it was 32.4 per cent over the same period in 1942 while in Brooklyn generally it was 47.5 per cent.

DENSE POPULATION

NOV 26 1943

[illegible]ite person and .7 per
[illegible] is given showing that 3,310 of the
[illegible] effort of the Midtown
[illegible]e total cases involved on visits by
[illegible]e to drive Negroes out police officers to check on pending
[illegible] has undoubtedly played vehicle license, lost ration books,
[illegible]rowding Negroes to ever lost property, death of persons, ac-
[illegible]ed quarters. cidents or missing persons—in no
[illegible] had released earlier case crimes. Only the remaining
[illegible] the part of the report 1,125 were possible crimes.
[illegible]sed an attempt by the Regarding the grand jury's weird
[illegible] to build a "crime wave" picture of "dens" and other public
[illegible]s of 4,435 reported cases
[illegible]72 arrests. A breakdown places that would compare to a
The report points out that "the population in this area has shifted and increased" and the "child population has been proportionately greater." The report states:

"It is significant that the rise in delinquency during these war years is not indigenous to the Bedford-Stuyvesant area but is common to Brooklyn, the armed services, Federal Bureau of Investigation figures indicate a national upswing in the juvenile delinquency rate long before it was experienced in New York City."

The average number of rooms per person, according to the survey, was 1.87 per white person and only 1.472 arrests. A breakdown of figures on the Civic League to the area has u[illegible] findings of the police inquiry at 691 of the area disclosed 67 a part in crowdin[illegible] buildings of the area disclosed and 239 widowed heads of more crowded qu[illegible] divorced families. The most prevalent fam- The Mayor [illegible] ily difficulty was where both parents in the Bedford- were working, or the father was in which exposed a [illegible] the armed services. grand jury to bu[illegible]



LEWIS J. VALENTINE

Father Belford Has Long Been An Advocate of Jim Crow

By Eugene Gordon

Mayor LaGuardia's analysis of the Kings County Grand Jury report covering alleged Negro crime in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn did the very thing the Midtown Civic League and Monsignor John J. Belford had feared. It exposed the false figures of the Grand Jury presentment.

They were anxious, from the moment they knew the Mayor would order a genuine and honest investigation of crime conditions in Bedford-Stuyvesant, lest that investigation show up the Grand Jury presentment for what it was.

Monsignor Belford has been a long-time and consistent ally of the Midtown Civil League and of Sumner Sirtl, its president. He has shown unswerving devotion to the fascist Klu Klux Klan conception of the Negro "place" in American life. That place, according to Father Belford, is **not** in a "white" church and **is not** in a "white" neighborhood.

The very tenets of Father Belford's faith are shaved thin when they conflict with the practices which he advocates. For instance, as he writes in his church magazine **Nativity Mentor:**

"When people intrude they deserve exclusion. Negroes love to make their way into white neighborhoods, white schools and white churches. One of the inducements offered to Southern Negroes to come North was the information that 'there a colored man can go anywhere.'"

We must admit that to people who have been shouted at for generation, "Don't go there!" or "Stay where you are!" the promise that they will be allowed to "go anywhere" is attractive. Especially if that people, as is true of the Negro, have, from the founding of this country, died to make it possible for Americans to go anywhere within its borders.

LEWIS J. VALENTINE dime-thriller version of an old-time lawless western town, the report disclosed that of 285 bars and grills investigated "274 are conducted in an apparently respectable manner" with the others "requiring special attention." Of the 11 bowling alleys, only one requires "special attention." All the ten dance halls in the area were found to be orderly.

In drawing conclusions, the report says:

"Delinquency is a social problem. To consider the statistics of delinquency in any area without consideration of the underlying factors is pointless and accomplishes no worthy purpose."

The report points out that twenty years ago the district was occupied by a well-to-do middle class. Today "underprivileged races have moved into the area, resulting in overcrowding."

"As a consequence, a definite housing problem has been created, and this is augmented by a deterioration which these homes have undergone in the ensuing two decades," the report adds.

PEOPLE AND PLACES

By WALTER WHITE

Does The Lie Detector Work?

I HAVEN'T the vaguest notion how accurate or efficient the psychogalvanometer or "lie detector" machine really is. It is easy to imagine an experienced, cold-blooded liar so controlling his emotions that he could cause the machine to register negative. Or an innocent but highly emotional individual reacting through fright or nervousness in such fashion as to make the needle oscillate madly and positively. But the inventors claim that tangibles and intangibles of this character have been so taken into account that the machine comes pretty close to revealing accurately whether the subject to whose hands have been taped the silver plates of the lie detector is lying or telling the truth.



Walter White

Murray Goldman of New York City today is thankful there is such a machine. He was found guilty by a jury of rape on a thirty-one-year-old woman who was an attendant in a Brooklyn hospital. Described by a New York newspaper as "a tall, gaunt country girl from Drury, Mo.," the woman charged that last July 1, Goldman entered her room on the second floor of the hospital and attempted to rape her. When another nurse entered the room, Mrs. Hancock screamed. Goldman fled and was arrested outside the hospital by a policeman whose attention had been attracted by the screams of the nurse who had intruded upon the rendezvous.

What If He Was Colored?

GOLDMAN TOLD the court in vain his version of the story. He related that last May he had assisted Mrs. Hancock with a heavy bag in the subway. She had gone voluntarily with him to his room and sexual intimacy began then and continued for several weeks. Only when he had gone to the hospital at her request had he learned that she was married to a man in the navy. The woman had charged rape when the fellow-nurse had caught them together. But the jury had believed the woman and found Goldman guilty. At least ten years faced him in Sing Sing when Judge Leibowitz decided to try the lie detector.

But suppose Goldman had been colored. Even in New York City the Hearst press and the New York Times would have so headlined the case that another "crime wave" would have gone down in the records and in the memories of New Yorkers. And I could not help but speculate as I read the story of Goldman and Mrs. Hancock on how many Negroes have gone to their deaths at the hands of lynching mobs or in the electric chairs of the country, particularly in the South, on precisely the same kind of "evidence."

Within my own experience as an investigator of lynching I have found many cases where white women had screamed rape when caught with Negro lovers whose attentions the women had sought. I do not allege for a minute that every Negro charged with or executed for rape was innocent. But I do assert that had lie detectors been used and the truth proved, the male Negro population of the United States would today be sizably larger.

Promiscuity: White and Negro

SPEAKING OF WHITE MORALS in this troubled era when a studied campaign seems to be spreading all over the country to prove that Negroes have low morals, Dr. George W. Crane, the widely syndicated columnist, revealed the other day some interesting facts about a case he had uncovered. At a meeting of Boy Scouts, Dr. Crane had met a very important business executive. On being asked by Dr. Crane why he took time out of his exceedingly busy life to devote to work with youth, the business man told of a fifteen-year-old girl in his home town who had charged a schoolmate with being responsible for her being pregnant.

To the dismay of the community fifteen other boys in the school signed affidavits that any one of them might have been the father of the expected child since all of them had had sex relations with the girl in question. And that wasn't all. Seventy-two other lads in town—bringing the grand total to eighty-eight—verbally admitted intimacies with the same fifteen-year-old girl!

Promiscuity of white youth does not for a moment justify or excuse sexual laxity among Negro youth. The superior economic status, better housing conditions, and greater recreational facilities of white youth most certainly give them less excuse for erratic behavior.

But calling the pot black isn't the answer. Human desires being what they are, there will always be those who will violate codes of sexual and other behavior laid down by society. But giving policemen the right to "muss 'em up" and indulging in periodic orgies of moralizing about the behavior of youth followed by ignoring the conditions which breed that behavior aren't the answers either. As long as minorities can be penned in ghettos, shut off from opportunities and rights they see others enjoying, and denied hope we are going to have crime and delinquency. So let's get at the roots and also remind superior, moralizing whites that those who live in glass houses had best revise some of their own behavior to which we are not blind.

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SHOULD NEGROES SIT AT THE PEACE TABLE

Defender
Chicago, Ill

By RAYFORD W. LOGAN
Dean, Howard University Graduate School

YES

The American Negro should be represented by an American Negro at the peace conference because of two compelling and all-sufficient reasons. All other arguments are beside the point. These two reasons are so closely connected with each other that they are really one, like the two sides of a medal or coin. One is that if the American Negro is not represented by an American Negro, he will not be represented; the second is that if he is not represented by an American Negro, he will be forgotten, ignored or "short-changed." The one exception that I would make to this statement is in the event that organized labor should be represented by the CIO.

In a sense, of course, American Negroes would be represented by any American delegate just as any other American would be. Even Senator Tom Connally who, although chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, ostentatiously absented himself from an official dinner given by the President of the United States to the President of Liberia, would in a sense represent American Negroes. He would represent us in the same sense in which he represents the disfranchised Negroes of his state of Texas.

One hundred eighty years ago British statesmen called this kind of representation "virtual representation." They argued that Englishmen living in North America were virtually represented in Parliament by Englishmen living in England and elected by a small minority of Englishmen living in England. Whoever first said, in substance, that virtual representation was one of the foulest lies ever perpetrated upon a gullible public uttered one of the immortal truths of history.

Burying a Ghost

It took the American Revolution to convince England that Americans could not be fooled by virtual representation. It took other Englishmen another one hundred years to learn that the slums of White Chapel and Limehouse were due to their being virtually represented by the Lords of the rotten borough. I hope that we American Negroes will not need another one hundred years to bury for good this twentieth century ghost of virtual representation.

Other groups in this country have no faith in virtual representation. Big business, organized labor, the farm bloc, Jews, Catholics, and women are all seeking specific representation at the peace table. President William Green of the A. F. of L., for example, stated in a message read on September 7, 1943, at Toronto; "The American Federation of Labor shall be fully represented at the peace conference." The contention, then, that we are seeking a privileged position when we ask for specific representation is contrary to fact.

No evidence is necessary to prove that big business, the A. F. of L., the farm bloc, Jews, Catholics, and women would not represent the Negro any more effectively than would a delegation in which special interests would not be represented. Indeed, I would insist upon the presence of an American Negro even if the CIO is represented, for while the CIO is actively engaged in pressing for Negro rights on many fronts in addition to the labor front, only a competent Negro is fully conversant with all the legitimate aspirations of the Negro.

Ignorance of Statesmen

This question of representation must be considered also from the point of view of the preparatory stages. In fact, these preparatory stages may well be even more important than the actual negotiation of the peace terms. The abysmal ignorance of Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George, Orlando and even occasionally of Clemenceau at the last peace conference is well known to all students. Wilson, for example, frequently had to call in members of the Inquiry, or committee of experts, for information on many specific points. The influence of this committee of experts on the final peace settlements is indisputable. To cite only one example, compare the memorandum on colonial questions of George Louis Baer as published in his African Questions at the Paris Peace Conference and the final terms of the colonial settlement. The present day committee on experts will, in my opinion, play an equally important role at the next peace conference.

Every important special interest, except the Negro, is already represented in the preparatory stages. Every important interest, except the Negro, is already powerfully represented in official positions in the State Department. Every special interest, except the Negro, has a "direct pipe-line" to the State Department. I have reason to believe that every special interest, except the Negro, is represented on the committee of experts who are drawing up memoranda for the guidance of the official delegation to the peace conference. I urge, then, a renewal of the attempt to obtain Negro representation during these preparatory stages.

State Department Stand

Several letters have already been sent to the State Department requesting that a competent Negro be appointed to this committee of experts and that all the members of the committee be instructed to give specific, adequate and sympathetic interest to the problems of Negroes in all parts of the world. I quote a typical reply:

"I have been very glad indeed to receive your letter, and I can assure you that the matters you call to my attention are receiving the fullest and most sympathetic attention from those of us here in the Department of State who are devoting ourselves to the study of post-war problems.

"Your suggestion that competent Negroes (sic) be appointed to take part in this work will receive our most friendly consideration.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) Sumner Welles"

This letter was written by the then Undersecretary of State on April 3, 1943. Unless we have competent American Negroes on both the committee of experts and the delegation to the peace conference, I fear that the net result of our participation in this second war "to make the world safe for democracy" will be just that, "friendly consideration," in other words, nothing.

NO

By AVERY CRAVEN
Professor of American History, The University of Chicago

The question as to whether the Negro should be represented at the peace conference is one that deserves serious consideration on the part of both colored and white people.

Ordinarily the answer would be simple. It can best be given in the form of other questions: Would not the Negro, like any other American, be represented by any delegate selected? Is not the peace a national affair, all of which Americans as Americans will act? Does the fact that some Americans are farmers and some manufacturers, some wealthy and some poor, some of German extraction and some of English, mean that peace ought not to be made without taking cognizance of such internal social-economic differences in the selection of delegates? Should the Negro race become a privileged group with representation assigned after it did appear at all. And that is as it to it by special act while all other Americans, with all their differences, be lumped into a common ably not give the Negro race any mass to take whatever representa- peculiar consideration. tion the ordinary course of events assigns to them?

Represent Faction

On the other hand, a Negro delegate, chosen because of pressure to these questions brushed aside by reference to the minority status of the Negro and the admittedly unfair discriminations from which he has suffered. It would be difficult indeed to show that any white American delegate had been chosen because he was white, that he consciously or unconsciously represented the white race as such. The average delegate would probably represent almost everything else—capital, labor, industry, agriculture, religion, locality—before the matter of race.

Nor are the obvious answers to this question, therefore, as simple as they seem. The present war is basically different in its social impact from other wars and whether such differences call for this special effort in the choosing of delegates to the peace conference. Efforts to use the peace conference merely to further selfish group ends, regardless of how unjustly the group has been treated in the past, are as unworthy of one group as they are of another. Only a special interest not to be served by any other method deserves consideration in validity of "the-white-man's-burden" philosophy," which lies back of shaping a peace delegation. If race has also caused a few Americans to view the struggle as one involving the has become more important than the Negro should be granted. Special Consideration

The grounds on which special consideration might be given the Negro are, I take it, twofold: This war has been proclaimed against other systems, and our enemies and several of our allies are not members of the white race. These two circumstances have given rise to the demand that the champion of democracy be itself democratic in practice as well as profession. It has also caused a few Americans to view the struggle as one involving the validity of "the-white-man's-burden" philosophy," which lies back of the demand for special representation at the peace conference is a logical development from such reasons have been soundest, have fallen into these attitudes of mind. They have asked for greater equality of all kinds in a land where the boast has been equality. They have gone as far, in a few cases, as to link their cause with the other non-white groups around the world and shaped their thinking in international rather than national terms. The demand for special representation at the peace conference is a logical development from such

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SECOND THOUGHTS

Defender
Chicago, Ill

By S. I. HAYAKAWA

How Little "Race" Reveals

"IF ONE WISHES to know what one may expect of a man, one needs to know in what kind of a culture, not in what race, he has been reared . . .

"If one wishes to know whether one may depend upon a man, or trust him behind one's back, or with one's women, or stand shoulder to shoulder with him against a common enemy, one needs to know his individual nature, not his race."



S. I. Hayakawa

These quotations are from "Racial Status and Personality Development," by Professor Allison Davis, Department of Education, University of Chicago. The article appears in the October issue of the "Scientific Monthly."

The Role of Culture

AS A CULTURAL anthopologist, Dr. Davis is constantly impressed with how little of human behavior is determined by the racial group in which an individual belongs, how much by the social pressures with which the individual is surrounded.

The social behavior by means of which we can recognize one man as a tenant farmer, another as an investment broker, another as a laborer, another as a hill billy, is not inherited in the blood stream."

"All this social or cultural behavior must be learned by each new human organism through the laborious processes of imitations, identification, and other learning processes."

Nevertheless, the vast majority of people attribute this **learned** behavior to "blood" and "race." To say that Negroes have distinguished themselves in entertainment "because they are Negroes," or to say that Englishmen are reserved "because they are English," is to talk nonsense.

People are the way they are because social environment made them so.

Southern Whites "Understand" Negroes

ONE THING I enjoyed very much in Mr. Davis' article is his account of the illusions under which Southern whites labor regarding Negroes. Trained to believe that Negroes are "primitive and childlike," trained to think that Negroes really enjoy doing all the menial work and being denied all opportunities, most Southern whites never question these beliefs.

They believe they "understand the Negro," never realizing that Negroes never tell them what they think—never realizing that most Negroes deliberately conceal their feelings in front of whites. "To a white who observes Negro behavior from his own caste position, therefore, Negroes may appear perfectly accommodated and happy."

The dilemma of American Negroes, as Dr. Davis sees it, is much like that of Mexicans, Orientals, and Italians in America. They are people of two cultures—one the culture of their parents' social group, the other the culture of ruling white American majority group.

Young people grow up in their parents' culture, but they must go to school and get their education in the culture of the ruling group. The culture of the ruling group naturally seems superior, and the culture of their parents inferior. Every young person in this situation, therefore, has very special problems of adjustment.

When, as in the case of Negro high school and college graduates, they learn the culture of the ruling group, but are prevented by discrimination from taking part in it, then there is frustration and profound inner turmoil. The Negro "can neither earn, nor learn, nor fight, nor marry his way out of his caste. That is why it is, in reality, a caste."

What to do about it? I think Charley Cherokee across the page has the best concise answer: "KEEP 'EM SQUIRMING!"

First Negro Makes Oral Plea In Ala. High Court

Defender
Chicago, Ill

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — When Charles H. Houston of Washington, D. C., asked the Alabama Supreme court in oral arguments to put an end to the discrimination against Negro railroad firemen, Chief Justice Lucien D. Gardner remarked that it was the first time in his 29 years of service on the bench that a Negro had argued a case orally before the court.

Houston, an attorney for Fireman W. B. Steele, asked the court to enjoin the Louisville and Nashville railroad and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers from enforcing a "secret, fraudulent agreement" between the carrier and the union.

Houston also asked $50,000 damages against the brotherhood as "damages . . . for loss of wages, destruction of vested seniority preference rights and breach of its duty under the Railway Labor act."

No Promotion

According to Steele, an employe on the railroad's Decatur-Montgomery division, as a result of collusion between the railroad and the union, he and other Negro firemen do not receive the promotional privileges which they merit.

Steele, who now has been assigned to a "preferred run," has continued to fight the case in the interests of other Negro firemen. He specifically charges the Brotherhood with "failure and refusal to represent him fairly as his statutory representative under the Railway Labor Act of 1934 which designated the Brotherhood as collective bargaining agent for the entire craft of firemen."

Atty. Houston, in his argument before the Supreme Court claimed that the Brotherhood "has refused to represent the Negro firemen fairly and impartially, has been persistently disloyal and hostile to them, has sought to destroy their vested seniority rights and to drive them out of service or failing that, to obtain the most favored conditions of employment for its own members regardless of seniority, competence or worth."

Houston further charged that the brotherhood "has refused to notify the Negro firemen of proposed actions adversely affecting their interests, to give them a chance to be heard or vote, to report to them its actions as their statutory representative under the Railway Labor Act or to handle their just grievances whenever same conflict with the interests of the brotherhood members."

Houston charged that the railroad in adhering to the brotherhood's demands, had become party to the conspiracy to deny Negro firemen job assignments and adequate representation.

Steele's case has been supported by the International Association of Railway Employees, composed of 1,200 Negro firemen, brakemen, switchmen and shop workers. The association which is headed by Arthur Lewis with headquarters in Memphis has sought to organize Negro railroad workers in an effort to protect their jobs and increase the opportunities for the employment of Negroes as skilled workers in the railroad industry.

At the recent hearings of the Fair Employment Practice Committee on discrimination in the railroad industry, the association was represented by Attys. Houston and Arthur Shores of Birmingham.

56k-1943

SHOULD NEGROES SIT AT THE PEACE TABLE

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

By ERNEST ANGELL
(Chairman, Council For Democracy)

The question of Negro representation "in the American delegation to the peace conference" is a topic of prime importance, not only to Negroes in America, but to the relations between the races in the broad sense; it deserves careful thought and wide discussion.

As to the "peace conference," I hope very much that there will be no single conference such as has marked the end of all previous great wars of modern times. I hope, rather, that after the fighting, the reconstruction of Europe and the organization for peace will be a "creeping peace" to be worked piecemeal, by slow stages and over a period of years. There should and, I believe, will be many commissions, conferences, delegations and operating groups, formal and informal. Opportunities for service will be many.

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The question as posed is, therefore, it seems to me, over-simple in that it calls for a single flat "yes" or "no" answer which will line up on one side those who do and on the other side those who do not appear to believe in the perpetuation of race discriminations, racial tensions and the lack of equal opportunity. We must go behind the original question and break it down into a consideration of purposes and operating methods.

No Exclusion

As a preliminary, a clear-cut answer can be given: that no man should be excluded from consideration as an official participant in the work of post-war reconstruction because he is a Negro. With equal definiteness, the same answer must be given as to exclusion of Catholics or Jews or labor leaders or Masons or residents of the state of Illinois, (there are some in this last minority group whom I would exclude!). So much for the negative aspect.

The positive side of the problem is more complex, since that immediately poses the question of the ultimate optimum position of the Negro race in America. We can further narrow the scope of the broad question by considering here a few typical illustrations.

Let us suppose that tomorrow the President appoints a national committee of distinguished citizens widely representative of the best in American life to frame a set of principles and operating methods with respect to racial tensions within the United States — do

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Surely no one but a

would maintain that only white Americans should be selected for that group. Its concern being the relation between the races and, specifically, the position of the Negro in America, Negroes must be consulted and represented.

Let us next suppose that, at the same time, the President appoints a special-function commission to deal, say, with the social aspects of cancer in the United States or with the disposition of government-owned war facilities now operated as integral parts of privately owned industrial plants. Should Negroes be appointed to these two commissions on the principle that since the problems are national in scope there should be at least a 10 per cent Negro representation? To the question I have last put, I would answer an emphatic "no," for reasons which will appear a little later.

Eventual Full Equality

These illustrations bring us to the problem of whether the Negro is ultimately to enjoy full equality of opportunity — in industry, basic living conditions, education and public facilities, etc. — or whether, for whatever reason other than pure prejudice, he will always constitute a group somewhat apart from the full stream of American industry, urban life, and the like. I take it that Negro leadership and the genuine white friends of the Negro reject the concept of a Negro minority forever barred from mature citizenship in the sense of full participation in American life on the basis of equal opportunity and full recognition of achievement. We know that this equal opportunity and full recognition cannot be gained in any short period of time.

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So it seems clear to me that if, in fields which have no special concern with minority groups as such, the Negro demands representation as an actual minority group, he will lose in the long run more than he can gain by the occasional inclusion of one or two as a sop to pride and numbers alone.

Looking now into the international scene, there will, for example, undoubtedly be a United Nations commission to impose and maintain military disarmament upon Germany. Now this problem is of prime importance to every American, white or black, male or female, without regard to where he lives, his religion, his race, his occupa-

By DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON
(Head, Department of Sociology, Fisk University)

If Negroes are included in the American representation at the Peace Table, it will have more meaning as a symbol of the democratic faith, intent and character of our government than as special racial representation. For it is my opinion that ultimately Negroes have no aims or interests beyond those desired for the nation as a whole.

As a long submerged American minority, however, they have a representative value in such a context beyond themselves as a group. More than any other minority and for historical reasons more urgent of moral correction, they happen to be the realistic, persistent, and ever-plaguing test of American sincerity, in its world crusade, in its bid for the confidence of other world minorities, and in the military defense of its own deepest principles.

Assuming equal and acceptable competence, they would be, significantly and in the highest sense, a token of the will to freedom and justice in the moral leadership of the new world which is inevitable that the Allies will assume. Victory without this quality will be empty, and any peace settlement on its base will be impermanent, dangerously specious, and provocative of more wars even within our own generation.

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tion. In such a matter as this — and there will be many others of like character — I see no reason whatever for selecting anyone to represent American Negroes, for their concern with the disarmament of Germany is as Americans, not as members of a different race. The disarmament commission should be chosen for the special competence of the nominees in this field, for their standing as recognized leaders of the nation, without regard to color. To demand representation there of **any** minority will, in the long run, weaken that minority in the measure that selection on this basis would accentuate natural differences, perpetuate the artificial and disruptive ones.

Special Areas

When the nations, on the other hand, come to deal with special problems, such as the future of colonial non-white peoples, the racial experiences of the Negro in America should affirmatively be drawn upon. Name any other area of post-war interest which affects the Negro as Negro and I should equally insist upon representation of his race just as I would the representation of American Jews in the future of Palestine and in that of the oppressed and scattered Jews of Nazi-dominated Europe.

Reverting to the first general category of problems — disarmament, tariffs, currency and exchange, reconstruction of devastated areas, world government — I should want to see representation of the American Negro in the long and immensely difficult tasks confronting us, only in the persons of those who have **individually** achieved special competence and recognized standing; I would rigidly exclude all thought and claim of **representative** recognition.

In summary then, in those matters which are of peculiar concern to the Negro as distinguished from the white man, there can only be one answer, an unqualified affirmative, to the question of Negro representation, just as there can be but one answer, an unqualified negative, to exclusion of the Negro because of his color from official designation for any position to which an individual is eminently qualified.

Finally, for the Negro to demand or expect minority or numerical representation in those matters which concern us all as Americans would be a profound mistake, for it would barter genuine progress based on individual merit for the purely episodic gain of perfunctory special-interest recognition. Here the Negro must stand on his own feet individually as an American, as a citizen.

This Is News! Dixie Solon Flays Race Discrimination
Defender Chicago, Ill.
DEC 4 1943

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON— The South, which bases its whole economy, [illegible] tional and industrial life on the color of a man's skin, is beginning to doubt whether that is a good gauge — where the Selective Service System is concerned.

Its own prejudices and discriminations have boomeranged, and the price being paid, as always, is exorbitantly high.

Speaking through Rep. Charles E. McKenzie (D. of La.) on the floor of the House of Representatives last week, here is what the South is saying:

"Mr. Speaker, many times before have I protested the unfair and discriminatory manner in which the Selective Service Act has been interpreted and administered. The fault is not the fault of the local boards. Their hands are tied. The fault is here in Washington where a deliberate attempt is being made to keep Negroes, single Negroes, out of the service, while white fathers are being drafted.

"Has it actually come to this in pre-Pearl Harbor America that the South is the battleground of this group to be [illegible] and it is only the beginning...

"Nevertheless, we feel that these men should be taken only after all other sources have been exhausted.

"A group of married men with children left last week from Morehouse Parish, according to the local draft board records, there are still 267 colored men in Morehouse Parish for I-A who have been inducted—yet in Morehouse Parish, simply because 'colored call' for them has been no greater than for those families [illegible] induction into the army, the first to be drafted. It was 'colored call' for them.

"Simply because the government doesn't seem to want Negroes in the armed forces is no excuse. It is race discrimination and the colored men of Morehouse Parish feel [illegible] and a sad parting for the people of [illegible] even if [illegible] has no dependents.

"Rep. Rankin's week's delay to think [illegible] so..."

Rep. McKenzie then quotes from an editorial in the Morehouse Enterprise in Bastrop, La.

that it is putting them in an inferior classification...

"The draft calls are based on population, both white and black. If Uncle Sam is going to take the attitude that the black man will not make a suitable soldier, then the draft calls should be based on white population..."

Informer Houston Tex

SEP 11 1943

Jews Gave The World Wealth; They're Damned

By BEN RICHARDSON

"God does not desire that Jews be exterminated, but that they wander the world like Cain, burdened with shame and approbrium, and that they lead a life a thousandfold worse than death."

Those are the savage words of the Christian leader Pierre, Abbe of Cluny in France, who organized the Second Crusade to the Holy Lands. Judging from the treatment Jews have suffered and are yet suffering, many people in Europe and America still share this miserable belief.

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Long Suffering

For two thousand years Jews have been persecuted by the Christian world—a world to which the Jews gave the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ.

Riot, pogrom, ghetto, pillage, rapine, and massacre have been the measure of return they have received through the years for their religious gift to Europe and America.

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Today the Jew, like his brother, the Negro, is a symbol of suffering.

From the days of the Egyptians to nazi Germany and the klan, Jews have been scapegoats for persecutors and false governments.

There are Jews in all parts of the world. It is not easy to identify them by marked racial features in all the places they inhabit.

In Crimea there are Jews who defy identification, so completely have they been absorbed into the major population. Often Jews have blond hair, blue eyes, and truly Nordic features. There are Slavic types who resemble Poles and Russians; many are indistinguishable from French, German, and Japanese people.

SEP 1943

The Falashas of Abyssinia are identical with the native Negroes of that country; in fact, the original inhabitant of Abyssinia, which means "the mixed people," were Jews and Negroes who later fused into the present racial group.

Early Christian Friction

In the early days of the Christian community some Jews separated themselves from their Christian brothers because they held the idea that the Messiah was yet to come. In that they did not believe that Jesus was He, they could not accept the church founded on the belief that He was.

If religious freedom means anything, it means the right to have your own God. Negroes in Africa did not worship Christ either. European missionaries brought them the Christian message and slavery with it.

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Black men were carried in chains from Africa to Spain and Portugal to be baptized before being herded into the bellies of slave ships and brought to the new world.

Jews Gave World Religion

SEP 1943

Protestants and Catholics owe their religious knowledge to the Jews. All the religion Negroes have comes from Jewish scriptures and from the wealth of lore about the historic beginnings of this great people. The history of the Christian religion is the history of the Jewish race.

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It was in the city of Alexandria during the early Christian years that the persecution of the Jews started. Wild rumors about their eating Greeks at their ceremonies brought general massacres. Two thousand years later the vile Czarist church in enslaved Russia repeated the same lie and conducted wholesale slaughter of innocent people. In the first instance Alexandria feared the popularity of the Jewish church and in the second, the government of the Czar needed a scapegoat for its failures.

When the church finally came into power in Europe in the 11th century, it made its first task the persecution of the Jews—for this and similiarly unfounded prejudices.

SEP

The Jews and Money-Lending

Before the middle ages the Jews enjoyed practically the same rights to trades and professions as other Europeans. The church, however, once in power, put a stop to this. Soon all industry, guilds, and professions were closed to Jews. In utter despair they turned to money transactions. When the rulers of the church and state found that the Jews handled money well, they compelled them to work at this business, and ruthlessly robbed them of their profits.

Every big adventure of building or warfare in those days was financed to a large extent by money stolen from Jews. The Crusades to the Holy Lands were financed by Jews who in return were butchered by their benefactors.

Jews Were Slaves

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Medieval Jews were owned soul and body. They were chattel in that day as their Negro brothers were later in America. They were bought and sold with no rights or privileges in court. Governments that failed from time to time used the Jews as provocation for their financial predicament and instituted campaigns of murder to blind the people to the real facts. This is the foundation of Hitler's persecution.

Jews Triumph

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In spite of these tremendous handicaps Jews, like Negroes, when given a chance, rise above their hardships and serve all humanity. In 1854 a Jew and a Christian, Moses Mendelssohn and Gotthold Lessing, added to the structure of the world's philosophy and the creation of German culture. For his contribution Mendelssohn was despised and treated as a beast. Lessing was honored. The culture of Europe was enhanceed by such greats as Madame deStael, Richter, Fouque, the Schlegels, the Rothchilds and Disraeli. (In a subsequent article a list of modern Jews will supplement those mentioned.)

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The Jew did not hold his persecutors debtor to his vengeance, but worked on and served every cause and crisis that visited the people where he dwelt. In America they fought in the Revolutionary War; in France they fought with Napoleon; in Italy with Garibaldi, and in Prussia with Bismarck.

The enemy gave them stones and they gave bread. Money earned by Jews fed and furnished George Washington's army and sent many an army on its mission in Europe. The charity of Jews has educated millions of Negroes and fed countless millions of the world's people. Jewish philanthropy has never been surpassed by any race; this all in spite of their persecution.

Defender
Chicago, Ill

Flays Ala. Governor For 'Supremacy' Plan

MIAMI, Fla.—Bitterly assailing Gov. Chauncey Sparks of Alabama for his proposal to high pressure a white supremacy plank in the Democratic platform when the convention meets next summer, Sam B. Solomon, editor of the Miami Whip, predicted that "this will insure a Republican victory in 1944."

Solomon stated that he did not think that Sparks would get very far in his move, but that he would weaken the Democratic party.

Negro churches and organizations have all too often neglected the job of help. But if they worked 24 hours a day, they could not by themselves solve the problem.

In the meantime, the bigots who blindly ignore the suffering of Negroes during the depression and even after war jobs were available, who are not concerned about segregation in ghettos, now want the inevitable products of those conditions "mussed up." Unless there is some sanity injected into the picture very soon, these incitements to race riots and programs will bear horrible fruit.

Negroes will be the first to suffer. As Mayor LaGuardia said the other day, then will come Jews, Italians, Poles, and other minorities. That is why he refused to yield to pressure that he let cops run wild, and that is why he is being attacked.

PEOPLE AND PLACES

Defender
Chicago, Ill

By WALTER WHITE

LET ME REPEAT again what I have said upon many occasions. The very last person on earth to participate in prejudice is a member of a vulnerable minority. Those who would elevate themselves to power by oppressing others follow invariably the same pattern of bigotry . . . to attack the most vulnerable minority, build a following on the basis of that attack, and then move in succession to oppression of other minorities.

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Trouble In 'Little Harlem'

THE PRESENTMENT of the King County, New York, Grand Jury regarding the Bedford-Stuyvesant area, otherwise called "Little Harlem," may turn out to be more dangerous than the fulminations of the Klan.

Bearing the authority of legality, the report virtually calls on the public to back up the police in a campaign of "muss 'em up." Primarily, the report is a viciously political attack on Mayor LaGuardia because he has insisted on treating Negroes like other human beings.

The incitement to mob violence was not long in having its effect. A Catholic priest, and a Jewish policeman, who spent two years at the University of Alabama, in a Protestant Bedford Avenue Y.M.C.A. joined in the hue and cry for a program which virtually sets out to deport or exterminate Negroes. What a tragedy that members of these two minorities who have been made the objects of as cruel an attack by Hitler as history has known should participate in this attack on another minority in the United States.

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Minority Pattern



Walter White

Delinquency Picture

THERE IS another side to the story. The Grand Jury presentment was bitterly biased, but there is no question about the behavior of the criminal element, particularly among boys and girls of teen age and some Army and Navy rejects.

The crimes they commit are not confined to Negroes in that area. There has been a terrific increase in delinquency among young people of all clarity.

Fortunately, this was seen by two Catholic priests at the meeting in Brooklyn who answered their fellow churchman's tirade with vigor and

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SHOULD NEGROES SIT AT THE PEACE TABLE?

YES

By JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES
(Editor, Birmingham Age-Herald

Defender
Chicago. Ill

In consistency our southern states which insist on race segregation at home should not object to separate representation for Negroes at the peace conference. If the delegation is big enough I think our Negro people should be represented. If there is a delegation of 10, for example, the Negro, who represents one tenth of our population, should have a member.

But he should be a southern Negro. I am positive of that. He should come from the part of the United States where Negroes and whites have to get along together in greatest numbers and proximity. Someone like James E. Shepard of the North Carolina College for Negroes. Or F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute; Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta university; Charles S. Johnson of Fisk university; J. R. E. Lee of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical college; Ben Mays of Morehouse college; C. C. Spaulding of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance company; or F. L. Atkins of Winston-Salem Teachers college.

It is pointed out that the race problem in the United States is not identical with the one in India. It may as truly be said that the problem in the southern states, where 10,000,000 Negroes live alongside 30,000,000 whites, is not like the one in the rest of the nation where 3,000,000 Negroes are scattered among 100,000,000 whites.

Many of us in the South think we could solve the Negro problem satisfactorily for all parties if we lived where the Negro percentage was only three per cent, as outside the South, rather than 33 per cent, as in the South. Even in the Northern centers of Negro population—Detroit, Chicago, Harlem, etc.—the situation is not like the Southern one.

And our southern Negro leaders, even though they differ among themselves and with those outside about some of the problems of their race, know what is possible and what is not possible in the part of the country where the overwhelming majority of our Negroes live. If the race is to be represented on our delegation to peace conference, I am sincerely convinced that the representative should come from the South.

And the very fact that such a representative would in likelihood be less belligerent and demanding in behalf of his race than one from outside the South argues to the same end. The racial bitterness that has come about in this land in the war's course may have been necessary or inescapable but it certainly should not be taken to the peace table.

If, as was the case when the Peace of Versailles was being made, the American delegation is composed of only three or four men with real voices in the settlements, I would hope that no effort would be made by our American Negroes to have one of their race included. In that case the race in this country would be better served at the conference without a representative than with one.

With the leaders of both political parties—Roosevelt and Willkie—famously friends to the Negro and his ambitions, far more could be gained through that indirect representation than through a direct one. A Negro on the American delegation—if it is a small one—would be conspicuous in ways that would handicap him badly. Whatever he proposed or pled for would be suspected in the sense of being looked upon as special pleading for one group rather than a world-minded consideration of delicately interrelated problems involving all groups.

It seems to me, therefore, that if the delegation is large there might properly be Negro representation. It should come from the southern states. But if the delegation is small, a Negro on it would get nowhere and perhaps cost his race some of the sympathy it otherwise will certainly have.

In this and many other matters, my theory is that the Negro is promised so much in the years to come and has already achieved so much that his two ideals should be (1) not to let the fine evolution be interrupted, and (2) to qualify constantly in character, taste, self-control and affirmative point of view for the better things so sure to come.

By MARK ETHRIDGE
(Publisher, Louisville Courier-Journal)

NO

I have not thought about the personnel or the composition of the American delegation to the forthcoming peace conference. I am not at all certain under the Atlantic Charter that there will be a peace conference. The procedure outlined by the President and Churchill may make wholly unnecessary any such conference.

While the Negro's viewpoint certainly must be taken into consideration, I don't favor special group representation on delegations. If we have a conference and the delegation is composed of five men, I want the five best men in the United States regardless of race, color, creed or religion. If the Negroes can advance the name of a man who will rank with four others and who is able to do well by the country and the world, then he should be selected on that basis, not because he is a Negro.

I imagine the Jews, who have suffered more in the war than any other group of people will probably want a representative, too. The Catholic church has been the victim of violent oppression in Germany and particularly in Poland, but that does not justify a Catholic member of the delegation, unless he is fully able to represent us in every respect.

If you began to load a delegation up with representatives of special groups, you never would make out a peace, but all their views should be consulted. I can imagine no delegation which would not want consultants embracing the minority groups.

By SAMUEL GRAFTON
(Nationally-Known Newspaper Columnist)

NO

There is no assurance that there is going to be any peace conference. We remember that there was one last time. But there is no guarantee that there will be one this time. The chances are there will be a series of conferences on special problems, some even taking place before the end of the war, as in the case of the Hot Springs food conference.

The American problem is to make sure that this country is represented by genuine small-d democrats at these conferences. That is the only way to take care of all interests, white, Negro, Jewish, etc. Negro interests would be safer in the hands of progressive members of the white race than in the hands of non-progressive members of the Negro race.

I can think of many gentiles who are better spokesmen for the Jews than a number of Jews. I should like to see a Negro delegate or delegates, but I should want them to have been selected primarily as democrats.

NEXT WEEK

YES: Dr. Charles Wesley
President, Wilberforce University
NO: Howard Vincent O'Brien
Columnist, Chicago Daily News
NO: Dr. F. D. Patterson
President, Tuskegee Institute

Bans Negro Papers

Carolina Mayor Sale Of

WATERBORO, South Carolina.—(ANP)—Sale of all Negro newspapers was forbidden here Saturday when Mayor H. H. Sweat, reportedly responding to a request of "an officer" at the Walterboro Army Air base two miles from town, informed representatives of the Atlanta Daily World, Light-house and Informer, Journal and Guide, Pittsburgh Courier and Afro-American that they would not be permitted to sell further copies in the city or at the air base.

No Official Reason Given

While no official reason was made public for the sudden bar, that leaders said it was probably be-

cause two weeks ago, colored soldiers at the base, upon getting off you niggers' necks but trying to keep these while papers was forbidden here Saturday when Mayor H. H. Sweat, reportedly responding to a request of "an officer" at the Walterboro Army Air base two miles from town, informed representatives of the Atlanta Daily World, Light-house and Informer, Journal and Guide, Pittsburgh Courier and Afro-American that they would not be permitted to sell further copies in the city or at the air base.

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orders to leave for an embarkation port, went in the woods and fired several rounds of ammunition hidden there. No one was injured in the shooting nor was there any reaching town from the air base were bitter because of the ban and said they had planned to take the issue to Washington if it could not be adjusted with their own officers. Meanwhile, excepting for mail subscribers, Walterboro's Negro citizens are being deprived of their one "free agency"—the press.

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THE LIVING SOUTH

Defender
Chicago, Ill

By HAROLD PREECE

Duke Shoots Dice

I WAS a little bit shocked when I found out that Duke university was running special courses in crap shooting.

I have long since ceased to expect anything that would help the South to come from the classrooms of the Confederate universities. I have had less than no confidence in this private school of the Duke Tobacco Trust located in the Dukes' private city of Durham, North Carolina.

But I never expected even a Jim Crow Southern university to spend good money finding out how often seven will show up in a crap game, how many times an ace will come tumbling down from the sleeve of a gambler in a hand of poker, or how long it takes a ghost to come back and start pestering people once his earthly body has been given Christian burial.

I've been spending the last two hours reading Dukes quarterly Journal of Parapsychology getting the lowdown on how Prof. J. B Rhine, head of the University's Parapsychology Laboratory, tinkers around with his students to discover the supposed laws which govern craps, cards and ghosts.

Parapsychology is a two-dollar word which means the study of mental phenomena that can't be explained by any known laws of the mind. The word and its definition had me a bit shaky until I remembered that we poor folks in the South called the hocus-pocus by two other names which mean essentially the same thing—"voodoo" and "conjure."

Now, Southern law is sometimes pretty tough on the voodoo and conjure practitioners — generally pathetic, half-mad old women who peddle love charms and "wishing powders" for whatever they can get.

But nobody's going to pinch Prof. Rhine who has a set-up that the official board of Duke University can't touch in case outraged parents should kick about their children being turned into professional card sharps and spook chasers. According to the Journal, the Parapsychology Laboratory has its own governing committee and "the committee has been given the legal authority to constitute itself a board of trust, independent of the university, should the need ever arise."

Gamble With Lives

IT MAY BE only a coincidence that O. Max Merritt, president of the Renfro Hosiery Mills, is listed as one of the four members of this committee. You see, the hosiery manufacturerers of the South gambled for years with dollar-marked cards. The stakes were the human flesh of the Southern mountaineers and Negroes brought down to work in those mills for wages that turned children into prostitutes and grown people into paupers.

I have no doubt that Mr. Merritt and the other hosiery magnates are straining their eyes for a glimpse of that old dead world which moved along without unions of hosiery workers and plain, common people sassing their bosses when the bosses demanded too much work for too much little pay.

Those who cannot accept the New South and the New World have no alternative except to gamble with trembling hands and chase ghosts with trembling hearts.

It must comfort them to have such a capable medicine show maestro as Prof. Rhine to peddle the wishing powders. It must console them when he says the mumbo-jumbo, staving off for just a little longer that day when the haughty in spirit shall be abased and the poor in spirit shall be exalted.

For Prof. Rhine is just the sort of conjure man that they need. He even has it figured out that you can train your mind to make the dice roll any way that you direct—through what his priests of parapsychology call "mental telepathy." He even says that he has verified this with experiments in his "laboratory."

Ghost Stories

IN BETWEEN TIMES, he pores over ghost stories sent in by his cronies all over the country. Listen to this one by Dr. Gardner Murphy, of the Department of Psychology of the College of the City of New York, published in the March, 1943, issue of the Journal:

"When Miss R. C. Morton became intrigued by the frequent appearance of a phantasm which walked about the house, making itself visible to several members of the family, and to two neighbors who saw it near the house, she set herself the task of recording its appearances and disappearances, pursued it into corners until it disappeared; tried to make it turn and directly confront her; and driven to sterner methods, attached a string with glue to the wall by the staircase, stood at the foot of the stairs and watched it walk through the string."

Prof. Rhine's friend, Dr. Morton, doesn't tell us who the persistent Miss Morton is. Personally, I imagine that the poor ghost had enough trouble in this span of mortal life; and I hope that Miss Morton has stopped tormenting it as if it were some stray cat that had wandered into her house.

But for curiosity's sake, I'd like to know what the ghost of Old Buck Duke has been telling Prof. Rhine lately. Buck was the cunning old fox who built up the Tobacco Trust and the family fortune by robbing tobacco workers and farmers of both colors in the South. There's a statue of him, smoking a big black cigar, in front of Duke university.

I can imagine nothing more entertaining than the sight of the cigar smoke sifting through the ghostly body of Old Buck as it comes out of the grave to shoot craps in the parapsychology laboratory. I can imagine Old Buck's ghost commanding Prof. Rhine to keep students rolling dice so that they won't bother their heads with such silly questions as the inequalities of wealth and the inequalities of race here in the South.

But I can also imagine Old Buck turning whiter than any ghost on record when the dice show their faces after he has wooed them with the voodoo of parapsychology.

For Old Buck and Prof. Rhine never see the inside of Duke and the other Southern universities unless they work in them as janitors and scrubwomen. But they are learning—learning the lessons of history that Old Buck never thought about when he bought a university and named it for himself.

They haven't time to chase ghosts. They are too busy burying ghosts.

Dustin' off the NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

MISTAH CRUMP DON' 'LOW NO NEGROES SPEAKIN' HEAH!

Defender
Chicago, Ill

WITHOUT FEAR of successful contradiction, I believe the South can proudly boast of having contributed more fools, near idiots, clowns and crackpots to the American political arena than any other section of the country.



L. C. Harper

Fact of the matter is that in order to achieve political supremacy and greatness in Dixie, and to hold on to it against all-comers, a white man has to transform himself into a sort of demagogic freak; pollute the air with all types of nonsensical utterances, especially on the race issue; violate all the laws of civic decency and parade himself across the front page of the press whenever the opportunity presents itself in farcical and bombastic demeanor merely to attract attention as a political oddity, otherwise a "vote-getting comedian." Ever since it was admitted into statehood, the South has let loose a bevy of these political buffoons on the nation, sectionally as well as nationally.

Skipping the Revolutionary era (there were many southern clowns in it, however) let us call the role from the period of Senator "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman of South Carolina down to "Boss Ed" Crump of Memphis and see if any other section of our nation can feel as proudly of its crackpot industry.

It was Tillman who actually created Negro-baiting. Privately, he was a friend of Negroes in want; publicly he lambasted the whole race with all the billingsgate and venom at his vocal command—it was only through these means that he could become a "southern statesman." He set the stage and pattern for Vardamann of Miss., "Tom Tom" Heflin of Ala., Robinson of Ark., Tom Watson and Tom Hardwick of Ga., Carmack of Tenn., whose foul tongue got him killed, and Pat Harrison of Miss. Later Bilbo came to out-ape Vardamann and Harrison, and today is one of the stellar clowns of the senate. His viciousness abounds at the mention of Negro, and he begins to cut the usual capers of a political fool or idot; it's an act, not a sincerity.

Tillman bred out of his own odium of politics such jackanapes as Cole Blease, James F. Byrnes (yes, the same one Roosevelt has hoisted to recent political prominence) and the now demagogic freak that represents South Carolina in the senate, "Cotton Ed" Smith. Smith decided to look up his family tree. His brother, Bishop Coke Smith, went to the Scottish Isle of Skye, where the senator's mother dated her origination. She came from the Clan McLeods, and the bishop reported that he found in Scotland that the first of the Clan McLeods were about the most astute horse and cattle thieves ever known there. And thus America inherits Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith—what a background for a lawmaker; only the political nostrils of South Carolina could withstand such stench. Funny how southern statesmen assume aliases like criminals: Tillman was known as "Pitchfork Ben," and Ellison DuRant Smith gets closer to his pattern by labelling himself as "Cotton Ed." Bilbo calls himself "The Man." Was Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Mass., known as "Cabby," or Senator Wagner of N. Y., as "Waggy?" Oftimes an alias denotes low association. It seems to hold good with our southern politicians.

* * *

THE POLITICAL customs and habits established by Tillman spread over the entire South. If his method brought national fame, why not local, as well, the small-fry politicians opined. And the state governments began to produce them by the handsful. Huey Long, the premier clown of American politics, popped up in Louisiana, and a bullet finally spared this country further annoyance from this source. Then came Edward Hull Crump, the "Boss Crump" (there's that alias) of Memphis. W. C. Handy's "Memphis Blues" help put Crump in the mayor's chair. "Mistah Crump don' low no easy riders heah," Handy wrote as the theme song for Crump's campaign. In appreciation for Handy's contribution, Crump named a park near the head of Beale street in honor of the musician, which is nothing more than an open-air flop-house and about the size of Barnum's side show tent. The recent controversy between the decent colored citizens of Memphis and "Boss Crump" over the coming of A. Philip Randolph to speak there causes us to find out how Crump's intellectual attainments—and how acquired—placed him in the role of a fascist censor.

"Mistah Crump don' low no easy riders heah," Handy wrote, and he must have been given that line by Crump, because the present "Boss" started from Marshall County, Miss., on a mule, rode the animal into Holly Springs and took a train for Memphis. We have heard nothing more of the mule (only Handy's reference of "no easy ride") but we've witnessed a lot of jackass brayings of "Boss Crump" ever since he took up residence in the old Fourth Ward, the Bowery district of Memphis. Somehow, a jackass has always had some connection with city government of Memphis. When "Pappy" Hadden, whom Crump replaced, was mayor of Memphis he always rode to the City Hall atop a mule. In 1909 Memphis

WITH APOLOGIES to my good friend, W. C. Handy, I take infringe on his ballad We're goin' to talk out NOW; Dam what Mistah Crump don' 'low. opponent of "Boss Randolph's gonna speak anyhow! e next Memphis elec- more modern version phis Blues:" p don' 'low no easy ah; p don' 'low no easy ah. e what Mistah Crump

56k-1943

A Job For Scientists

OCT 30 1943



Defender
Chicago, Ill
Ivy Jackson
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OCT 30 1943

SHOULD NEGROES SIT AT THE PEACE TABLE?

Defender
Chicago, Ill

YES

By I. F. STONE
Washington Correspondent, PM, The Nation

OCT 23 1943

I am heartily in favor of the inclusion of Negroes in the American delegation to the forthcoming Peace Conference.

Most of the people of the earth are colored. The greatest power on earth after this war will be the United States of America. Our attitude toward the Negro is a source of distrust among the colored races of the earth.

Nothing could do more to lessen this distrust and to give them new hope than to see American Negroes among our official representatives at the "Peace Conference."

NO

By STANLEY HIGH
Readers Digest Roving Correspondent

OCT 23 1943

It seems to me that to raise the issue of Negro inclusion among the American delegates at the peace conference would be unnecessarily provocative. I would feel the same if any other minority group, the Jews, the Poles or the Catholics, made such a request.

It is my hope that the peace delegation will be politically bi-partisan and guided by something above political considerations. That, I suppose, may be too much to hope for. Anything less than that, however, is going to make it difficult to ratify whatever agreements are reached.

These opinions are based on the assumption that there will be a peace conference, which of course, is by no means a safe assumption. It is just as likely that the settlements will be made piece meal without any grand conclave.

By DR. CHARLES WESLEY
(President, Wilberforce University)

(Second of Two Articles)

The American Negro, in relation to the prospective peace program, has several paths which he may elect to follow.

One is to associate himself with the groups now proposing plans for peace and to join the organizations of men and women who are preparing reports on the preparation of peace proposals and the problems of post-war reconstruction. These leaders are now carrying on a program of popular education to centralize thinking on the need of organizing for peace.

These people, with the diplomats and politicians, are going to make the peace. They have not fought the war. They were not in the fighting armies. If the young men who fought the war were to make the peace, perhaps we would have a better one. But the old guard, the reactionaries, the conservators of the past, those who stay at

YES

3. Colleges and universities, pub-Nations Assembly, and panel discussions on the post-war world the leadership in encouraging these with Negro students participating. endeavors. Committees of faculty Such assemblies should be encouraged and student leaders can constitute a valuable resource for information and study plans for those who want to see a better world society. This ment that simulated activities should be accomplished in the separate school can be accomplished both in the they should then cultivate every opportunity for interracial contact and relationships.

Meeting of Leaders

high schools conduct a League of

OCT 30 1943

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1. There should be close asso
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group meeting called for the pur
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to cooperate with the national and
case and seek future solutions. We
local organizations working on
peace proposals.

4. There should be held soon a small conference of selected leaders with world points of view in every sphere of activity. No one Negro should, on this post-war occasion find it necessary to be a martyr in the Trotter tradition. There should be a group of Negroes who would constitute the representations for peace and they should be prepared to protest in a proper legal way any objections of state department representatives. This conference should draw up an outline of the proposals and practices which would lead to friendship and peace not only among the nations but also among all minority peoples. These proposals should be given the widest publicity.

5 This conference should then lead to a larger conference which would come after the war. This meeting should be a cross section of all aspects of Negro life. If possible, it should partake of the nature of the old Pan-African Conference, with representative Negroes from every part of the world in which colored populations live.

6. There should be established a temporary office in some active agency now and preparation should be made for the agenda of such an international conference of Negro leaders following the war, and for the assembly of materials from the several parts of the world. There may be difficulties in holding such an assembly, both because of the nationalistic divisions among Negroes, the disapproval of this assembly by white overlords and the probably turmoil which will follow the close of the war. These are all reasons why this action should be planned now.

Program of Education

7. A program of education should be undertaken in race equality from the point of view of the scientists and the endeavor should be made to separate the actual knowledge of the subject from the use of parts of knowledge by the demagog and the yellow journals. Through an office or committee, already established, we should endeavor to influence opinion and instill in various peoples, including white Americans, the desire to develop respect for personality and individuality in a colored skin, confidence in the ability of brown and black men and women to achieve and live just like other folk in our national life. The further effort should be made, as in the days of the temperance crusade, to secure pledges to construct the pattern of the difficult task of living together in a democracy as equals, in all matters, political, economic, educational and social.

8 Consideration should be given to the active participation of Negro leadership in the post-war program of bringing our fighting men back to their jobs. Every consideration should be given to adequate integration, so that discrimination, exclusion and exploitation shall not again have their sway. Any public works, housing, rehabilitation program should be watched carefully and followed through in detail by the post-war representatives.

Scapegoat Role

9. The tendency to shift the burden of the depression to the man lowest down must also be part of these considerations. If programs of public works, housing and the return to peace-time manufacture of civilization comforts for all are to characterize the post-war period, Negroes should plan for equitable participation in these benefits. If returning soldiers are to receive aid in adjusting to peace-time activities, Negroes must be prepared to withstand the shock which is inevitable in certain communities. It may develop, unless there is careful planning, that the Negro people may remain the chief scapegoat for the prejudices of the leading nations of the world. The removal of discriminations and the abandonment of the freedom and license which white peoples have of making Negroes the subjects of repression, exclusion and unjustice, should be removed in order that answer may be given to the criticism that democracy is for white men only. Most of the discriminations from which Negroes suffer are beyond the law. Although in many places, they are also supported by the law. In other places, these discriminations are not publicized but they are none the less real.

The post-war depression will increase these even more completely—if we are not prepared for it—for those who have restrictions on their voters, who suffer from exclusion and segregation, who live under "Jim Crow" laws, who receive inequitable appropriations for institutional and welfare services, who lack purchasing power and who experience widespread economic discrimination in work and living, whose civil rights are constantly violated and whose treatment under the procedures of the police and the courts furnishes the acid test of democratic justice

10. The advocacy of a race equality clause for the peace agreement should be a major purpose of all these groups. The principle of white dominance, so characteristic of modern diplomacy and social organization, was first challenged by Japan at the Peace Conference of World War I. Japan's representatives, as we have seen, proposed a plank of racial equality in the covenant of the League of Nations. This was denied by the nations, with President Wilson opposing, joined by the imperialist ones.

When Prime Minister Churchill announced recently that he does no plan to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, and gave no further explanation, and the other nations—with the exception of Russia—remain silent concerning territorial ambitions and claims, and observer wonders if anything has been learned about equality. When the Negus of Ethiopia made a plea for his black country before the League of Nations and deaf ears were turned to it, only to find that the flood-gates of war and destruction emptied their contents in the front yards of the nations who silently heard the plea, wonder may again be expressed concerning the futility of the lessons of history as they affect black men and women.

Long Battle

The racial tradition of centuries cannot be discarded from the minds and actions of all people in a day. Social evils are rarely removed in overnight fashion. Murder was outlawed by the legal resolutions of the people, however latent the desire may still have been to engage in it by thoughtless minds and unbridled human nature. Predatory seizures of the property of others have been outlawed by society, however, deeply ingrained in human life has been the power of the strong over the weak. Similar action can be taken by our leadership in some spheres of life to keep one part of the people from practicing racial inequalities on other parts of the people.

This practice, however, is still one of the unbridled evils of modern society. If it cannot be abolished—as murder and thievery are not abolished—it can be checked as these were, by collective action in law and order. Some of these discriminations cannot be prevented either by law or the courts because they are practiced both by direct and implied agreements by individuals and private groups. It should be made clear to ourselves as well as to others that white hegemony of the world must end, if there is to be peace, and that the future world of peoples is not to be dominated by the color bar, whether in Asia, Africa, the Islands of the Seas or the United States.

This claim of racial equality should be presented, in the background of the democratic war-cry of freedom. The United Nations are a basis for such declarations and actions, for they form an assemblage of races and peoples hitherto known only in part in the early ancient world. This collection of peoples could be welded into a new world order which has possibilities of attainment. The neglected problem of the Negro in America should be a part of this settlement, for the moral influence and prestige of the United States as an exponent of democracy before any world assembly, would be threatened by its lack of solution.

Duties As Citizens

The liberal racial policies of South America and Latin America, and racial creed of Russia are brought face to face with our American practices. Negro representation should take all these facts into account and move with the rising liberal forces of the western democracies towards a world of enlarging human freedom which shall include the nations and peoples, the foreign and local areas the war and the home fronts—everywhere in the world. In respect to these matters, Negro Americans can be their own best representatives while cooperating with liberal white Americans, all minorities in our present social scene and freedom loving peoples—everywhere in the world.

11. This planning program must also envision our conception of duties which will be thrust upon us as American citizens in an approaching period of stress. There can be a wider development of the doctrine of self-help and the extension of the cooperative system in our community living. Our conduct can become more exemplary of the better type of character, which our churches and schools are so urgently seeking to develop. In every area, as individuals and as citizen-groups, there are duties left undone, while we focus attention on our rights. If we are to give consideration to our "Bill of Rights" in a democratic new world, let us not be unmindful of our "Bill of Duties" to be worthy of them.

Towards these objectives, a conference of Negroes, representing a cross-section of opinion of all types, should be called in some central place for post-war planning. This conference should consider objectively—and not so much by speeches—in the main, (1) the blueprint for the future of black folk in the post-war world and (2) representative participation by American Negroes in any proposed peace settlement and (3) the construction of the methods, and the charting of the strategy which should be used in attaining the desired goals.

FASCISM IN MEMPHIS

Defender Chicago, Ill

The right of free speech is a constitutional guarantee that was meant by the Founding Fathers to be a necessary pillar in the structural frame of democracy. Perhaps Boss Crump of Memphis is totally ignorant of this historic provision. If, however, the cancellation of the mass meeting in Memphis that was to be addressed by A. Philip Randolph a few weeks ago was due to ignorance of the law that led to intimidation of Negroes, we should scratch our soul for some modicum of compassion.

But we do not believe that Ed Crump is ignorant of the law. And no one who knows him in Memphis or elsewhere could possibly excuse him on the ground of illiteracy. The plain truth is that Crump is using his political influence to strike down by whatever means those who disagree with his rule as well as those who have the temerity to challenge him politically.

This is precisely the Nazi technique that has led to the sudden rise of Hitler to power. Viewed in that light, Crump is more than a mere local figure endangering the security and freedom of the people of Memphis; he is a threat to the processes of democracy in America. He looms today as the greatest challenge at home to the fundamental concepts that underlie the Four Freedoms.

He is the exact prototype of the German Fuehrer. While we are attempting to track down the Nazi mad beast to his lair, we cannot afford to overlook our American Fuehrer in Memphis. Crump must be stopped either through federal intervention or through careful reshuffling of the political cards. Having succeeded in driving out of town a number of representative Negroes, he is now bold enough to tell those left behind whom they should have in their midst and what they should or should not say.

We are dismayed at the paralysis of some Memphis Negroes who made no attempt whatsoever to stand up for their rights.

Those leaders who allowed themselves to be intimidated into calling off the Randolph meeting, have placed themselves in the unenviable position of being the unwilling tools of a Fascist demagog. If democracy is dear to us if it is the only form of government that will keep the chain of bondage from our ankles; if it is the sole road to our economic and cultural [illegible], then it makes no difference whether we fight or die for it abroad or at home. One thing is certain. that is: OUR DEMO-

NOT BE SILVER

CRATIC RIGHTS WILL HANDED TO US ON A PLATTER.

56k-1943

For White Only?



Defender
Chicago, Ill

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OCT

Accused Soldier's Lynching Predicted By Mississippi Paper

AUG 14 1943

Inquirer Houston, Texas

AUG 14 1943

LIBERTY, Miss.—The lynching of Joseph Williams, 21-year-old army deserter from Ft. Clark, Texas, who has been charged with raping a 16-year-old white girl Tuesday, is subtly predicted in Thursday's issue of the Southern Herald, a local white publication which stated in a news story: "No doubt justice will come quick and fast at the end of a rope when the trial is made in Amite county." The legal method of execution in Mississippi, it is pointed out, is by electrocution.

AUG 14 1943

Captured Early Wednesday

Williams, who was captured early Wednesday and charged with criminally attacking the young white girl near Gloster, was taken to the Hinds county jail at Jackson for safekeeping after it was rumored that a lynching had been planned. Believed to have been the main reason that white citizens became aroused and hinted of violence was the manner in which the story was presented in the Southern Herald, the most widely-read newspaper in Amite county. The news story as published in this paper was as follows:

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"Joseph Williams, 21-year-old Negro, was captured by Sheriff A. J. Causey of Amite county and a posse of citizens that had quickly been formed for the search, Wednesday morning after an all-night chase with bloodhounds.

"The Negro, an army deserter, is accused of criminally attacking a 16-year-old white girl who resides about 1 mile south of Gloster.

AUG 14 1943

In Hinds County Jail

"The Negro has been placed in the Hinds county jail in Jackson until a special term of court will be called by Judge R. E. Bennett, according to Sheriff Causey, who made the request for a speedy trial.

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"Colonel Bob Gilfoy of the Mississippi Highway Patrol, said, according to Major J. J. Suddah, the provost marshal, the Negro was a deserted from an army camp at Fort Clark, Texas. The military authorities have released the Negro for civil prosecution.

AUG 14 1943

"No doubt Justice will come quick and fast at the end of a rope when the trial is made in Amite county. Knowing the men of Amite county as we do, who participated in the Negro's capture, it is almost unbelievable that he was ever allowed to reach any jail alive. And the coolheadness of our sheriff and these men is bound to be admired by our law-abiding citizens."

AUG 14 1943

"Tuesday afternoon, August 3, while Liberty was full of excitement over the election that was in progress, Sheriff Causey was called over the phone shortly after 4 o'clock. He suddenly forgot the election that he was in and went where duty called. The famous bloodhounds from the Louisiana Angola prison farm were quickly secured by Sheriff Causey, the trail quickly picked up and at 6 o'clock Wednesday morning the capture was made in a Negro home. According to officers, the Negro confessed and was identified by the victim."

AUG 14 1943

Under Heavy Guard

Following his arrest, Williams was brought to Hinds county jail at Jackson under heavy guard to prevent violence and a possible lynching. It is expected that a heavy guard will be provided when he is brought back to Amite county for trial in view of the suggestions of a lynching.

THE LIVING SOUTH

Defender
Chicago, Ill

By HAROLD PREECE

Charlie Bruce Splits Rails

I DON'T KNOW what the Ku Klux Klan will try to do to Charlie Bruce, now that he is back home in Macon, Ga. If the Kluxers bother Charlie, I hope he'll show the same stubborn courage he showed at Washington when he stood up at the FEPC hearings and said that Negroes didn't have a dog's chance of promotion on the Central of Georgia railroad.

I've written a lot these last few years about how the poor white South and the black South have been finding each other. Lots of well-intentioned Northern liberals

freedom of [illegible] of what the [illegible] may do to [illegible] speaks the [illegible] at sitting in [illegible] gro firemen [illegible] firing the [illegible] trains or he [illegible] night and [illegible] who knows? [illegible] Tomorrow [illegible] this plain [illegible] greasy overa[illegible] pulling big [illegible] supplies. Bu[illegible] velt acts o[illegible] Charlie Bru[illegible] the rails ho[illegible] Georgia tra[illegible]

including the editor of a New York daily paper, have accused me of talking through my hat.

But I've just been saying what both Charlie Bruce and myself have learned as poor whites — that our South and the black South are each a half of the awakening new South.

Charlie Bruce makes me think that the New South will be great in its deeds because it will be great in its people. It will be a wise and kindly South because it will be built from the combined genius of two races who are each wise and kindly when each is released from the cruel, shackling chains of fear and ignorance.

Charlie Bruce has already broken those chains to walk in the new

Day Of Awakening

SECOND THOUGHTS

Defender
Chicago, Ill

By S. I. HAYAKAWA

"Scientific Monthly"

HOW SERIOUSLY the most thoughtful scientists in the country are pondering the problems of "race" is attested by the fact that **Scientific Monthly**, published by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, has devoted articles to the subject in three successive issues this year—two of them leading articles.



S. I. Hayakawa

Dr. Wilton Marion Krogman, anatomist and physical anthropologist of the University of Chicago, contributes an article to the August issue entitled "What We Do Not Know About Race." As Dr. Krogman shows, the racial bigots and "hatelers" (to use PM's neologism) have not a scientific leg to stand on.

First of all, even scientists cannot agree on the classification of "races," many preferring to classify all men as being simply members of "the human race." Even if human beings are divided into white, yellow, and Negro, these divisions would not represent biological "races" but sub-species.

Secondly, there is no such thing as a "pure race," Adolf Hitler to the contrary notwithstanding. Thirdly, we don't know how the various sub-species of men arose, nor do we know how traits indicative of stock or "race" are transmitted.

Furthermore, studies have been made in serious search of "race differences," but in all cases no differences have been found that cannot be accounted for by differences in living conditions. Finally, says Dr. Krogman, not as a sentimental equalitarian, but simply as a scientist reporting the facts as he sees them, there is no such thing as racial "inferiority" or "superiority."

Dean Redfield

IF, AS DR KROGMAN says, there is so little positive knowledge on the subject of "race," what is there that is known for sure?

The answer is to be found in the September issue of "Scientific Monthly" which contains an article by Dean Robert Redfield, University of Chicago anthropologist, entitled "What We Do Know About Race."

Dr. Redfield agrees with Dr. Krogman that "race" as a biological phenomenon is a field that offers a very few positive conclusions. But as a social phenomenon "race" is a very real thing. In other words, **wherever people believe in "race" there you have "race" problems.**

As I understand Dr. Redfield, the process of arriving at a belief in "race" goes something like this: first you have rivalry or conflict as the result of religious, language, or cultural differences, economic competition, or class snobbery. Secondly, you rationalize those rivalries or conflicts by attributing those differences to racial origin.

Race Never The Real Issue

IN OTHER WORDS, **a "racial prejudice" is something people think up afterwards in order to solidify a prejudice that already existed for other than "racial" reasons.** Prejudice against Jews, for example, existed as religious and economic prejudice long before it became, under Hitler, a "racial" prejudice. Prejudice against Negroes in the United States originates as prejudice against and contempt for people of lower social standing (slaves). Making a "racial" issue out of the class issue perpetuates the class stratification. **In short, "race" is the first-class red herring of all time.**

In my next week's column, I shall deal with the third article in this series in the "Scientific Monthly" series: "Racial Status and Personality Development," by Professor Allison Davis.

On Racial Equality

EDITORIAL

Mrs. Marian Simmons of San Diego, California has an article in the Houston Post for Friday, November 5, on racial equality, in which she says the matter is local and Northerners should keep their noses out, and the South is fighting for paternalism as against racial equality. The matter is worthy of notice, because so many Southern whites have that view, and on occasion it would seem that our contemporary, the editor of The Post himself, has expressed hints to the same effect.

While it is true the states reserve to themselves all rights not delegated to the Federal Government, it is also true that the Federal Government established basic minimums for the citizenry of the republic. Among those necessarily was the principle of equality, which is the foundation idea expressed in the Preamble and throughout the Constitution. So when the states, in the exercise of their local authority, encroach upon the basic principle of democracy as proclaimed by the Constitution, they practically compel the Federal Government to seek ways to nullify the states' illegal actions.

Mrs. Simmons seems to be unaware of the fact that an evolution in racial attitude is afoot throughout the world. The same paternalism that she advocates is what caused the Burmese, the Malayans and other Asiatics to turn against the English and help the Japanese. The same paternalism gives the Japanese awful leverage among Asiatic former colonials of Britain, in the Japs efforts to turn Asiatics against British rule.

Mrs. Simmons' assumption of the right of paternalism is the same as the assumption of Aryan superiority that the Germans have preached and used to set aflame the worst war in history. Freedom implies equality in a republic. Both freedom and equality means that every individual, every race, and every creed is equal to every other before the law, in the courts, and in economic and civil realms. Anyone contending for the contrary view is fighting to maintain Fascism.

It is not Northerners who are stirring up Negroes, but it is the Negroes themselves who repudiate any idea of inferiority on the basis of color. There are white men superior to certain Negroes, but by the same token, there are Negroes superior to certain white men. Measurement is not an individual scale, measurement is the attitude of the law, the government, and the general willingness of American citizens to accord to all people the same freedom which they so fanatically claim for themselves. Negroes would be stupid indeed to fight to maintain equality for whites, while cheerfully abandoning it for themselves. Negroes are fighting for equality toward all men, black, white, brown and yellow.

SECOND THOUGHTS

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

By S. I. HAYAKAWA

"Scientific Monthly"

HOW SERIOUSLY the most thoughtful scientists in the country are paying attention to the problems of "race" is attested by the fact that **Scientific Monthly**, published by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, has devoted articles to the subject in three successive issues this year—two of them leading articles.

Dr. Wilton Marion Krogman, anatomist and physical anthropologist of the University of Chicago, contributes an article to the August issue entitled "What We Do Not Know About Race." As Dr. Krogman shows, the racial bigots and "haters" (to use PM's new word) have not a scientific leg to stand on.

First of all, even scientists cannot agree on the classification of "races," many preferring to classify all men as being simply members of "the human race." Even if human beings are divided into white, yellow, and Negro, these divisions would not represent biological "races" but sub-species.

Secondly, there is no such thing as a "pure race," Adolf Hitler to the contrary notwithstanding. Thirdly, we don't know how the various sub-species of men arose, nor do we know how traits indicative of stock or "race" are transmitted.

Furthermore, studies have been made in serious search of "race differences," but in all cases differences have been found that cannot be accounted for by differences in environmental conditions. Finally, says Dr. Krogman, not as a sentimental egalitarian, but simply as a scientist reporting the facts as he sees them, there is no such thing as racial "inferiority" or "superiority."

Dean Redfield

IF AS DR KROGMAN says, there is so little positive knowledge on the subject of "race," what is there that is known for sure?

The answer is to be found in the September issue of "Scientific Monthly" which contains an article by Dean Robert Redfield, University of Chicago anthropologist, entitled "What We Do Know About Race."

Dr. Redfield agrees with Dr. Krogman that "race" as a biological phenomenon is a field offers a very few positive conclusions. But as a social phenomenon "race" is a very real thing. In other words, **wherever people believe in "race,"**



S. I. Hayakawa

Race Never The Real Issue

IN OTHER WORDS, **something people think up** (**solidify a prejudice that already existed for other than "racial" reasons.** Prejudice against Jews, for example, existed as religious and economic prejudice long before it became, under Hitler, a "racial" prejudice. Prejudice against Negroes in the United States originates as prejudice against and contempt for people of lower social standing (slaves). Making a "racial" issue out of the class issue perpetuates the class issue. **In short, "race" is the first-class hindering of all time.**

In my next week's column, I shall deal with the third article in this series in the "Scientific Monthly" series: "Racial Development," by Professor Allison Davis.

On Racial Equality

EDITORIAL

Mrs. Marian Simmons of San Diego, California has an article in the Houston Post for Friday, November 5, on racial equality, in which she says the matter is local and Northern-self, has exposed rights to the same fighting for equality toward all men, black, white, yellow.

war in history. Freedom implies equality in a republic. Both freedom and equality means that every individual, every race, and every creed is equal to every other before the law, in the courts, and in economic and civil realms. Anyone contending for the contrary view is attempting to maintain Fascism.

It is not Northerners who are stirring up Negroes, but it is the Negroes themselves who repudiate any idea of inferiority on the basis of color. There are white men superior to certain Negroes, but by the same token, there are Negroes superior to certain white men. Measurement is not an individual scale, measurement is the attitude of the law, the government, and the general willingness of American citizens to accord to black people the same freedom which they so fanatically fight to obtain for themselves. Negroes would be stupid indeed to fight to maintain equality for whites, while cheerfully abandoning it for themselves. Negroes are

Courage Is Contagious

THEN THE BLACK South spoke up to add its testimony of the New South to that which had been given by the poor white South. Edward Jackson, a Negro who lives in Meridian, Miss., and who saw a Diesel engine take his job as a Southern Railroad fireman was asked by the FEPC lawyer:

"You don't believe — that as the railroads argue, hiring of colored men would cause frictions."

"No sir," said Edward Jackson and his voice had the same ring as the voice of Charlie Bruce. "The workers themselves say they would be glad to work with colored firemen."

I hope that President Roosevelt is hearing tonight the voices of Charlie Bruce and Edward Jackson saying the same things in that

there you have "race" problems.

As I understand Dr. Redfield, the process of arriving at a belief in "race" goes something like this: first you have rivalry or conflict as the result of religious, language, or cultural differences, economic competition, or class snobbery. Secondly, you rationalize those rivalries or conflicts by attributing those differences to racial origin.

I am hoping that the hearing the voices of the poor white South and the black South calling on him, in the same words, to give us all equal chances to work on the nation's railroads so that we can all have an equal share in transporting whatever is needed to win this war.

Who was it that said, "Progress is always heralded first by a minority, speaking clearly what the majority are beginning to think." How long will it be before the white fellow-engineers of Charlie Bruce, himself a minority of one, lose the fear of sticking out their necks and start saying what they think.

Not long, friends. Courage is more contagious than cowardice, or the whole human race would have passed out long ago.

Well, that dialogue may have ended with Charlie marked down by many people as being simply one freak Southerner who sided with Negroes. But the concluding testimony of Charlie and of many other witnesses at that hearing proved that the poor white South is drawing closer to the black South for that great day of the awakening.

"Is there any other reason why other white engineers are not here," that was the last question they asked Charlie.

"Yes," said Charlie Bruce. "They would be here but they don't want to stick out their necks."

"No," said Charlie Bruce, a white man under oath, "junior white firemen can replace colored firemen with 15 years' experience at a moment's notice." Previously, he had testified that his line hired only white men as engineers.

Then they asked Charlie, "Does Central hire white firemen?"

"Yes, regularly." Charlie replied "Since 1942, 40 have been hired."

"Are they experienced men?" was the next question.

"No," said Charlie like a careful railroad man placing safety first, "we have to watch them very closely."

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Not Helping Relations.

Williston, S. C. Way_____December 10, 1943

Viola Louise Duvall, who has brought suit in Charleston County on behalf of negro teachers and principals of school district No. 20 of that county, to force trustees to pay negro and white teachers on the same basis, is not helping to promote good relations between the two races. The Roosevelt administration—which also includes Eleanor—to the contrary notwithstanding, the rank and file of the negro race, in our humble opinion, are not the mental equals of their brothers in white, nor are their educators, with a few notable exceptions, to be compared favorably with those of the white race. Proof of this may be seen in the large number of negro draftees who are rejected by selective service boards because of illiteracy. Either this is true or the negro selectees are perpetrating a gigantic fraud against the government and are merely pretending that they can neither read nor write in order to escape military service, which charge would be a reflection on the patriotism of the negro Americans.

If the white and negro teachers were banded into a labor organization, it might be possible for them to force an equal scale of wages—that is, "equal" insofar as all would be paid the same stipend, regardless of qualifications. That seems to be the aim of many labor unions, with the result that many inefficient drones receive the same pay as their more industrious and capable co-workers.

The name Duvall is one that is well known and highly respected in South Carolina, but it is safe to say that its original white bearers and their descendants have done much more to promote the advancement of both races than will result through this ill advised action on the part of a descendant of those who adopted the name following Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. The negroes have gone far since the signing of that momentous document, but their progress still falls far short of matching the culture and training, the resourcefulness and inventive genius that are the product of scores of generations. They are yet to produce a Watt or a Fulton, a Washington or a Jefferson, a Whitney ar an Edison, a Lincoln or a Coolidge, a Mergenthaler or a Steinmetz, a Cleveland or a Wilson, a Wright or a de Forrest, a Lowell or an Emerson—statesmen, genises and men of letters all.

In Seventeen States

Charleston, S. C., News Courier

This is from a statement of the Society for the Advancement of the Colored People: "The Negro knows that his voting strength in 17 or more states with 281 or more votes in the electoral college gives him the potential balance of power in any reasonably close national election".

The accuracy of the statement may be doubted, but that does not diminish the importance of it to the white people of South Carolina and other Southern states. What these colored leaders say is charged with sufficient truth to make the two "great parties", the so-called Democrats and the Republicans, peddlers and courters of the negro vote in the 17 or more Northern states, most of them city-controlled states with negro voters segregated in their cities.

In these cities, the Hague and Kelley, Kelly, Guffey and Marcantonio machines, or the corresponding Republican machines, ally themselves with the negroes for the passage of poll tax repeal bills and other measures for setting up a new "Reconstruction" in the South. December 11, 1943

The News and Courier has greater respect for the Society for the Advancement of the Colored People than for the Democratic and Republican machines in the Northern cities that "cooperate" with them. These Northern negro leaders are sincere; they have something more than offices at stake. Their white associates of the machines have no principles higher than office-getting and would sell out to negroes, Communists, any group or gang. One can't blame negroes for trading with white politicians who want to trade.

The white Southerners can hope for nothing from either party in the North. The Democrats not less than the Republicans are now anti-Southern. They are arrayed against the Southern white people.

The white Southerners can take care of themselves. They can protect themselves against the combined attacks of the Walter Whites, Philip Randolphs, "Bob" Wagners, "Joe" Guffeys, and other assistants of the White House Roosevelts. The Electoral College, there it stands. It was placed in the constitution by the framers to protect the Southern and other rural states from city majorities. The Southerners can nominate electors pledged to Byrd or authorized to make the best terms they can in choosing a president.

The only possible Southern losers by the South's assertion of its independence of the pro-negro national parties would be the office-holders, the salary-drawers. It does not escape notice that they are almost unanimously silent, dumb, when it is suggested that the South choose independent presidential electors in 1944.

When The News and Courier and others propose it they do not denounce the proposers as traitors to the Democratic party. They watch for the cat to jump.

Judy Brown Says:

Birmingham, Ala., News November [illegible]

Increasing Number Of Negro Shows Reveal Race Gifted In Realm Of Stage Entertainment

The increasing number of shows by Negroes, both on and off the screen, and the fact that many prominent musical shows display some Negro talent indicate that the race is gifted in the realm of singing, dancing and making fun and that this is being generally recognized. Their evident love of that sort of thing and the enthusiasm with which they enter into it help along.

Southerners quite as well as Northerners have recognized the ability of many of the great leaders of the race, intellectual and with administrative talent and a capacity for protracted and deep study along scientific lines. We have understood quite as well as our friends above the line that the colored race needs education and in time will take it and make good use of it. We have never been against the education of the Negro. We have been for it, but hampered in this as in many other movements of the South, by lack of funds.

But the point which those others seem never to have grasped and which is crystal clear to Southern white people is that education of the colored people is not synonymous with character. The South is full of churches for colored people but they never yet have had the idea of character and its importance to their advancement.

A 14-year-old Negro boy who worked about our place was untruthful, disobedient and impertinent but his mother said to me "Why, Miss Judy, that boy is smart—he can read and write just fine." I said to her, "What good will that do him if he is not a good boy?" But she didn't get the idea at all.

A colored woman was telling me what a fine preacher they had at her church. "Yes, ma'm," she said, "you jes' oughta hear him."

"And what does he preach to you about? Does he tell you that you should be sober and truthful and honest and decent in all your ways?" I asked.

She looked dazed. "No'm," she said, "not so much. He jes' preaches."

An enormous number of young Negro men were refused by the service, not so much because they were not mentally fit, though this entered in, but because they were physically unfit.

In the course of time perhaps our colored people will get the idea of the importance of character if they would rise above their present standing among the races, as they are educated and read more and finally after a hundred years of so get the point of view of other peoples. But this sounds like a slow process. Mrs. Roosevelt, who without apparently grasping the subject at all, has befriended them so steadily, might be able to give us some suggestions. We get discouraged down here because the finest and best Negroes and, indeed, those who are most apt to have eulogies written about, are the old mammies and uncles who have come down to us from slavery times, who have been reared in some family of Southern white folks and who can neither read nor write.

When the race finally grasps the idea, and not till then, they will rise.

Four Negro Youths On a Subway Train

New York, N. Y. Daily Worker By Oakley Johnson

Four young Negro boys got on the 8th Ave. subway local at 42nd St. about eight o'clock Saturday night, each carrying a shoeshine box and an old kitchen chair. Three of them set their chairs down and sat on them, holding their shoeshine paraphernalia on their laps.

The fourth sat on a regular cart. The white girl, smiling, sat down. seat with his chair and tools in Everybody was smiling. The four front of him, till one of the other youngsters sat so matter-of-factly three called him over and whis- "service," too. Th pered to him. Quite tree dollars a-piece, they said. No, got on at 42nd St., and some of so business-like and self-reliant they weren't related to each other, them were standing. A good-look-and—brave. they said.

ing while girl was standing in front I don't know what the other peo- Louis was reading of No. 4's seat. ple in the car were thinking of, took out a couple

It was only a whispered word, they were practically all looking at on to Hermie and the boys and smiling, and I was could read too. He but No. 4 went back, moved his smiling too, but I know what I candy bar from his chair out in the aisle and sat inwas thinking. I was thinking of out so John could

"Sure we work, people got to make a livin', and we buy war stamps. But discrimination ain't democracy. It don't make sense . . ."

I felt proud of those boys. I felt like they were my own sons. But I don't like the half-free democracy they have in our United States, cooped up there in Harlem. Those boys' brothers, I thought, are fighting in Africa and Sicily and the Solomons for democracy, and, by thunder, I thought, it's time for a new emancipation proclamation for the Negro people, and I'm going to help write it and enforce it.

Survey Reveals Better Race Relations In Atlanta

Informer, Houston, Texas

ATLANTA.—(ANP)—Long delayed recognition of the things Negro leaders have been demanding here for so many years came this week when Carlyle Fraser, president for the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, who released results of a city-wide survey on post-war problems. Surprising to Mr. Fraser was the response to the 3,000 questionnaires mailed to a cross-section of the population, agreeing that race relations loomed near the top of the problems to be solved.

The survey showed, Mr. Fraser disclosed, that five steps should be taken to better race relations in the city. They were (1) The creation of adequate park and recreational facilities for Negroes; (2) adequate schools, with curricula fitted to the needs of the students; (3) encouragement for the training of efficient Negro doctors, lawyers, and other professional men to care for the needs of their own people; (4) equal justice for all races in the courts; (5) an increase in the earning capacity of Negroes, including better wage scales for domestic and unskilled labor.

Commenting editorially on the proposals, the Atlanta Journal said: "All these things deserve serious consideration. The citizens who proposed them want to solve the problem within the framework of southern ideas; but point out that unless the economic level of the Negro is built up, that of the white will be pulled down."

Pennsylvania Welcomes Dixie Migrants

U.S. Senator James J. Davis Is Opposed to Federal Restrictions on Movement of Workers Out of the South and to the Poll Tax

By MICHAEL CARTER

WASHINGTON

Rolypoly, talkative Senator James Davis, Pennsylvania, is opposed to the poll tax, jim crow schools, pellagra, and restrictions on the northward migration of colored peoples. He also thinks that Southerners are friendly to colored people.

"Southerners are the friendliest people I know," he said. "They would stand up and fight for a colored man on a personal basis, even if they would not admit him to the same school."

Before I had time to ask the Senator a single question, he plopped down beside me in his reception room and began talking about the migrations of colored people.

Favors School-Aid Bill

"Many of them who have come to my State can neither read nor write," he stated. "We shall have little difficulty in assimilating them, but we need more money for their education. We'll need this whether or not they live here permanently.

The Senator expressed approval of the Senate bill to appropriate Federal money for schools. "The migration is one of the reasons why I'm for it," he added.

"Another point on migration is this. The migrants are as strong in the head as anybody else, but they've never had a chance. I saw them come up the same way back in 1917—illiterate, abysmally ignorant and with no knowledge of the value of education.

"I've seen their children pass bar examinations. It's all a matter of education, and Pennsylvania will give them that."

Opposes Poll Tax

The Senator will vote to abolish poll tax. "I've always been against a poll tax," Senator Davis said. "I was against it when we had it in Pennsylvania, and I'm against it anywhere." The Senator, who probably likes to think of himself as an epic phrase maker, said:

"No man ought to have to buy a vote and no man ought to have to pay to vote." Enjoying his own phrase he said, "That's good isn't it, I'll use it again."

Then the Senator manufactured another one, "The man who denies another man the right to vote because of a poll tax is just as bad as the man who sells his vote to the highest bidder."

State Tax "Not So Bad"

Continuing to lambast the poll tax, the Senator said:

"The abolition of the poll tax in Federal elections is no invasion of State's rights. If the State wants to pick up some change from local elections, well that's all right with me. I'm against it, but, it's not so very bad.

"But in elections for Congress, the Senate, and President, the matter is different. If some of these orators who favor the poll tax paid more attention to human rights than to States' rights, well . . ." The Senator did not conclude the sentence.

"I wish I could do something to stop whites from fighting each other. I wish I could do something to stop them from fighting colored people," he continued.

"I'd like to see an end to rioting in this country. We have fewer riots here now than during the last war. Small as it is, that's progress."

Anti-Fascist

Senator Davis was Secretary of Labor under three Presidents. He last held that office under Herbert Hoover.

"During that time I heard many people say we needed a Mussolini in America to curb labor," he declared. "The first official act of Mussolini, and all fascists, is to outlaw organized labor.

"It did not take the invasion of Ethiopia to make me see the truth. I was against Mussolini in any form the moment I discovered it. I've seen it in Europe. I know what it's like.

Trade Unions Essential

"I think that the trade union is essential to democracy. I think that the colored man, as he moves North, should join unions. I was a member of a union for fifty-four years.

"There were many colored men in my local—I am accustomed to seeing colored men in unions and in my personal life. I want to continue that custom.

"Now, I can't say that colored people will solve all their problems through unions, but I can say this—they help most people. They ought to help you."

Urges Interracial Unity

In conclusion the Senator said: "I don't know what you mean by 'bi-racialism'—I only know this: We must work together to win this war. Each man should be given due consideration for his effort and his merit.

"I also know that if we don't work together or show too much internal dissension, we can't win."

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS:

Senator Davis said that he would vote for cloture in the event of another filibuster on the anti-poll tax bill. He said he believed in full and open discussion on the floor of the Senate, but in the case of the anti-poll tax bill, he was for cloture, and against filibustering.

The Senator is talkative. He talked so much I could not readily grasp what he was saying or why. I was shocked when he did not invite me into his private office, but talked my arm off in an ante-room. I was amazed that a man who likes to talk would vote for cloture.

My total feeling towards Senator Davis is pleasant. He is a bit of a back-slapper, he is glib, he is the politician, but he sounded straight on our problems.

The Senator showed no profound knowledge of race problems. Nor does he understand many of its subtleties and complexities. He is no more prejudiced than any other average Northerner and a lot less prejudiced than some.

I saw how he treated a minor group of lobbyists who came into his office during my visit. These people were interested in some piece of legislation that would affect them and only them. He was sincere in his treatment of the lobbyists.

He did back-slap, and brush lint of, other people's coat collars, and he did have the politician's handshake, but I got the idea that he was soundly interested in their problems, or the needs of any other section of his electorate.

Senator Davis should be taught more about our problems. He should be pressed into service on the many bills which will help us.

I think he's a passing friend of the race, and as long as Pennsylvania colored voters keep voting, they will be able to get his ear.

In any case, he is no Tydings or Hattie Caraway.

Mayor Who Banned Papers Said He's 'Misunderstood'

Amsterdam Star-News

New York, N. Y.

WALTERBORO, S. C., (ANP)—Disturbed by stories appearing in the weekly press that he had stopped the sale of Negro newspapers in this community, Mayor H. H. McCray, editor of the Lighthouse and Informer, rather than one of criticism."

Wednesday to say that he had misunderstood" and expressed a desire that the matters be worked out through a special interview.

Mayor Sweat said because "we had almost had some race trouble in the town a short while ago and these news agents in and simpleminded and be careful. I had no authority to stop the sale of the newspapers and, nothing at all to do with what went on at the army air base." The mayor asked that a

'It Must Pursue Democratic Ends,' Writers Contend

Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa

NEW YORK, Sept. 9—The September 7 issue of "Common Ground," published by the Common Council for American Unity and edited by M. Margaret Anderson, contains a trenchant main article by John Collier and Saul K. Padover on "An Institute of Ethnic Democracy." Mr. Collier is U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Mr. Padover is assistant to the Secretary of the Interior.

The article, it is explained, was inspired by the fact that recent events have pointed out "a wise democratic solution" of America's race problem. The collaboration is a step in that direction.

RACE POLICY NEEDED

"First of all, we need a policy," it is contended. "The government must have a clearly formulated, far-sighted, courageous "minorities" and race policy. It must have democratic goals and pursue democratic ends. Hush-hush techniques, within a situation so grave, can only be insulting to Americans and to the democratic traditions of our country. Besides, experience has shown that lukewarm action is not going to do any good, and steps, and deserve praise. But anyhow, Negroes, for one, are tiredmore, much more, needs to be of 'gradualism.'" done."

PART ROOSEVELT HAS PLAYED

President Roosevelt, although busy with the conduct of the war, has done some things," it is admitted. "He has issued frequent protests against discrimination. He has formed the Committee on Fair Employment Practices. He has requested the insertion of anti-discrimination clauses in government contracts. These are important

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SHOULD NEGROES SIT AT THE PEACE TABLE

Defender
Chicago, Ill

By M. MARGARET ANDERSON
Editor of Common Ground

Do I think Negroes should be included in the American delegation to the peace conference? Yes. But primarily as Americans, not as Negroes, chosen on precisely the same basis as the other representatives in our delegation—as experts on the economic, sociological, and human problems the peace will have to begin to solve if we are to have a stable world in the future.

YES

I think, for instance, that Abram L. Harris must have a place among the economic advisers; that A. Philip Randolph and Ferdinand Smith should be among the members of the labor delegation; that E. Franklin Frazier and Charles S. Johnson should be among the sociological experts. George Washington Carver, had he lived to participate, might have been the most important single member of the commission that will work on the problem of the world's food supply and agricultural productivity.

Committees dealing with matters of race, minority groups, and colonial dependency should likewise have Negro members, not because the problem of color is a Jim Crow problem to be dealt with only by people of color, but because color has of necessity made the American Negro an unwilling expert on tensions and interrelationships in what has been a world of "white supremacy." Here he can act in liaison capacity to the general delegation, just as I hope there will be other liaison delegates of Italian, German, Polish, Greek, Yugoslav, and other descents, who are closer to understanding the ethnic and cultural problems of their group on both sides of the Atlantic than are outsiders.

Need Colonial Champion

I feel strongly that the recent widespread awakening of the American Negro to the plight and condition of people of color throughout the world should not be wasted at the peace conference—if by the end of the war, at any rate, that interest has become creative knowledge which can be drawn upon for the development of sound world policy. Colonial populations will almost certainly need a champion in the postwar settlement; though if the American Negro is to qualify as such a champion he will have to go far beyond the stage of his present fellow-feeling and evolve concrete programs of action, based on immediate actuality but looking toward what might ultimately be worked out.

Such participation of the Negro in the peace conference ought to be possible. Certainly it is logical and desirable. We are going to need the best brains and psychological understanding the world can supply, from whatever race or country.

On the other hand, such participation gives the Negro little of what he himself wants out of the postwar world; it gives him a certain stature, but it does not solve his problems here at home, does not integrate him as an equal on the daily American level where he must do his living. If he has hopes of the peace conference in this respect, I think he is kidding himself.

No Christmas Party

Many of us would like to think of the peace gathering as a kind of supreme Christmas party where an impartial Santa Claus will give out equitably and generously all the gifts we know we need as individuals as groups, as a world. But the regular Santa Claus was never like that; if Mom and Dad had money, he liked us better than the poor kids down the street.

The composite Santa Claus at the peace party will be no better. The world will not be reborn pure in heart and selfless, just because the day of peace has dawned. This is alarmingly clear from the present mood of Congress, now that immediate military danger no longer threatens and victory seems only a matter of time. The tone of recent Congressional debates over such matters as repeal of the Chinese exclusion acts, the easing of naturalization requirements for parents of soldiers, the release of Japanese Americans from relocation centers, and race relations generally makes one a little sick that we are already so bankrupt in the great business of human relations.

As I see it—I cannot believe I am too pessimistic—unless men of goodwill can suddenly mobilize and exert a miraculous pressure they have so far been incapable of, what we will get out of the peace will be no more than—if as much as—we have been able to achieve on the road to the peace.

Now's Time to Fight

Certainly this is true with the Negro in America. The other delegations, some of whom may be genuinely concerned with the equality and brotherhood of man regardless of color, will hardly be in a position to dictate internal policies of race relationships within the greatest of the four great powers. The "white supremacy" boys will not suddenly see the light.

No, the Negro has his fight to make now. This is the time. Now—when there is mobility and scarcity of labor; when there is a chance to build working relationships under the hint of outside danger if we take time off too long to bicker among ourselves. We fight to build a better world, the slogans say. Those of us who are sincere know that the fight is not only on distant battlefields for distant peoples, but here and now—that the world is as close as our own dinner tables, the family next door, our street, our town, Beaumont, and Detroit. If there is any truth in us, we have to come to the peace conference with part of the job done on the way—not with an empty lie upon our lips and in our heart.

But for all this, while I think he will get little out of it for himself, I hope the Negro will be at the peace table. I hope he will be there as expert in many fields, as conscience, and as leavener. For more than most Americans, from his own historic underprivileged position and his groping toward a world all Americans once dreamed of, he has caught the notion of what we should be fighting for.

By ARCHIBALD MACLEISH
Librarian of Congress

I emphatically agree with Margaret Anderson that Negroes should be included in the American delegation to discuss the peace as Americans and not as Negroes.

Miss Anderson is dead right, I think, in saying that the problem of color is not a "Jim Crow problem to be dealt with only by people of color"—that the problem of color has, however, made American Negro sociologists experts on minority groups of all kinds.

YES

I should agree with Miss Anderson also that the peace conference is not going to be a "kind of supreme Christmas party," where the problems will all be solved. But I think the possibilities of the conference are potentially greater than she thinks they are. This conference will not be, and cannot be, a return engagement of the Versailles conference—a kind of dramatic revival. Too many people see too clearly the shape and nature of the real issues, and too many people know too well what a failure to deal with those issues would mean.

The delegates at the peace conference which meets at the close of this war will have behind them, looking over their shoulders, and waiting to face them when they return, a public opinion which may not know precisely what it wants but which knows very well what it does not want, and will not accept, and won't be asked to put up with.

Moreover, a tremendous amount of preparatory work will have been done in England and in Russia and in China and in this country. The work of the food conference at Hot Springs is only one example. The world is aware that this work is in progress, and delegates would find it difficult, even if they so desired, to ignore the results of this work or to neglect the issues with which it deals.

We are very foolish indeed if we imagine a peace conference can settle, by some foreign logic, problems which we have not been able to solve at home. We are merely escaping from reality into dreams if we allow ourselves to translate our problems at home into problems abroad and thus forget them.

But I do not follow Miss Anderson in her conclusion that the peace conference is, therefore, of minor importance. I think the conference will not only offer an opportunity for the serious and informed discussion of the most basic social issues, but that the conference, in the light of all that has gone before it, will be compelled to discuss those issues whether or not particular delegates or particular delegations wish to discuss them.

It is not only possible, it is highly probable, that the most important work of the conference will be done not by those who discuss high political matters, such as frontiers, boundaries, and alliances, but by those who work in the tough earthy clay of human relationships, social as well as economic. There are Negroes highly qualified for such work and the contribution they could bring to these studies is, as Miss Anderson puts it, greater precisely because they are Negroes.

WMC Official Blames White Women For Spread Of Hate

Defender
Chicago, Ill

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—The white women of the South were held directly responsible for the circulation of unfounded race hatred, in a statement by Will W. Alexander, Vice president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, made the charge in an address before the Women's National Democratic club. He asserted that reports of the existence of numerous "Eleanor clubs," which are purported to function for the embarlity, our gullability in relation to spread rumors which create and spread unfounded false rumors," he said. "There never was an Eleanor woman's bridge club in a small town in South Carolina which had started a rumor of impending race riots in that community.

"When we traced the rumor to the club, we learned that two women who had lost their cooks had started it," he explained. "There are a good many middle class women who are upset about losing their cook than they are about our Army losing a battle," he added.

"I spent three months of my time in an address before the Women's National Democratic club but that lie went from one ear to the other. There is no greater reflection on our intelligence as a people than our credulity for rumors affecting people of minority races, he continued.

The Question of the Week.

Informer Houston Texas

AUG 28 1943

Should All Japanese Be Removed From the West Coast Area?

YEA AUG 28 1943

Any group protective measure has a way of militating against the few for the many A removal of all Japanese from the west coast area is a necessary safeguard during these times. It would be impossible to set up machinery enough to keep in constant touch with free moving Japanese citizens in places like San Francisco, or Los Angeles. Relocating all, dangerous to the eye or not, would save much trouble.

M. Parker.

—•—

If *Shintoism is what I think it is, I believe that most Japanese believe in it. It is too dangerous to allow persons to move freely whose bodies are here, and whose best wishes are elsewhere.

L. Whitaker.

*Shintoism—belief in the divine power of the Mikado.

—•—

Unfortunately yes. I have attended school with fine Japanese students in two different northern universities. There has, however, been a peculiar thing about the dozen or so that I have known fairly well and that is their keen interest in what is happening in Japan, and the fact that one (at least I couldn't) had no way of really knowing where the sympathy was. On discussions of politics etc. They had the uncanny gift of talking much and telling little if you know what I mean. Relocation is a necessary step during these times.

Anon.

NAY

Any Japanese who have taken the oath of allegiance to America, who are law-abiding, and who in other ways show that they are not a part of anti-American activities should not be removed from any area in which they may happen to be. I do not see any wisdom of moving people who had nothing to do with the dastardly attack on Pearl Harbor. Of course the activities of suspicious ones should be checked.

Mrs. Clara Scott.

AUG 28 1943

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The Japanese who are settled along the west coast area entered this country with the approval of our migration authorities. If they have established citizenship they should of course have the rights and privileges of citizenship that they have been guaranteed. Many of these people are of Japanese parentage, but have never seen Japan, and are not acquainted with any of her governmental ambitions etc.

Mrs. C. J. Stanley.

AUG 28 1943

I belong here, and I do not want anyone trying to resettle me in Liberia no matter what happens. An American Japanese citizen unless he proves himself to be otherwise has his sympathies on this side of the ocean. If he proves to be otherwise; he should expect resettlement. jailing, or deportation.

NEGROES SHOULD READ BUT NOT RUN

"Go North, Black Man" is the advice that New Republic's managing editor Thomas Sancton gives to Negroes who live in the South, (The article is summarized in Racial Digest for August, 1943.) Migration, says Mr Sancton is bitterly opposed in the South, but is the only hope of Negro America. Many others whose opinions, like those of Mr. Sancton, are weighty and merit consideration have advised the N[illegible]o [illegible] Full enfranchisement, and generally a fairer share of democracy in the North are the obvious bases for encouraging migration.

AUG 28 1943

Although United States Census Department figures show that the present war has put more than a million colored people in jobs; we cannot deny the fact that many Southern Negroes who wanted to work at skilled and semi-skilled jobs have had to go North, East and West. Even so, we question the advisibility of urging mass migration of Negroes Northward. Aside from the fact that neither individuals nor groups solve their problems by running from them; there are still uncomplimentary evidences of unplanned, but mass-like migration of Negroes to the North during and at the close of the World War.

Housing and job shortages are just two of the several headaches which group movement tends to cause. These two problems would of course become nil. if as Mr. Sancton suggests, migration could continue under the guidance of sound federal policy in order to avoid congestion in a few northern cities. Of course if that federal policy which he has in mind is to be shaped by Congress, that is another story.

Negroes Must Not Abdicate Rights

The long-suffering Negro, irrespective of geographic location, many times tires of his peculiar burden and despairs, but his best gains are made when he stands and not when he runs. If Army Chief of Starr Marshall had acted on Senator Bankhead's suggestion (1942) that southern Negro soldiers be trained in the South, and northern Negro soldiers be trained in the North; there would have been even more (if one can conceive of it) mistreatment and abuse of Negro soldiers than we have witnessed. Such policy would have definitely and publicly placed governmental approval on sectional abuse of Negro members of the armed forces.

Many Negroes who had an opportunity to choose between living in the North and South and who chose the latter did so not as a missionary venture, but because they felt that a Negro American could actually live in relative peace and happiness anywhere in America. Of course only the foolish Negro hopes to lead an entirely passive and at the same time racially useful existence in the South.

Negro Rejected Repatriation

Henry Clay, Andrew Johnson and Thomas Jefferson were co-sponsors of a plan to colonize Negroes in Liberia. Negroes rejected the plan. The late Marcus Garvey got as far as the boat-buying-stage in his effort to settle American Negroes in Africa in order to solve their problems here. Widely known Senator Bilbo revived the repatriation idea to no avail. To have accepted elither of these, or similar plans, would have been to disavow our place in American life. Mass migration northward is inherently the same principle.

We do not advocate a glutton-for-punishment philosophy for ourselves in the South, but we hold that anybody who wants to move North should do so. The center of Negro population has steadily been moving northward. Some of the Negroes who have migrated recently will stay; others will return South. Concerted migration would simply change the geography of our sundry problems. Southern whites are becoming increasingly used to Negroes reading but not running.

AUG 28 1943

White Color No Criterion Of Superiority-Mrs. FDR

Defender
Chicago, Ill

NOV 6 1943

OXFORD, Pa.—"White people have got to learn just being white isn't anything which sets you above or apart from somebody else," stated Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt last Friday night to an interracial audience in the Mary Dod Brown Memorial chapel on the campus of Lincoln university.

The 172 delegates to the NAACP Fifth Annual Student Conference at Lincoln university, Oct. 29-31, heard Mrs. Roosevelt warn that the period after peace "will be a difficult one for many people all over the world."

Mrs. Roosevelt told the students who came from thirty-five colleges from as far south as Florida and as far west as Michigan that the democracy for which America is fighting can never become a reality until all citizens regardless of color or race are assured equal opportunity for job training and employment.

Recalling her recent journey to the Southwest Pacific area, Mrs. Roosevelt narrated many experiences involving Negro servicemen. She said they were treated no differently from the whites, and that they, too, wanted to know if the postwar world would offer them opportunities to make use of the skills and trades they are now following in wartime.

Others who spoke at the opening meeting were Walter [illegible] Wright, president, of Lincoln university; Mrs. Ruby Hurley, NAACP Youth secretary; Cornelius Jenkins, president of the Lincoln chapter of the NAACP, and Frank Wilson, dean of men at Lincoln.

Actress Jean Muir stated that Hollywood is now giving better roles to Negro actors. She cited "Bataan" as a step in the right direction and condemned the picture "Alaskan Highway" which despite the fact that Negroes had a large part in the actual building of the highway, uses no Negroes in the film.

Lawrence Reddick, curator of the Schomburg Collection in New York told his listeners that anti-colored propaganda has given the public an unfavorable conception of the colored citizen. Most prejudice, Dr, Reddick stated, stems from stereotype pictures which the average white man carries of the colored American. He suggested that "local interracial committees for cultural democracy be formed."

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Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, said that until there was enactment of a bill for federal education appropriations to the states it was doubtful whether the fight to equalize teachers' salaries in the south would be entirely successful.

The delegates elected the following officers: chairman, Gloria Morgan, Wayne university, Detroit, Mich.; first vice-chairman, Joe Maxwell, Johnson C. Smith university, Charlotte, N.C.; second vice chairman, Joe Howard, Howard Univ., Washington, D.C.; secretary, Matteba[illegible] Wesley, Virginia Union university, Richmond, Va.; assistant secretary, Marion Harris, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.

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SHOULD NEGROES SIT AT THE PEACE TABLE

YES

By ROBERT REDFIELD
Professor of Social Sciences, University of Chicago

I think the most competent people should represent our country at the peace conference, and that no racial or other factor should prevent us from sending those who are most competent.

Among Negro Americans there are many men and women with competences that recommend their selection. In connection with the important problems of minorities and race relations, and especially in understanding of the international significance of local race and minority matters, American Negroes have very exceptional competence of which this country should take full advantage.

This being so, the absence of Negroes from a delegation of considerable size could not be validly explained as an incidental result of the selection of the most competent Americans, but would be an evidence of unjust and unwise discrimination.

By MARJORIE McKENZIE
Prominent Washington Attorney

The extremely wise and simple gesture of appointing a Negro to the American delegation to the Peace Conference would delay the next World War by a generation.

I am therefore not concerned about whether, but only about how, the appointment might be accomplished. Everyone, including the minorities themselves, has tried to believe that we are not now fighting a racial war, but in challenging the Nazi ideology and in meeting Japan's opposition to Western domination of the Far East, we are doing, among other things, just that.

YES

The obiter dicta of this war contains a lot of dynamite about world liberation and the freedom of the common man. It so happens that most of the common men of the world are black, brown and yellow and now that they are beginning to get the drift of how things could be for them, they have resolved to get the obiter dicta into the decision itself. This is to say that the peace treaty must include specific remedial provisions for the evils they have suffered. They strongly suspect that they won't achieve their goal this time, so they are thinking even now about the next war and the next treaty, at which time numerous precautions against a repetition of their current predicament will have been taken.

Certainly anyone can see how potentially dangerous a future we face and any sane person dreads the day that the world is to be launched into a war that is frankly racial—that has no other political orientation or motivation. Tempting as the prospect may appear to be to the colored people of the world in their present oppressed state, they would soon find that in sitting on top of their white oppressors, they had only reversed the cycle and settled nothing.

Although the solution to our racial difficulties may not be found in racial wars, the non-white people of the world are being pushed into the posture of white statesmen to find partial answers to their problems here and now within the context of the democratic philosophy, even during a war for its actual survival. Consequently, the colored man—the American Negro, the African, the Chinese, the Indian—has become a symbol of this war, a symbol of the faith, the integrity and the good-will of the democracies. Does any American or British leader believe for a moment that these people will be content with being omitted from the peace conference or satisfied with representation by white men?

White men have forgotten their darker brothers' interests too many times, but there can be no forgetting if black and brown and yellow men are present themselves to jog the memories of the treaty makers.

Aside from the symbolic implications of representation at the Peace Conference, there are other reasons why an American Negro should be appointed to the delegation. The Negro is a fusion of many interests which should be heard, for he represents the worker, the underprivileged, the disfranchised, quite as much as he represents his race.

John Temple Graves thinks there should be a Negro on the peace delegation if it is large enough— a sort of Jim Crow delegate—but he recommends that it be a frightened Southern Negro, who would not press for concessions. The provincial conceit of the South never ceases to amaze. Mr. Graves would cut a world peace conference to a mere scrap of cloth to cover the narrow interests of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina et al.

Certainly there ought to be no room for sectional or even national thinking at this peace conference, but I am sadly confident that there will be and that 25 years from now we shall be taking the peace treaty apart to decide what was wrong with it. One of the error discovered will be that no black man had a voice in its making.

Defender
Chicago, Ill

ALA. WHITE HITS VAGRANCY LAW

By JOHN LeFLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

MOBILE, Ala.—Courageous Peter Bryce Hamilton, white, chairman of Mobile's civil service personnel board and prominent attorney, this week assailed action of the October grand jury in recommending that the courts give elasticity to existing vagrancy laws so that arrests under the work-or-fight order of innocent Negro men and women, and a few poor whites, may continue.

Hamilton, speaking before a group of colored citizens representing various civic movements, told his audience that merit and fair play, if held uppermost in mind, "would, it seems to me, go far toward solving inter-racial problems. But selfishness interferes with fair play and blinds people to the merit in others.

"When prejudices of the people are exploited for corralling votes it is the selfish in business and politics capitalizing on the selfishness in the people.

"Actions of our recent grand jury were motivated by ignorance and prejudice . . . this grand jury said the vagrancy laws should have a 'liberal' interpretation. It is for the courts to construe the law, not any jury. The undisputed law from time immemorial has been that penal statutes should be 'strictly' construed . . . favorable to the accused, but whether this is true or not . . . it is not for this jury to decide. The jury's duty is neither to make the law nor to construe it."

Hamilton had previously publicly announced that colored citizens felt that the vagrancy laws were being used as an instrument of oppression against them.

More than 350 colored men and women have been arrested in Mobile alone on the so-called work-or-fight order of Gov. Chauncey Sparks.

The arrests continued at a dizzy pace until Negroes, guided by the N.A.A.C.P., determined that they would challenge the work-or-fight order in the courts. Inferior court Judge Tisdale J. Touart dismissed a number of defendants arrested in work-or-fight drives, because it was his opinion that the state's vagrancy laws could not be construed to include persons arrested on such order. However, Judge Norvelle R. Leigh, in the recorder's court, relentlessly imposed fines on victims brought into his court.

The Mobile N.A.A.C.P., estimated that arrests and jailing of innocent people under the work-or-fight order had cost Negro workers more than $10,000 in fines, bail fees and bond loan charges, and the loss of perhaps thousands of hours from vital war work.

Defender
Chicago, Ill

THE LIVING SOUTH

By HAROLD PREECE

Art Front In Dixie

THERE ARE still a few pre-depression intellectuals, hanging around the cocktail bars, who like to join in the chorus of "the Bible Belt."

Our only culture is the elementary one of the little country church and the preacher who twists his verbs, say these gentlemen who like to get off into corners and whisper that "Hitler isn't half bad because he's put the rabble in its place."

We just laugh off that one about "the Bible Belt." Lots of us are critical about the shortcomings of the church. But all of us realize that the church was, for generations, the only place where every victim of the poll tax still had a voice.

Now, Virginia's Hampton Institute is making us "Bible Belt" folks conscious of the truth expressed, in so many words, by the New Testament, that "man does not live by bread alone."

Harp songs, the Negro spiritual, great new, democratic culture and the tall tale as being simply ing born here as "the corny culture of the Bible age inevitably g feeling between

operatives to assure the daily loaf to millions of our people still hitched to the cotton plow on the great plantations.

But if democracy is to be a full cake problem for both races than meal, then we also need the pictures expressing democracy which gotten together before in history.

We need the trade unions to are being turned out by these bread to our industrial young artists of Hampton.

We need more co-

Good folks of both colors in the South are too busy building democracy, has working people.

Hampton N.Y. Exhibit

I FELT PROUD as a Southerner when these Negro boys and girls who hail from both sides of the Mason-Dixon line won such a big hand from critics at the recent Young Negro Art Exhibition in New York's Museum of Modern Art.

For I know how much creative genuis has been sweated out over the hoe and the plow by Negroes and by poor white Southerners. I've seen share-cropper women in the East Texas country of Marse Martin Dies plant geraniums in washtubs or frame pictures from calendars in that eternal longing of the people for both beauty and freedom.

I've seen Negroes whittle amazingly graceful little figures of animals and people out of potatoes or pieces of laundry soap.

You see the genius of the Southern people is like a great river that has been dammed. That genuis, like a pent up river, constantly over-runs its banks cutting a channel wherever it finds warm, pliable earth.

Hampton is the part of the river that has been cleared. The time is coming when the choked stream will nourish in its fullness the poets, the painters, and the composers who will arise from that South breaking its dams.

I wish to express my warm gratitude, as a white Southerner, to Hampton for developing the creative genius of my people whose skins are darker. Their sensitive hands will help build the culture of that New South which will not stint on freedom and beauty for all its children.

Prize To Redding

THE WHITE SOUTH paid a fitting tribute to the black South personified by Hampton and by a Negro literary artist on its faculty when white North Carolinians awarded the annual Mayflower Society prize to J. Saunders Redding the other day.

It was the first time in the history of the South that such an award had been presented to a Negro author. The award is even more remarkable when one remembers that faculty member Redding's prize volume, "No Day of Triumph," is unsparing in its criticism of the abuses to which drawling Southern fascists subject the Southern Negro.

I believe that the South is ready to receive more of the enlightened culture which Hampton can give us. I'd like to see it make a start by giving the masses of the Southern people a chance to see what young Negro artists have done for democracy in their paintings. I'd like to see the pictures that were shown in New York exhibited in the South's trade union halls, in its country churches, and its forks of the road schoolhouses.

Since inspiration is so contagious that there is no cure for it, I feel that many a young Negro and a young white Southerner would be moved to add his contribution to the democratic culture either by his brush or his pen.

I would like to see Charles White's mural, "Contribution of the Negro to Democracy in America," hung in every Southern courthouse where Negroes are barred from juries and from the right to vote. I would like to see that mural smite the conscience of every Southern sheriff who arrests Negroes on framed up, phoney little charges and sends them out to the cotton patch to labor without pay like the ancient Jews compelled to make bricks without straw.

I would like to see the Federal government appropriate some money for the cultural development of the South. I would like to see it establish a democratic art project headed by that capable Austrian artist and psychologist, Dr. Viktor Lowenfeld, who has gotten such fine results while teaching these young Negroes at Hampton.

That may not happen for a long time. But I'm convinced that Hampton's artists will go on creating for the New South because the New South is in the blood and bone as well as in the brush of the Negro artist.

Dustin' off the NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

WHAT THE DEVIL WOULD LIKE FOR A CHRISTMAS GIFT

THE RECENT vocal outburst of Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith in the senate during the course of a debate on the Soldier Vote Bill recalls the story of the wise father who gave advice to his son on the eve of the latter's participation in a moot question regarding affairs of the community. He said, pointing in the direction of the imaginary seeing assailant: "a black brute did it, lynch him, for God's sake, lynch 'm!" The crowd in fever heat replied: "Here's a rope; here's a gun, 'Cotton Ed' you lead us!" Blease, as sordid-minded and contaminated with race virus as he was, could not match Smith's platform vulgarity, and South Carolina rewarded him with another term in the U. S. Senate with a majority of 35,000 votes—so vile and low is the political makeup of the state.



Defender
Chicago, Ill.

Lucius Harper

you told me—kept my mouth shut—but somehow they found out I was a fool anyway."

Quiet or vocal, wherever "Cotton Ed" Smith, senator from South Carolina, appears, the public finds out that he is a fool anyway. For thirty-five years—since his first election in 1908—he has been clowning in the senate; in fact, "on and off the stage." He began early to disgrace the high office of senatorship by resorting to buffoonery at election time. Running against Gov. John Evans, a protege of "Pitchfork Ben Tillman" who had already polluted South Carolina with racism, Smith launched his candidacy by riding up to the courthouse square in Columbia sitting atop five bales of cotton drawn by four mules. Near his right foot stood an old illiterate white farmer kissing Smith's shiny boot in benediction for what the candidate had done politically in gaining a higher price for cotton. Holding a white-tipped bud of the boll in his hand, he thundered to the crowd of illiterate voters: "My sweetheart! my sweetheart! Others may forget you, but you will always be my sweetheart."

* * *

"COTTON ED" can make only two speeches: about cotton and the Negro. When the price of cotton is up and no longer a political issue, he jumps on the Negro question with both feet and keeps the topic of white supremacy alive in his state. In one campaign against Cole Blease in 1932, he outdid that political degenerate with such a raw speech on the issue of white supremacy that no one would dare print it and send it through the mails. It was an all-time low in the political annals of Carolina, and the hillbillies, even today refer to it as "The Speech." Smith with his vulgar antics invented a description of the rape of a white woman by (to use his own words), a "big, burly, black brute." He threw in all the sound effects: shrieks, groans and pleadings of the woman. He finally threw himself on the floor, screaming in horror and holding his throat as if being strangled into submission. He arose and staggered, as if the culprit's desire had been accomplished. He shouted, pointing in the direction of the imaginary assailant: "a black brute did it, lynch him, for God's sake, lynch 'm!" The crowd in fever heat replied: "Here's a rope; here's a gun, 'Cotton Ed' you lead us!" Blease, as sordid-minded and contaminated with race virus as he was, could not match Smith's platform vulgarity, and South Carolina rewarded him with another term in the U. S. Senate with a majority of 35,000 votes—so vile and low is the political makeup of the state.

Smith never misses an opportunity to utilize the Negro to maintain his political lordship in Carolina, or elsewhere for that matter. He said in his recent speech in the senate: "There is not a human being on the earth that I love more than I do the old Negroes at home. Old Uncle Bill carried me in his arms and I loved him almost more than I did my mother and my father, but I did not want him to eat at my table or sleep in my bed, and he did not presume to want to do it." In fact, the real truth of the matter—the logical conclusion—is that "Cotton Ed" slept in the bed with Old Uncle Bill times without number, but, of course, this wasn't the time or the place for Smith to admit it. What southern white child incapable at that age of understanding prejudice, hasn't eaten out of the same plate with the Old Uncle Bills, and snuggled up close behind them in the same bed to keep warm? "Cotton " is as big a liar on the senate floor as he is off it.

* * *

SMITH'S FATHER was a minister; his two brothers were ministers, but "Cotton Ed" says he was banished from "the cloth" in order that he could do all the "cussing for the family." He is adept; he can scarcely engage in private conversation without resorting to profanity. Once he thought he possessed aristocratic background, and his brother Bishop Coke Smith made a trip to Scotland to look up the old family tree. His mother was a descendant of the Clan McLeods, natives of the Scottish Isle of Skye. Behold, the good bishop found that the McLeods "were about the most astute horse and cattle thieves Scotland has ever known." So Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith's inborn habit of thievery comes natural: his habit of robbing Negroes in Carolina of their franchise, and his custom of keeping the hundred or more Negroes on his plantation—tenants and sharecroppers—so deeply in debt that they cannot escape to better shores. In fact, if he were not a senator, with ample political protection, his Carolina plantation might offer some interesting data to FBI agents seeking to ferret out peonage.

If you recall, "Cotton Ed" stormed out of the 1936 Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia when he learned that a colored minister was going to open the session with prayer. It was good political fodder in Carolina. Smith said: "Yes, I walked out of the convention in Philadelphia. I'll do it again. I'm not going to be a party to making the Negro a part of the government. You can't call the office without insulting the man. I am not opposed to any Negro praying for me, but I don't want any blue-gummed, slew-footed Senegambian praying for me politically!"

Whereas, we end with Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith for the moment But we trust the next time a colored person utters a prayer in the presence of "Cotton Ed." he won't be able to hear it; we would much rather read his obituary. How wonderful it would be if one of Smith's colored sharecroppers could meet Old Uncle Bill at the crossroads at Christmas Eve and say: "Whatcha reckon happened, Uncle Bill: de Devil axed de Lawd fer a Christmas gift, and praise goodness, de Lawd up and givvem ole 'Cotton Ed' Smith!"

WASHINGTON — The newspaper PM has coined a new word to apply to the Rankins, Bilbos, Connallys, Coughlins, Starks, LAFs and their ilk. The word was selected from submissions in a contest for which the prize was a $50 war bond.

Already the paper has started using the new word in its stories and headlines. It is—Hatelers.

PM Coins Word For Race Haters

The Future Of The Race Is In The Future Of The Nation

BUFFALO.— (ANP) —"The future of the Negro in this country is bound up with the future of the nation," declared Dr. James E. Shepard, president of the North Carolina college for Negroes, Durham, in a speech titled "Racial and Interracial Relations in North Carolina and the South," on the 20th anniversary of the Michigan Ave. YMCA here Friday.

"The 80 years which have passed since the signing of the Emancipation proclamation in 1836 have been marked by social and technological advances of an unusual order," stated Dr. Shepard, who then went to relate how the Negro, through his industry, perseverance, and his faith, was able to struggle slowly and painfully up from the pitiable place in which slavery had left him.

"This does not mean that all wrongs have been righted," he declared, "nor that anyone believes that ours in the Utopia among nations. But there is every reason to believe we are steadily approaching the goals towards which we are striving these years bound up with the future of the nation, as an act of justice upon the Negro in America, that there is no country other than ours in which 12,000,000 or more Negroes have found the opportunity to do as much for which we find in this country."

In citing the progress of his race, and the same experience that the state holding the same for three years training. He said that salary of Negro school commission for the has increased the salary about $300,000 teachers of the state above that done without pressannually. "This source," he said, "is an act of justice from my because those who were in the lead

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(Defender Washington Bureau)

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WORLD VIEW

Defender
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By JOHN ROBERT BADGER

OCT 23 1943

China And Negro America

THE THIRTY-SECOND anniversary of the Chinese Republic, widely celebrated throughout the world, calls attention to a fact which has largely escaped notice of the Negro press and Negro leadership, namely, the profound significance of China's world role to Negro-America.

The Negro's direct connections with China have been limited generally to dealings with Chinese small businesses, such as cafes, laundries, hotels, groceries. Sometimes, Chinese businessmen, aping the ways of the dominant strata, have practiced discrimination against Negroes. I have heard Negroes say that they received no better treatment from Chinese than from Bourbons of the Deep South. And in California, a few Negroes have picked up the West Coast's prejudices against Asiatics.

Yet, in these direct relations, some Negroes have perceived an identity of interest with the Chinese people. For instance, it was Clarence Muse, the Negro actor, and officials of the Los Angeles Branch of the NAACP, who raised several thousand of dollars to buy medical materials and supplies for the Chinese armies.

Common Chinese-Negro Interests

HOW MUCH more interest would Negro-America give to China, however, if we understood the meaning China's struggle has for us, if we knew that every step the China has taken toward full freedom stretched across the broad Pacific to bring our own aspirations closer to realization! It is not as far-fetched as it seems.

De we, as an integral part of the American people, not have a stake in the defeat of Japanese fascism? Then China is our main ally.

De we not wish to see the total elimination of the cult of racism based on color, the creed of the Kiplings and the Dixie Bourbons, the ideological brace for the vise that grips Africa, the Indies, and ourselves? China is the classic answer to Kipling's creed on the "lesser breeds," to Hitler's "Aryan supermen," to Talmadge's "white supremacists," to all the pseudo-scientific bunk, blood myths, chauvinistic nonsense, and unadulterated demagogy which pretend that skin complexion and hair texture give a warrant for some peoples to rule and exploit others.

Are we not now hoping and praying and striving for a new organization or world society in which the forces of tyranny and slavery will be weakened and the forces of freedom and justice strengthened? China's emergence as a great power has already shifted the balance of power, altered the relations between states, tipped the scales of contending forces decisively in favor of those which stand for security, democracy, peace.

Inspiration And Example

DO WE sometimes despair of progress, grow faint-hearted or cynical, renounce our aims, and take the easy way of compromise and capitulation? Look to China! There is our inspiration and example.

For four thousand years the common man and woman of China lived the life of a serf. We think our two hundred years of slavery were torture without parallel. But ours was but one-twentieth of China's ordeal in point of time. As for misery, what yardstick can measure degrees of pain and desolation? Suffice it to say that during these forty centuries the average Chinese, like the average Negro, kept constant watch with hunger and the threat of sudden, violent death.

OCT 23 1943

And in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, if he journeyed to the cities, he discovered that light-skinned men from Europe and America, lounging in exclusive clubs from which he was barred, conducting their affairs in courts and offices over which his own government had no control, clung like leeches to his country, sucking the blood of his toil, riveting ever more tightly about his throat the yoke of colonialism.

But came the day in 1912, the "Emancipation Proclamation" day of China, when a great leader, Sun Pat-sen, led rebellious millions and established the Republic of China.

We can but feebly express our admiration for the heroism of China in the ensuing years till today. The struggle for unity within China still goes on, paced by the struggle against the Japanese invaders. But in China's very struggle is a lesson for us, the lesson of how a people, long oppressed and much divided, were able to unite themselves, and later join other threatened peoples, in the joint battle of independence, freedom and peace.

Crump Warns 'Outsiders' To Stay Out Of Memphis

Defender
Chicago, Ill

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — "Boss" Ed Crump, Shelby county political chief who two weeks ago prevented A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, from making a scheduled appearance at a mass meeting here, this week warned "outsiders" to keep out of Memphis affairs and declared that the city would never have any race trouble if it were left alone.

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Dragging in the "social equality" bugaboo, Crump asserted that although 99 per cent of the Memphis Negroes are satisfied with the status quo, one per cent of the population will be satisfied only when they attain social equality. "The few who want that had better give serious thought to this matter as long as they live in this section.

"That unhappy one per cent, with a mistaken sense of their wrongs, usually pass down unwise thoughts to those further down the ladder and then incite to mischief," the demagogue blasted.

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Discussing the possibility of interracial clashes Crump said: "Many of us would actually walk from here to Chicago if that would prevent any serious race trouble here, killing perhaps thousands of law-abiding, respectful citizens of the Negro race, and many whites; but, I am sure we would also walk that distance to deal with any man or set of men if they were trying to stir up trouble between the races and disrupt our friendly, amicable relations.

"We should anticipate serious race trouble here with the loss of life and the destruction of property, it would take us 25 years to recover—regain our friendly cooperation.

"While I am on this subject, no blatherskite, or demagogue of the North or South should be permitted to interfere with the friendly relations between the races that now exist in Memphis.

"Free speech does not mean that anyone has a right to holler 'fire' in a crowded theatre, nor does it mean that anyone, white or black, has a right to incite race trouble.

"While the Negroes of Memphis pay only about 5 per cent of the taxes they should be dealt with fairly, and honestly—fair living conditions and fair working conditions. We should never have any trouble in Memphis and will not if we run our own affairs and no outsiders will ever run them for us," said Crump.

Randolph in replying to Crump declared:

"The statement by E. H. Crump reads like a page from Hitler's Mein Kampf, and constitutes a challenge not only to Negroes of Memphis and the entire country, but also to the Federal Government. Is Memphis a part of the United States of America or is it a foreign country?

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"Can Cordell Hull conscientiously speak of this government joining to carry the four freedoms into the countries under Nazi yoke when there is no right of freedom of speech and assembly in Memphis, a city of his own state?"

National GRAPEVINE

Defender
Chicago, Ill

By CHARLEY CHEROKEE

Away Down South In Dixie

WHEN THE BAND PLAYS "DIXIE," growing numbers of Negroes sing: "I'm glad I'm not in Dixie, hurray, hurray ..... Oh I'm glad I'm not in the land of cotton, where the folks is poor and the vittles rotten, get away, get away," etc. They ain't kiddin', chum.

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Negro leaders in the South command Charley's respect. This includes teachers and everybody who dares tell a Negro that although he is dirt, so is the white man, and it's the same dirt. It's one thing to fight for the race up North where free speech is still reluctantly allowed, and another thing to speak out down South where the penalty is sudden death. True, many Southern Negroes compromise with manhood rather than lose their jobs, or see their children hungry, or their houses burned down, their women lynched and worse.

So Charley's hat is off to those Negroes there who still hold up their heads, unafraid, undaunted — sharecroppers who organize in face of lynchings, the educated few who command respect through sheer strength of character, the "bad Negroes" who will die but not bow — men every one.

The Southerners to be despised and unmasked in their villainy, are the self-styled white southern "liberals," like the newspublishing quartet, Virginius Dabney of Richmond, John Temple Graves of Birmingham, Mark Ethridge of Louisville, and Jonathan Daniels of Raleigh. These educated male puppies who know better, lead the white and black southern mind around with clever editorials. You know the line — "Negro advancement must be a slow 500-year process" ..... "only Negro leaders are the Mammys and Uncle Tom land grant college presidents" ..... "every Negro leader above the Mason-Dixon Line is a Communist and red" ..... "we must sit down calmy and compromise."

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Thing to remember is that Negroes didn't get admtited into the Navy, or Army Air Forces, or war industry, or get housing projects because southern colored and white leaders sat down and compromised. These and other things are result of bitter, uncompromising unceasing pressure fighting by Negroes in the North. And whether you like it or not or believe it or not, it's so.

Police Chief Orders All Negroes To Wear Badges

SANDERSVILLE. — (ANP) — A good example of the fascist-like application of the unconstitutional "work or go to jail" laws hastily adopted by many southern communities was disclosed here with the announcement by the chief of police Wednesday that all Negroes, men and women, must carry identification badges indicating the name of their employer and their work schedule. The order does not apply to white citizens, it was explained.

Result of Farm Labor

The order was issued at the suggestion of County Agent S. G. Mercer, who cited the extreme shortage of farm labor in this area. Any Negro over 16 years of age not found in possession of one of the badges will be subject to arrest and prosecution, Mercer said.

...In addition all Negroes employed in town must report every Wednesday morning during the harvesting season for a day's work on the farms. Stores of the community are being closed every Wednesday to allow use of their workers on the farms.

The announcement coming from the fourth service command at Atlanta that 150 soldiers would be sent to assist Washington county farmers in harvesting crops was being closely watched by observers, who anticipated that only Negro troops possibly from Fort Benning would be dispatched for this work. It was disclosed that a kitchen would be setup at the Washington county fairgrounds where the troops will be quartered. Breakfast and supper will be prepared on the grounds with the men carrying their lunch to the fields. The soldiers will work eight hours per day and receive the prevailing wage of $1.50, it was disclosed by Mercer.

Protests Race Hate Against Japanese

As usual, Columnist Charley Cherokee has brought up a very important matter which only a militant guy like Charley would dare tackle. It concerns the current color-hate campaign against the Japanese people.

Since the war began, Caucasian columnists and commentators have been a disturbing amount of glee out of calling the Japanese people yellow monkeys, brown barbarians, uncivilized colored monsters, and a lot of other obscene names which clearly show that the white writers are not denouncing Japan solely on the basis of that nation's aggressive designs and of the treachery at Pearl Harbor. Rather, the general trend of journalistic thought seems to convey a denunciation of the Japanese people because they, non-whites, have the audacity to challenge the military, political, and economic might of the Caucasian world.

As an American (second class), I do not consider myself unpatriotic in feeling that we should not denounce our enemies because of race or color. Along with the thirteen million Negroes in the United States, I do not sympathize with Japanese militarists now in control of Japan and its occupied territory.

But — and this is just a guess — I suspect that one big reason for the tremendous military successes of Japan's army and navy, is that the Japanese people who are doing the actual fighting are compensating their grievances against the white men who have traveled and lived in the Orient. The average oriental has had enough contact with arrogant white men to know that Caucasians consider him inferior. He has seen coolies slapped or kicked by British, American and Dutch "plantation owners." He has been treated as a foreigner in his own land by "influential visitors" from the European and western "democracies."

We American Negroes don't believe that the present Japanese leaders are waging a war for democracy in the Orient. On the contrary, we believe they are directing a war to control the Orient for their own dictatorial aggrandizement. Slavery, exploitation, loot and brutality have the same meaning whether practiced by white people against colored or by colored people against colored. It all adds up to the same thing.

American lives, colored and white, are being lost each day the war continues. Along with my fellow countrymen, I, too, work and pray for the day when the allies will be victorious in the Pacific area as well as in all other battle areas. I do not hope that the Pacific War will be a long war — not just because my father and my brother are in the service. That would indicate a very selfish attitude.

I hope for a speedy victory so that millions of American men and women may return home to enjoy for the balance of their lives, whatever freedom and happiness we do enjoy as Americans. I am opposed to the belief that colored people have more to "gain" from a long war with Japan. If this "gain" has to be made by wholesale slaughter of millions of human beings for a cause which will not necessarily assure a better post-war world for colored (and for white) people, then the "gain" in my opinion, is not worth the sacrifice.

The one fact that becomes more evident each passing day, is that Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Indians and other non-whites of the Orient are simply tired of being snobbed, humiliated, and exploited by arrogant Aryans who obviously think that whiteness of skin symbolizes racial superiority. — Douglas LaVoisier Conner. Detroit, Mich.

Timely Topics

By EARL BROWN

The Southerners Attack

Concerted attacks by the Roosevelt Administration and the Negro by Southerners in and out of Congress add up to a serious national crisis that definitely affects this country's war effort disastrously. The most recent attack on the Administration and the Negro was made last week in Congress by Representatives Howard Smith (D., Va.) and John E. Rankin (D., Miss.) who came out for a congressional investigation of FEPC. Their attack was provoked by FEPC's order to 16 Southern railroads to stop discriminating against Negroes in employment—an order which the roads have brazenly defied.

The Southerners' determination to wreck FEPC is, however, only one serious instance of their planned attack on the Administration and the Negro. They are, indeed, willing to go to any extreme to defeat any program promulgated by the Federal Government or private citizens to grant the Negro any kind of rights and privileges as American citizens. The following anti-Negro acts of the Southerner congressmen and others in their camp since the outbreak of the war clearly illustrate the point:

Anti-Negro Acts

(1) Following hearings held in Birmingham, Ala., by FEPC in July, 1942, Senator John H. Bankhead, Representative Joseph Starnes, former Gov. Frank Dixon and Ernest LeMay, publicity chief of Tenn. Coal, Iron and Railroad Co.—Alabamans all—made a withering attack on the agency. They charged it, among many other things, of attempting to abolish the South's Jim Crow racial caste system, and openly threatened to break up the union if the Government did not cease its activities in this regard. These attacks on the Negro and the Administration played a major part in bringing about the race riot in Mobile, Ala., last Summer.

(2) The Texas members of Congress pulled Administration wires and prevented FEPC from holding scheduled hearings in that state, when they learned of it.

(3) In November 1942, a group of Southern senators led by Senators Connally (D., Tex.) and Bilbo (D., Miss.) ganged up on the Marcantonio Anti-Poll Tax Bill and filibustered it to death. In order to prevent the passage of the bill, which would have enabled millions of Southern Negroes and whites to vote, these men hog-tied Congress for a month. They did not care that their country was at war and vital legislation was needed.

(4) Senator Bankhead declared last Summer that if the Republican Party would come out for white supremacy in its platform in 1944, it would carry every Southern state. He is the man who wrote a letter to Secretary of War Stimson demanding that all Negro troops be removed from the South, because, he said, their presence caused racial trouble.

More Anti-Negro Acts

(5) Last month Southern senators succeeded in having the anti-poll tax bill shelved again. It is now probable that it will not be passed because of their underhand action. They used every political trick in their bag to consign the measure to a slow death, and are now exulting over their success.

(6) When the Soldier Vote Bill came up in the Senate a few weeks ago, the Southern senators, in collusion with a group of reactionary Northern Republicans, emasculated it by forcing through a weak resolution, which would give the states the responsibility of seeing that 11 million soldiers vote next year. This was one of the most hypocritical, selfish acts ever perpetrated against the public by a group of elected officials who brazenly played cheap politics at the expense of black and white dying in the muck of every battlefield round the globe. But these wilful men didn't want to give thousands of Negroes in the armed services from the poll tax states an opportunity to vote (many of them for the first time) nor did they want to take a chance on a majority of the 11 million service men voting for President Roosevelt, in case he should run for a fourth term.

(7) Two weeks ago the City Council of Atlanta, Ga., passed a resolution to run the local FEPC director out of town.

(8) And now the officials of the 16 Southern railroads and Congressmen Smith and Rankin head the hunt to chase the agency out of business. Contending, among other things, that they could not cope with the "delicate" task of hiring Negroes as firemen and in other operative capacities because it would cause racial conflict, officials of the roads implied that the race situation in the South is not of their making. But they know they are lying. For it is the Southerners in high places who actually set the pace for racial oppression and discrimination—not only in the South but in the entire country.

Furthermore, Negroes used to have a monopoly on firemen's jobs on all Southern railroads when such jobs were considered nigger jobs. Casey Jones' fireman was a Negro. But when these jobs began to pay more money and Diesel engines displaced old type locomotives on some roads, and a fireman's job became respectable, the lily-white firemen's union and the railroad companies entered into an agreement to bar all Negro firemen. This was done by barring all Negroes from the firemen's union. The roads know this and they know that they are just as guilty as the union.

These eight instances plus the countless others of Southerners wilfully defying the Government and creating racial strife because of their bulldog determination to "keep the nigger in his place" is the most tragic blot on our war effort. Needless to say, their anti-Negro acts are also helping the Japanese by giving them propaganda to use among the Chinese and other peoples of the Far East and by further lowering the morale of 15 million American citizens—the American Negroes.

Action Needed . . . Now!

Obxiously this attack on the Administration and the Negro is a planned attack. It is intended not only to keep the Negro down in the South, but also to win support to the Southerners' side in the North. Before it is too late, decent Americans must take action to stop this national disgrace. They must take action now.

Fortunately, there are many level-headed, decent white and colored people in this country. People who want to see justice done, not to Negroes but to American citizens, regardless of their color. Unfortunately, these Americans have either remained silent or their words have been ignored. They know, however, that every time the Negro is denied his citizenship rights in any way whatsoever that American Democracy and they themselves are made insecure. They also know that the war will be fought in vain.

Now, not tomorrow—not after the war—is the time for big men and big women—for big Americans with big minds—to take hold and demand to be heard on the race question. We are fools if we permit the Rankins, the Bilbos, the Smiths and the Bankheads to wreck America.

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Informer, Houston, Texas
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Chicago, Ill
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VIEWS and Reviews



By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

It seems to me that some of the Negro's good white Southern friends have been quite correct in their charge that the Roosevelt Administration has been coddling the Negro. This is particularly to be noted in the armed services where there has been an apparent conspiracy to keep strapping young Negroes out of combat units and largely confine them to the far safer work of building roads, unloading and loading ships, guarding gas tanks, completing airfields and providing entertainment. Since the Administration seems to be going out of its way to see that most of the colored men return safely and unscathed from the wars, it is certain that the New Deal will get the vote of grateful Negro wives, parents and families. The opponents of the Administration should look into this matter if they wish to stem the landslide vote for F. D. R. in 1944.

* * *

The whole trend became noticeable when the great drive for enlistments started in 1940, and patriotic colored and white youths besieged the recruiting offices. The whites were gladly taken but for many months the Negro youths were turned down, allegedly because there was "no place" for them. This disguised favoritism toward Negroes resulted in the training of a disproportionate number of white youths for combat, and consequently they were the first to feel the enemy's bullets when shooting war began. This policy continued for the first seven or eight months of selective service for the same alleged reason, and it was not until some time after Pearl Harbor that Negro youths were called in appreciable numbers either by draft or enlistment. In consequence those communities from which white youths had enlisted wholesale, and from which they had been drafted while young Negroes loafed, were soon denuded of youthful Aryans. Negro voters will know how to show their gratitude for this consideration shown them by a friendly Administration.

* * *

Further suspicion is aroused by the fact that only a tiny proportion of the Negroes drafted and enlisted have been placed in combatant units. They are scattered all over the world, these brown youths, but a fatherly Administration has seen to it that they are confined to the comparatively safe service of building roads and air fields, loading and unloading ships, patrolling wharves and gasoline tanks, usually far from battle zones. There are exceptions, of course, but their paucity tends to confirm the charge of favoritism. Such Negro combat units as there are remain in safe places like Fort Huachuca, Kansas, Texas, Georgia, Florida and Mississippi. While pictures from the front areas show white youths undergoing the greatest hardships and dangers, the photos of Negro troops show them skipping down roads singing, shooting craps or loafing in the sun. And this during a global war for freedom!

* * *

Whereas Japanese-American combat troops have been in training for a shorter period than Negro combat units, newspapers have recently been filled with accounts of the Nisei heroism in and around the Salerno front and even in New Guinea. There have been no reports of Negro combat troops in action anywhere except in little South Pacific areas, in jim crow army camps and on trains and buses. Almost all newspaper reports of Negro troops near the battle fronts tell of the magnificent work they are doing unloading munitions, building reservoirs and preparing air fields. When white men are dying in the mud and surf, is it fair to them and their families that able-bodied young Negroes should be kept in safe places? No wonder our Southern white friends are disturbed while Negro dependents are quietly jubilant.

* * *

In the Navy young Negroes are largely eating their heads off in the galley while white boys die on deck. Secretary Knox has himself said that Negro naval units recently organized will be confined to harbor and shore work where they will not be contaminated by association with white Americans except their officers. It is doubtful if there is a U.S. warship on the high seas with a Negro sailor working above deck.

What greater proof could we have than this that the New Deal loves the Negro and is eager to see him survive and prosper? To be sure the Administration has used none of its tremendous powers to pass an anti-lynching law or enfranchise 10,000,000 Negroes, but it is protecting young brown America from maiming and death by the enemies of freedom on the several war fronts. And for this every Aframerican must be forever grateful, no matter what Southern white parents and politicians may think!

With A Grain of Salt

By ARTHUR P. DAVIS

Journal and Guide Norfolk, Virginia

THE DETAILS may not be letter-perfect, but the fundamental facts, I believe, are sound. In any case, whether true or not, this is the story going the rounds among Richmond Negroes: Determined to have a good football team this year the athletic director of Camp Lee recruited both Negro and white players and built not only an excellent ball club but a fine democratic organization.



DR. DAVIS

Since the camp is in the heart of Virginia, he felt that he would be able to schedule games with the Old Dominion's several famous white schools. Being a damyankee, he had not reckoned with local mores. But the white colleges and universities of Virginia refused to play a mixed team. (Richmond Air Base with a mixed team did play a white school, but the Negro players were "benched" in that game. Moreover, the school questioned the presence at the game of a lone non-playing Negro in football togs. I add this to keep the record straight.)

Because of this ban, Camp Lee had to confine its schedule largely to professional teams and clubs from other camps. And now that the basketball season is here, the director, having learned his lesson, has decided not to kick against the pricks. He will have several basketball squads—one white, the others, Negro regimental teams.

I try to realistic about this race business. I do not expect miracles to happen just because a war is on. Although I am sure that Negroes will one day not only play against white Southern teams but on them as well, I do not, as I have said before, expect such things to happen overnight. But somehow I felt that, during a war supposedly fought for democracy, white colleges in Virginia would be liberal enough to play a mixed Army team. Such a contest would be a democratic gesture of considerable importance. It would boost both military and civilian morale. And I sincerely believe that unfavorable reaction to the contest would have been so weak as to be negligible.

It is only natural for us to look to institutions of higher learning for the liberalism which the ignorant masses lack. Our famous old Virginia schools, with their national prestige, should be citadels of light and guidance for state and nation in the matter of progressive thinking on racial matters. It is obvious that the most important social problem in Virginia is the race issue. But there is precious little comment or leadership on the score coming from our schools.

We have no one here comparable to Howard Odum and Guy B. Johnson of the University of North Carolina. In some respects, the press of Virginia is far more liberal than its colleges and universities. The newspapers have recently been complaining about Virginia schools becoming "dumping grounds" for Northern students who do not rate Harvard and Yale. It would be a fine thing for our Virginia schools if some liberalism could be "dumped" along with those second-rate northern students.

But back to our subject—what would happen if a mixed Army team played a southern white college? Doesn't the white man yet realize that in America the two races can go to school together, play athletic games together, and work together and still not become socially mixed? It happens every day in the north. And, mind you, I am not making any Booker T. Washington "hand-fingers" plea. I wish it were not so, because I know that social equality is the only equality. But the fact is that going to the same school or riding in the same bus seat will not disturb the social status quo of present-day America. (I use the word "social" here in its narrow southern sense.)

Of what then are the Southern schools (and the people) so afraid? Why are they so reluctant to grant these little concessions. The answer, of course, lies beyond the province of logic. It is so deeply imbedded in a mass of custom and tradition that only time and social catastrophe can dislodge it.

Sanity In The South

In the main, Southern white leadership has lacked the courage, the vision and the statesmanship to do anything fundamentally to destroy, or at least undermine, the causes of social tension and disintegration which are rooted in the color caste system.

Instead, these men and women, who otherwise possess many fine qualities, have criminally wasted their time, their money and their intellect defending a vicious system of undemocratic rule, at once senseless and unjust, which brought the South to ruin and has seriously retarded its civilization.

It is heartening, then, to have a Southern leader of note like Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond (Va.) Times Dispatch, come out boldly for the immediate abolition of the jim crow car and bus, as he did in an editorial

on November 13, 1943, entitled "To Lessen Race Friction."

Calling for the rescinding of the laws requiring separation of colored and white passengers, Mr. Dabney wrote, in part: Courier Pittsburgh, Pa

"The purpose of these laws when they were enacted, was to keep the races separate. Actually, under existing conditions, they have the opposite effect, and they are a constant irritant. Hundreds, if not thousands, of times a day, these regulations serve to throw the races into closer contact than ever, and at the same time to wound the feelings of the Negroes.

"The laws result in closer interracial contact than would otherwise be the case because whereas white and colored passengers usually sit in separate seats, the invariably crowded condition in the aisles of street cars and buses at rush hours throws the races together as never before. Colored passengers who get on crowded cars or buses have to push their way to the rear through a dense mass of white people, and in the case of one-man cars they must force their way back to the front again. It would be preferable if the Negroes were allowed to stand or sit in the car or bus wherever they could find room, thus avoiding the push through the crowded aisles.

"It is this push which causes the trouble. Repeal of the State law which requires segregation of the races on street cars and buses, and of local ordinances which embody the same requirement, would solve the difficulty . . .

"Segregation of the races on railway trains and cross-country bus lines has been abandoned to a considerable degree, both in Virginia and other Southern States, and it seems definitely on the way out. We have heard of no unfortunate results. Why, then, should not the segregation laws for cross-town trolleys and buses be eliminated? The fact is that they should be, and without delay."

All Americans who love their country will hail this sane suggestion from the distinguished Richmond editor, and wonder why similar sentiments are not forthcoming from the thousands of other Southern white editors and politicians who claim to have the interests of their community at heart.

Transportation jim crow is only about 50 years old.

It is senseless, expensive, unjust, undemocratic, annoying, and tends to bring about the very social conflicts which everybody deplores and pretends to want to avoid.

Every white Southerner who has traveled outside the South has accepted the democratic transportation arrangements of the more civilized areas with generally good grace; and yet, having stood or sat alongside colored Americans in Chicago and Detroit without the sky falling in, he has hitherto lacked the wit and the courage to denounce the anachronistic Southern system upon his return to Dixie.

Perhaps Mr. Dabney has started a revolution which, if it succeeds in Richmond and Virginia, may conceivably spread to the more enlightened areas of Dixie and eventually to the entire section.

If it should so spread, it would do more to make the country and the world safe for democracy than a major victory on the field of battle.

President Roosevelt Speaks Out

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa

In a message to the Congress, President Roosevelt has spoken out loudly, clearly and logically for the repeal of the vicious Chinese exclusion laws which have besmirched our statutes since 1882, and given the Japanese some choice propaganda to undermine American prestige in the Orient and throughout the colored world.

Pointing out that China's resistance "does not depend on guns and planes" alone, the President declares:

> **"It is based as much on the spirit of her people and her faith in her Allies. We owe it to the Chinese to strengthen that faith. One step in this direction is to wipe from the statute books those anachronisms in our law which forbid the immigration of Chinese people into this country and which bar Chinese residents from American citizenship.**
>
> **"Nations, like individuals, make mistakes. We must be big enough to acknowledge our mistakes of the past and correct them.**
>
> **"By the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws we can correct a historic mistake and silence the distorted Japanese propaganda."**

Here the President lives up to the highest traditions of great statesmanship, and since the repeal of the exclusion laws would admit only 105 Chinese citizens yearly to our country, there seems to be no sensible reason why Congress should not do what Mr. Roosevelt asks.

But it irritates colored Americans for the President to consistently refuse to come to grips in the same forthright and statesmanlike manner with a much greater problem than that of a handful of Chinese: he., the problem of color discrimination.

All that Mr. Roosevelt says about strengthening the Chinese war spirit and offsetting "distorted" Japanese propaganda by repealing the exclusion laws applies with tremendously greater force to the 14 million colored citizens who are working, fighting and paying for the war.

Would not the American Negro's spirit and his faith in his white fellow citizens be greatly strengthened by honest enforcement of the federal constitution so that color discrimination and Negro segregation would be immediately wiped out?

Would not Negro morale soar to the high heavens if President Roosevelt as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy would order an end to all "racial" diistinctions?

Can one picture the joyful willingness of every colored person to strive to the utmost for victory over Hitlerism abroad if the Government would eliminate all traces of Hitlerism at home?

If Mr. Roosevelt would practice toward Negroes the fairness and justice he urges for Chinese, what leg would Japanese propagandists have to stand on?

Why not ask Congress to pass a law implementing the 2nd section of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution?

Why not use the strong arm of the Government to force industry and the reactionary labor unions to end color discrimination, or else?

Why not refuse contracts to war contractors discriminating against Negroes or to areas where local mores require it?

We can do little to offset Japanese propaganda at this late date by admitting to our country 105 of the 400 million impoverished Chinese, but we can completely kill the Japanese charge of white supremacy prejudice and practices by demonstrating at home that the contrary is the fact.

With A Grain of Salt

By ARTHUR P. DAVIS

COMING as it does on the heels of the Detroit riot, the Harlem flare-up has given the South a Roman holiday. Dixie smugness is now so thick that one can cut it with a butter knife. [illegible] and the press is filled with I-told-you-so's concerning the Negro's treatment in the North. Southerners, white and black, pontifically emphasize the fact that the race problem is national, which it certainly is; but their inference is that North and South are equally guilty in racial matters, which is not true. One Lions Club in Mississippi [illegible] presented to Congress an ironic resolution deploring the "maltreatment and slaughter of Negroes in the city of Detroit." And Douglas Freeman of the Richmond News-Leader has keynoted the southern reaction with the following denunciating question: "Has any southern city made a worse mess of race relations than New York has?"



DR. DAVIS

The answer to Dr. Freeman's question, it seems to me, is quite simple. From a Negro's point of view, every city below the Mason and Dixon line has made a worse mess of race relations. It may seem good race relations to have a docile Negro community kept in its place by customs and fear. It may make for peace to keep all Negroes out of city jobs, off the school boards, and away from the polls. It may make for friendly personal relations to have every job depend upon patronage rather than upon merit. And it may avoid disturbance to define and restrict forever and forever the limits in which Negroes may live and think and strive; but this kind of race relations is good only from the southern white's point of view, not from that of the Negro, for it deprives him of everything that makes for manhood.

New York has four Negro judges trying black and white alike. It has Negro firemen (including one fire chief), street car conductors, policemen, school teachers (in white as well as in Negro schools), street cleaners, gas and water men, and dozens of other types of city employees.

In addition, New York has a civil rights bill which [illegible] one can prove that he has been deprived of some right because of color, he can collect damages. In spite of unemployment, bad housing, and rioters in times like the present.

The Harlem disturbance was both unfortunate and unnecessary. We must bear in mind, however, that New York receives along with some very fine people from both places also some of the worst human dregs from the South and from the [illegible]. Depraved for years by bad housing, bad eating, and bad treatment, they naturally become looters and rioters in times like the present.

It will take two generations of northern living to make good citizens out of such material, and in doing that job New York will experience ugly moments. Moreover, because they have had advantages, the Negroes of Harlem are highly race-conscious and trigger-sensitive about their grievances. All of these factors will naturally produce occasional flare-ups of one sort or another, but the significant thing about these outbreaks is that after each of them some gain is made in race relations: some new opportunity is given the Negro, for it seems to me, is the difference between the Harlem [illegible] the southern pattern. In the South we lose ground after each riot because we are not ob[illegible]ve enough to profit by bitter experience.

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KEEPING IN OUR PLACE

Illustrated by HOLLOWAY



Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa

JUL 4 1943

THE HORIZON

Problems Before Race Demand Planned Action by Members of National Bar Association

—BY P. L. PRATTIS—Pittsburgh Courier

SINCE MR. CAYTON has had the daring, from time to time, to air his notions concerning the functions and objectives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, even the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and contributed the Pittsburgh Courier's comments addressing this week's comments

Hollowan...

SEN. BROOKS FAILS the NEGRO

People's Voice
New York, N. Y.

(AN EDITORIAL)

SENATOR C. Wayland Brooks of Illinois joined the reactionary conspiracy to kill the NYA. His was the deciding vote in the Senate Appropriation committee session. He could have saved one of the most unique set-ups ever conceived for American youth in general and the Negro, in particular. Yet he chose otherwise. Why?

Yes, the Negro voters in Illinois, a great state in the so-called enlightened belt supposedly removed from the illiterate and illiberal contamination of the southern hinterlands, want to know why Senator Brooks has failed us. Is it true that he is only the echo of Chicago's morning colonel? That he is only an errand boy for interests who hate the President of the United States so fiercely and deeply that they would stop at nothing to discredit his greatest acts of domestic statesmanship—the resurrection of hope and opportunity for the least advantaged of America's polyglot millions—Negro youth?

Of all of the acts of President Roosevelt's domestic statesmanship none stand out more brilliantly than the creation of the NYA. The test of the worth of the NYA is what it has done for the youth of the Negro race—the most disadvantaged. Since its inception, more than 300,000 Negro youth have benefited from its program of class, shop, vocational and health activities. Special state supervisors of Negro affairs function in 27 states. More than 500 Negroes serve as project supervisors; 23 states have Negro members on their advisory committees for the NYA. The illustrious Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune is the head of the Negro division of NYA, an appointment of unusual merit.

Senator Brooks charged that the NYA should be abolished for economy reasons. What is economy, Senator? Is it economical to abolish an agency which gives equal job training to black and white youth alike in an effort to keep the arsenal of democracy functioning with maximum efficiency? Where can the Negro receive the type and variety of training offered by the NYA? Certainly not in industry and certainly not under the set-up of the Federal Office of Education. The latter is too limited and too segregated to expect equality from the service it renders.

What agency affords the health service of the NYA with its nutrition, sanitation and prevention program for all youth regardless of race? What agency could provide a better nucleus for a post-war set-up to serve youth in an era of reconstruction? There is none! The abolition of the National Youth Administration is an example of narrow and pernicious party politics.

The rank and file Negro wants a continued existence of the NYA, and a mandate is being hurled at Senator Brooks to amend his error and fight to save the NYA. Failing in this, his chance to recoup his lost prestige with Negroes will be in total eclipse.

to the tough-minded gentlemen of the National Bar Association who, by the time these mullings are in print, will have foregathered in the city of Baltimore for convention and good time. They compose an extremely important, but often neglected group. Not only does our general public overlook them as a group, preferring to pick and choose among them when necessity knocks at the door, but they as well seem not to have discerned any imperative dictum in the nature of the times counselling and commanding joint and programmatic action.



Mr. Prattis

The home-front battle cannot be won without a lawyer. The peace cannot be assured without the lawyer. Who is to define the areas of our social and economic relationships if not the lawyer? And what is the law if it is not a work-a-day morality? Strictly, is it not the basis for scientific human relationship, modifying and regulating behavior for the benefit of the whole? The lawyer must always accept his place in the front ranks and be prepared to tell us which is the way. He must help us to remove obstacles. That is a duty of the profession.

ENTIRE FRONT HIS

IT GOES without saying that all our other organizations and agencies must continue their effort without abatement. The church must work on the heart. The schools must bring light to the mind. The press must disseminate information and attempt to interpret the signs of the times. The NAACP must press its action in the field of civil relations. The Urban League must continue to try to push wide open the door to economic opportunity. The March-on-Washington must continue to exploit direct mass action and pressure techniques. But the lawyer must concern himself with all of these fronts. The entire front belongs to him.

Some lawyers do. But the responsibility is not personal to a few such as Dean Hastie, Charles Houston, Thurgood Marshall, Huff, Taylor and others. It belongs to the profession as a whole. There are things to do and every lawyer should ask himself where his job is.

Negro leadership generally recognizes that the battlefront for us is that of segregation and the attempt to create a status of second-class citizenship for us. But on that front [illegible] transportation sector, the housing sector, the job sector, the suffrage sector, the civil rights sector and, particularly, the military (naval) sector.

SOME JOBS STARTED

OUR LAWYERS can find a place, a fighting spot, in any of these sectors. What are they going to do, as an association, in regard to transportation? One of our newspapers has begun a direct action assault on Jim Crow restrictions in interstate travel. Belford Lawson of Washington attacked the "separate but equal" provisions for Negro passengers with some success. This newspaper made up its mind to do something. Mr. Lawson likewise made up his mind to act. Is it too much to ask the association as a whole to join in this fight which has been started by this newspaper, Mr. Lawson and Carl Hansberry of Chicago?

Some weeks ago, The Courier exposed the fact that there is an understanding among the real estate brokers of America to restrict Negro housing to ghettoes. Is that within the law? Our lawyers must answer the question. If that pattern of housing segregation is to be destroyed, our lawyers must act through the courts.

LAW FOR FEPC

THE TRUE TEST of the Fair Employment Practice Committee will be its ability to function under law. Is the National Bar Association going to help to place the roots of FEPC in the soil of good law.

Our boys in the Army and Navy are given separate and different treatment. They are treated as different and inferior citizens. The refusal to commission [illegible] on merit in the Navy and [illegible] refusal to accept Negro women are both violations of law. Is there nothing our lawyers can do about this? Of course, this writer doesn't know. But in these days when we are all praying for guidance, it seems most natural that we should look to our lawyers and beseech them to find their role and play their full part in the protection of our, and their, citizenship.

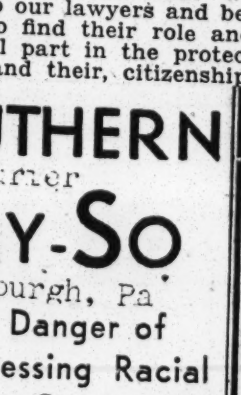
SOUTHERN Courier SAY-SO

Pittsburgh, Pa

There Is Danger of Over-stressing Racial Angles in Community Movements

BY M. S. STUART

THE visionary advice of theorists to try to solve the race problem in group forgetfulness was mentioned in these opinions last week. Of course, you cannot remember just one wakeful day, since you were knee high to a good thought, throughout which you did not encounter something to remind you of your racial identity. It is not improbable that the thought of race follows across the line, and constantly thereafter haunts even the highly adulterated who, perhaps, try to escape the memories and limitations of the American under-dog group by flight to the great white world. Race is a major thought in both races nearly all over the country.



Mr. Stuart

OVER-STRESSING DANGEROUS

However, appearing from time to time, are indications that there is danger of becoming an over-race conscious and a touch-me-not people. Maybe you remember that little flower of the balsam family, commonly known as the jewel-weed, which, when ripe, spills its beans all over the place at the slightest touch. Well, if we grow too inclined to view everything through the green glasses of race, we may spill the beans out of many situations ripe with possibilities for general community improvement, including Negroes.

NOW, AS perhaps you have suspected, the foregoing is by way of a softening up prelude to something of a more arid nature to follow.

THE CORE OF THE COMMUNITY

Whether either wish it, or admit it or not, the lives of white and colored people in close proximity in large numbers have great influence on both races. In the matter of community health this point becomes of most serious importance.

NOW FOR the milk in the cocoanut—some months ago statistics were published showing the percentages of venereal diseases, particularly spyphilis, by races in certain sections of the South. It was a very bad picture of the health of Negroes. It was not even a very good picture of the health of white people. Nevertheless, immediately there were the usual grumblings by some that the reports were distorted and prejudiced to reflect upon colored people. The worthy objectives of the investigations were minimized and ignored by the cynics in their haste to pounce upon the ghost of race which they thought was in the picture.

Then on September 27, 1943, the Council of Social Agencies in Memphis, Tenn., caused to be published the results of a survey made by a research committee, which disclosed a more favorable condition as to venereal infection in certain classes of young Negro women than in parallel classes of young white women. The reaction to this report on the part of some race cynics was an unfortunate elation —not over the slight improvement reported for colored girls, just because it was a little better than for white girls; whereas the condition found in both classes should cause grave concern to everybody interested in a clean community.

BETTER PARENTAL SUPERVISION

Fortunately there are straight thinking white and colored people in the South who realize that a perfect whole cannot be formed of imperfect parts. That no community can ignore any large group of its population and make its best possible rate of progress.

MAYOR WALTER CHANDLER of Memphis, who has taken a keener interest in the welfare of Negroes than any of his predecessors, recently led a campaign to arouse public sentiment for better parental supervision of the young people. He wisely sees, in the high prevalence of venereal diseases and unbecoming public conduct, a too general breaking down of the moral tone of the home and a dangerous relaxation of parental care. As in every other movement which he has led for community welfare, he did not neglect the darker 42 per cent of his city's population. He spoke to colored meetings and tried in every reasonable way to arouse an effective degree of interest.

GOOD FOR ALL THE SOUTH

Such a movement ought to be organized throughout the South; but it ought to be of greater duration than obtained in Memphis, where it was not seized upon by colored people with that enthusiasm with which an effort of its importance should be prosecuted.

'Southern Prejudice Fading'—Wendell Willkie Tells Leaders

Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa

NEW ORLEANS, La.—Wendell Willkie, whose liberal views have won for him world-wide praise, carried his convictions to the South last week. Greeting a local delegation of four colored leaders of the Republican party in his hotel suite, the tall GOP presidential aspirant predicted that Southern prejudice will be overcome. In a forceful statement, he said:

"I will fight and I'll pull no punches. I despise the word toleration—the attitude of granting something because one occupies a superior position. It is a question of basic American rights."

ANOTHER VICTORY

Mr. Willkie's appearance here marked another victory for Southern Negroes, who, heretofore, have been forced to use the freight elevator in the Roosevelt hotel. On this occasion, the colored delegation entered the front door of the hotel and rode a passenger elevator to the Presidential suite occupied by the distinguished visitor.

Negro leaders conferring with Mr. Willkie were Alonzo B. Williams, editor of the Sepia Socialite; Dr. J. A. Hardin, consul for Liberia at the port of New Orleans; James E. Lewis, Jr., president of the People's Insurance company, and Alden W. Bynum, city editor of the Socialite.

OVERWHELMING APPROBATION

It was rumored that there was some objection to Mr. Willkie entertaining the colored men in the hotel, but this angle was quickly erased after the GOP political giant made clear his non-discrimination views.

"There is a growing feeling among the voters, both white and colored, that there are fine men in the Republican party as well as in the Democratic party," Willkie declared. During a brief stop at the Roosevelt hotel, he greeted by a throughout America against over-lordship," Mr. Willkie declared—not only in the service see a better lifelarge delegation which included were William Shaw, L. D. Milton, B. F. Cofer, H. S. Murphy and A. B. Wright.

He declared that this was one of the reasons for the success of the Roosevelt administration because of its ability to give the common man a better chance.

BELIEFS ARE DEEP

"My beliefs are deep," he continued, "and you know how I stand on these matters." In referring to [illegible] he said, "It is contrary to the principles for which we are fighting for the Negro to be segregated in any particular group or to be discriminated against in any part of the country because of race, creed or otherwise."

Nailing the Hate-Mongers

As part of the war on hate-mongers, PM is publishing day by day the rumors and fallacies which stimulate race hatreds, will answer each catch phrase with the available facts. Today's is:

¶ The Jews control the radio networks.

The answer:

¶ One of the National Broadcasting Co.'s 13 directors is Jewish; ¶ One of the Columbia Broadcasting Co.'s 13 directors are Jewish; one of the Mutual Broadcasting Co.'s nine directors is Jewish.

¶ There is only one Jew among the 20 executives of the National Broadcasting Co.; six Jews among the 16 executives of the Columbia Broadcasting Co.; one Jew among the eight executives of the Mutual Broadcasting Co., and none among the four executives of the Blue Network.

New York, N. Y.

PM

56k-1943

CHINA SPEAKS

Negroes and Chinese Struggle for Human Equality and Dignity

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.
JUL 24 1943

BY LIU LIANG-MO

THE Chinese seamen case has won a negative victory. The American Congress voted, on July 7, that alien seamen should not be arrested and deported to England without the consent of that alien government under this new Act; therefore, the Chinese seamen who are still being detained in different immigration offices in this country will not be deported to England. This victory was won through the efforts of Rep. Samuel Dickstein, introducer of the bill to deport Chinese seamen to England (H.R. 2076), who went to Ellis Island himself and learned about the unequal treatment and the unbearable conditions under which the Chinese seamen are working on the British and Dutch ships, and he was so moved by their condition that he changed that bill into the present form. Three cheers to Rep. Dickstein for the courage of correcting himself.



Mr. Liu Liang-Mo

This victory is also due to numerous protests given by Rep. Vito Marcantonio, the National Maritime union, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, and the letters which you readers and other American citizens have written to your congressmen and the President after they had learned this case; and especially due to the protests of the Chinese people in this country, and the determination, organization, and unity demonstrated by the Chinese seamen themselves. Even in a case like this, it is clearly demonstrated that the Chinese people are not struggling alone.

TIME TO REPEAL EXCLUSION ACT

But this is still a "negative" victory. It has not touched the fundamental issue, which is equal treatment. That will be the next step, and the Chinese people will not stop until equal treatment is won—not only on the British and Dutch ships, but everywhere in the world.

THIS is also about time to repeal the Chinese Exclusion Act, which is an insult to China—America's friend and ally. After the old bill to repeal the Chinese Exclusion Act. (H.R. 1882) was killed and buried by the House Judiciary Committee, a new bill for the same purpose was introduced on July 7, 1943, by Rep. Gossett of Texas. This is H.R. 2893, and prominent citizens of America, including Miss Pearl S. Buck and Adm. Harry E. Yarnell, have organized a "Citizens' Committee to Repeal Chinese Exclusion," to see this bill through in the House as well as in the Senate. Again, it is a strong proof that the Chinese people are not struggling alone.

NEGROES DO NOT FIGHT ALONE

The struggle of human equality and dignity is the struggle of the whole mankind. China's long struggle is the dawn of a new era in the Orient and in the world—the era of equality. The Chinese are tired of discrimination; and it is also true with all the oppressed people of the world. China's long struggle has silently but powerfully demonstrated to the world that the Chinese people, and all the other oppressed people of the world, can no longer be slighted. Discrimination must go; equality must prevail.

THROUGH the Detroit "race riot" we also see that the Negro people, just like the Chinese people, are not struggling alone. The freedom-loving people of this country, and of the whole world, are with the Negro people in their struggle against discrimination.

Four days after the Detroit "race riot," the Central Conference of American Rabbis passed a plea "to eschew all racial violence and hate and to unite in the defense of our common heritage of good-will, equality, and freedom for all." They also pointed out that, in Detroit, the spirit of Hitlerism has achieved a triumph on American soil and has scored a victory against democracy. (N. Y. Times, June 24.)

CITIZENS WANT INVESTIGATION

Labor unions, labor leaders, prominent citizens, stage and screen stars, artists, writers, and many others, all sent their protests to the President and asked him to investigate the whole case, and to see to it that it will not happen here again.

Most of the leading newspapers and news commentators denounced the Detroit "race riot." The New York Post said on June 24: "We don't know of any way to end race-rioting except to end discrimination against the Negroes."

SOLDIERS MAKE MOVING APPEAL

To me, the most moving appeal was made by 55 soldiers of Camp McCoy, Wis., when 30 white and 25 Negroes, on June 22, in their letter to the Mayor of Detroit after the Detroit race riot, declared: "We consider all such actions as stabs in our backs while we are fighting our national enemies. We have left our wives, children, jobs, and even our future, to fight for the survival of freedom and democracy, for the rights of common man, for the four freedoms." They asked for immediate action to investigate the fifth column activities behind the whole race riot in order to assure equality and democracy, and they showed us how to do it—by the joint action of the freedom-loving Negro and white people.

THE Negro people, just like the Chinese people, are not struggling alone. Our enemies' tactic is to "divide and conquer," while our answer is unity—unity in the struggle for human equality and dignity.

ROGERS SAYS:

Amateur Writers Find It Difficult to Have Books Printed Now

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

BY J. A. ROGERS

JUDGING BY the number of letters I receive when I touch the subject of writing books, it must be a live one with the readers of this column. From Charles W. Cansler, school principal of Knoxville, Tenn., and mathematical genius, whose sketch appeared in "Your History" three years ago, comes the following: "I have been following closely your advice to young and ambitious writers through the columns of The Courier. It is so sound that I cannot refrain from writing you to commend you for it as well as to give my personal experience with a recent book.



Mr. Rogers

"Upon the insistence of young friends I wrote for publication a family story of three generations of my own family covering a period of 100 years. I made no effort to get a publisher as I realized I was unknown as a writer but I had made up my mind to publish the book, win or lose. I paid cash up to the delivery of the books and handled my own sales. Within a year I had made the cost of publication and some margin.

FAMILY HONORED BY CITY OFFICIALS

"I think that you are quite right when you suggest this as the best method for those who are aspiring to have books published."

MR. CANSLER'S book is "Three Generations," and gives a good insight into the life of one American family. A street in Knoxville has been named in honor of his family and there is a tablet to Mr. Cansler himself, in the Carnegie branch of the Knoxville Public Library. I hope a few thousands of the readers of this column will send for his book. His address is 1805 Brandau Avenue.

A POET FROM "DOWN UNDER"

By air-mail from Australia comes a letter from Cpl. Norman S. Ellington, who says that the atmosphere of the land down under "is of such a nature that he fell victim to his own imagination" and has been writing poetry. Some of his poems, he says, have appeared in the Australian dailies. He has collected them in a book and the editor of an Australian paper has written an introduction for it. The title is, "'Neath the Southern Cross."

HE wants me to write the American foreword and also to find a publisher for him. The former I will gladly do and the latter I will try, though it's a big job. In this highly commercial age the poet is almost crowded out. At the mere mention of a poem today most people are already bored. But the poet must keep on writing. His day will come again. Most of the world's early great books were in poetry.

SOUGHT INFORMATION

Allegretto F. Alexander, music instructor of Xavier university, New Orleans; graduate of Northwestern university and of the Julliard School of Music, New York, writes, "Permit me to express my delighted interest in your two recent articles on the publication of original material. I can truthfully say that it was a most timely article for me—one that included valuable information which was unavailable in this locality.

"I looked forward to your second article on the topic for several reasons. First, I had hoped that the name of a few publishing firms would be mentioned—at least one or more that you had experience with. Again, I hoped that it would have been possible for you to quote the minimum price of publishing an ordinary book of about an hundred or so pages for say 500 or 1,000 copies.

MUCH-NEEDED BOOK; BUT NO PRINTERS

"My field is music and along that line I have compiled and arranged two workbooks in music theory. I have received highly complimentary remarks from several of the large publishers. But, because of the existing shortage of both manpower and material, none of the firms has been in a position to accept the work for publication.

"PERSONALLY, I feel that I have organized a much needed book in this 'Workbook for Beginners in Harmony,' as there are no books for the early beginners in Harmony."

WILL GIVE ADVICE ON WRITING FICTION

I would suggest that Mr. Alexander wait until the publishing business returns to normal; then if he fails to get a publisher at that time to put out the book himself. It is very hard getting books out now, and almost impossible to get them bound. In normal times, however, such a work as Mr. Alexander's oughtn't to cost more than $450 for the first 1000 even in New York, where printing is so dear that some of the big publishers have their work done in the small towns. I am taking into consideration the fact that in a work on music there will be a number of notes. But as I said getting out books just now is difficult and costly. Amateur publishers, unless they have luck enough to find a good and cheap printer, had better wait until the printers begin crying for work again. Just now they're very independent.

AS regards the other letters—they are still coming in—I plan to take them up in the near future, when I will also tell of certain rules, especially in fiction, which I think, if followed will bring success, provided of course, one has the ability and will take the pains.



OUR CONFUSION

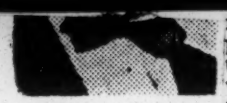
Tour Reveals Negro America Reflects the Confusion and Contradiction of Our Times

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

WHAT IS THE NEGRO THINKING? What is going on in the mind of Black America? I got some answers to this question by asking hundreds of colored people from New York to Los Angeles during the past six months. What I heard was both discouraging and hopeful. Much of it I didn't agree with. But here is what I found to be the thinking position of dark people throughout the majority of Negroes I've talked with.

out the world. Pro-Russian sentiment among Negroes is stronger than it is in the white population.



Mr. Cayton

Numbers of Negroes are definitely anti-British in their attitude. The British colonial policy, the throwing to the dogs of Ethiopia to appease the Italians, and the general color bar that England maintains throughout the world has developed a deep-seated antagonism toward that country which finds articulate expression in many places. This dislike of England is no new thing and has not been eased because now she is our ally.

THERE IS widespread feeling that President Roosevelt is pro-English, is being taken in by the British, and will support the English in their colonial policy toward Africa after the war. This may seem like the line of the Chicago Tribune, but any honest reporter of Negro journalism will find it to be true.

NEGRO VOTE FOR GOP

As far as the internal situation is concerned, Negroes are cooling off on President Roosevelt. They may love Mrs. Roosevelt for her aggressive, forthright statements on democracy, but the President's failure to speak out about the lynching of the two 14-year-old boys in Mississippi, his failure to speak to the nation at the time of the Detroit riot and his failure to endorse the anti-poll tax bill, are being held against him by the black population. I'm not saying this is good or bad; I'm simply stating that I found it to be a fact.

I WOULD judge that if a presidential election were held tomorrow, Dewey as a Republican candidate would get 60 per cent of the Negro vote and Willkie as a Republican candidate would get 75 per cent. I'm not going to editorialize on the significance of this statement either.

NEGROES ARE MORE WORLD-MINDED

Many Negroes that I've met are rapidly being drawn into the camp of the reactionary isolationists. Some have even embraced the disastrous doctrine of anti-Semitism. This, combined with some lack of enthusiasm for the war, and anti-British feeling, would make many feel that the Negro population is lining up with what has been popularly called the American Fascists. But this isn't the whole story.

ON THE OTHER hand, while Negroes feel that many white liberals have deserted them, they have developed a new regard for the role of organized labor and have seen the possibilities of a political and economic alliance with labor. Negroes have caught the vision of a new freedom which is wider and broader than simply the liberation of Black America. They have realized the significance of color on a world-wide basis and are comparing their position with that of other non-white groups. In some few instances the vision of Henry Wallace's common man which would include the small people of the world, both black and white, has begun to trickle down to the masses. In one sense, a more important one, Negroes are more internationally minded, more in tune with the progressive movements of the world, than other groups.

WHAT STRATEGY TO BE EMPLOYED

This is the dope as I found it. I may be wrong, but I've talked to barbers, business men, Pullman porters, shipyard workers, and these are the conclusions I've come to. Can the schism which is dividing Negro thought between the programs of the American Fascists and the idealism of Henry Wallace be breached? Will the Negro finally align himself with the progressive forces of the world, even though it means temporarily abandoning deep-set emotional antipathies? The answer to this question is that the Negro is simply reflecting the confusion of his time and the contradictions of the great struggle in which we are engulfed which is broader and more important than the war in which we are engaged.

TO BE ABLE to develop a strategy, the Negro will have to regard this conflict in terms of a struggle both at home and abroad, to realize a better world for the common man. Then he can pick his allies and realize who are his real enemies.

Robeson Now Thinks U.S. Treats Minorities Best

Afro-American Baltimore, Md

Paul Robeson, singer, who sent his son to school in Russia and went to England so he could live like a "first class citizen," said recently that never again would he consider living in America. I've had a lot of thinking when the war started," Robeson, now rehearsing for the leading role in Othello, said. "I had planned to leave the United States for good and I was living in London, shuttling over to Russia every summer to see my boy. I thought I saw more tolerance for colored people abroad than I did here."



Paul Robeson

But Robeson decided he was wrong when the war broke out. "I realized then that the colored race's problem here is a minority group problem, not one of individuals as it is in many European countries," he said. "And I realized that America gives her minority groups more of a chance than just about any country on earth."

Preparing Treatise

"Besides I was homesick and I decided that I wasn't helping the colored group's problem in the United States any by running away from it."

Robeson now is preparing a treatise on African culture which he promises will demonstrate that it is as old and venerable as Chinese culture. A member of Phi Beta Kappa, honorary scholastic society, the holder of a law degree from Columbia, Robeson said that he taught himself the Chinese language as part of preparation for writing the treatise.

"I learned the languages of Africa first," he said, adding that he had found the Chinese language very similar, and so learned to speak that tongue.

Still Critical

"Just because I've settled down in Connecticut, don't think I'm going to stop criticizing the United States," Robeson concluded.

"I'm going right on criticizing this country until colored persons can live like first class citizens."

Now growing a beard for the Moor's role in the Shakespearean play, Robeson said he enjoyed playing Othello because this was "killing two birds with one stone."

"I'm acting," he said, "and I'm talking for colored persons in the way only Shakespeare can. This play is about the problem of minority groups. A blackamoor who tried groups. It concerns Blackamoor, who tried to find equality among the whites. It's right up my alley."

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Nailing the Hate Rumors

PM

New York, N. Y.

As part of the war on hate-mongers, PM is publishing day by day the street rumors and fallacies which stimulate race hatreds, and will answer each catch phrase with the available facts. Today's is:

¶ The motion picture industry is a "Jewish industry."

The answer:

¶ To their great credit, a number of persons who happened to be Jews envisioned the future in screen entertainment when it was a puny and undistinguished infant and played an important part in its development into a great industry. It can not, however, be considered a "Jewish industry" even if one stretches the term to the utmost.

¶ Jewish directors of MGM and Columbia are slightly in the majority, but at RKO only two out of 19 directors are Jews; United Artists has four out of 19; Warner Bros. 9 out of 21, Paramount five out of 15, and Fox one out of 18. The proportion of Jews among employes is even smaller: screen writers, one in 10; film editors, seven in 150; actors, 84 in 2685. Financial control of some of the larger companies rests with non-Jewish banks like Chase and J. P. Morgan. The non-Jewish Western Electric Co. has virtual control of motion picture equipment, including sound devices.

Nailing the Hate Rumors

As part of the war on hate-mongers, PM is publishing day by day the street rumors and fallacies which stimulate race hatreds, and will answer each catch phrase with the available facts. Today's is:

¶ The Jews forced this war on us.

The answer: New York, N. Y. PM

¶ In May, 1941, seven months before Pearl Harbor, a Gallup poll showed that the 10 most "interventionist" states were Southern, plus Colorado. In these states the Jewish population is less than seven-tenths of 1 per cent. The 10 most "isolationist" states were in the Middle West, plus Massachusetts and New Hampshire—10 states in which the Jewish ratio of population is 2.9 per cent.

¶ It was military fascism which started the war, aggressing first against the Jews, then against the smaller nations, and finally attacking the U. S. A. at Pearl Harbor.

FIGHTING WORDS

Living side by side, and sometimes disagreeing quite violently, colored and white people in their insane moments are likely to call each other names.

A New York organization attempted last week to list the epithets and found the following:

Colored—Boogie, darkey, shine, coon, n----r, black, Negra, buck, Sam.

White—Ofay, neckerwood, redneck, cracker, hillbilly, Cholly.

Afro-American Baltimore, Md

That is an excellent assortment of hate provokers and fight words. The fact that the whites have more of them may or may not be significant.

Nailing the Hate Rumors

New York, N. Y.

As part of the war on hate-mongers, PM will publish day by day one of the street rumors and fallacies which stimulate race hatreds, and will answer each catch phrase with the available facts. This is the first:

¶ The Jews control banking in the U. S.

The answer: PM

¶ Of the 362 directors and trustees and the banks belonging to the New York Clearing House Assn., as listed in Poor's *Financial Records*, 12 are Jewish.

¶ Foreign loans made by the most active of the Jewish investment houses in 1935—the last year when any sizable loans were made—amounted to 2.88 per cent. Non-Jewish firms made the greatest percentage of foreign loans: J. P. Morgan, 19.87 per cent; National City Co., 11.71 per cent; Chase, Harris, Forbes, 8.45 per cent; Banc-amerika-Blair, 6.18 per cent; Lee, Higginson Co., 4.23 per cent.

56k-1943



Bee (Magazine Section)
Chicago, Ill.

Continental Features

HILLBURN, N. J.
RACE HATE

DEFINES SOCIAL EQUALITY

Burges Johnson Says Many Confuse It With Political Right

New York, N. Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SCHENECTADY, N. Y., Dec. 27 —The distinction between "social equality" on the one hand and "political equality" and "equality of economic opportunity" on the other was stressed in a statement adopted her by the Committee on Racial and Class Discrimination of the Schenectady War Council. The author of the statement is Dr. Burges Johnson, chairman of the committee, head of the English Department at Union College and well known as an author and editor.

"Political equality and equality of economic opportunity are the rights of every citizen, whatever his race, color or creed, and they are worth fighting for," said the statement. "But social equality is not a right; it is no more than an accidental human relationship. It is not even a privilege, in many instances.

"An ignorant and untidy Anglo-Saxon on the Pacific Coast may not regard an educated and cultured Chinese gentleman as his social equal, nor would the Chinese gentleman want him to."

New York Times

that the matters be worked out through a special interview.

Mayor Sweat said because "we had almost had some race trouble in the town a short while ago, I called these news agents in and simply counselled them to go slow and be careful. I had no authority to stop the sale of the newspapers and, nothing at all to do with what went on at the army air base." The mayor asked that a reporter be sent for a personal interview with him.

Mayor Sweat, obviously disturbed by the story, said he was concerned lest there be frictions, adding, "I have nothing against those papers and have no authority to interfere with them. My talk to these men was in the interest of cooperation; rather than one of criticism."

Hull Gets Protest For Barring Of Cuban Labor Leader

Norfolk, Virginia Journal and Guide

NEW YORK, N. Y. — The refusal of the State Department to permit the entrance of Lazaro Pena, outstanding Negro Cuban leader, into the United States to attend the Fourth Annual Convention of the National Maritime Union, has been protested by the National Negro Congress in a letter addressed to Secretary of State Cordell Hull.

The letter, signed by Ward E. Strong, national secretary of the congress, said:

The National Negro Congress is writing to express its concern over the refusal of the State Department to permit Mr. Lazaro Pena to enter the United States for the purpose of attending the Fourth National Convention of the National Maritime Union, which convened recently in New York City.

"We believe that Mr. Pena, as a member of the Cuban Senate, and as president of the Cuban Confederation of Labor, is one of the leading anti-fascists in Latin or South America.

"An outstanding Negro leader, Mr. Pena has the respect, not only of the Negro people of Cuba, but of the overwhelming majority of all the Cuban people.

"We believe that the action of the State Department, in refusing to permit such a prominent anti-fascist to visit our country, is contrary to the aims and objectives for which we fight in this war, and constitutes gross political discrimination against a leading representative of the Cuban people."

THE FUTURE OF BLACK AMERICA

Tribune
Savannah, Ga.

Chicago, Ill.—Langston Hughes, widely known Negro poet and fiction writer, in an article, "The Future of Black America," appearing in the November issue of the Negro Digest published here, declares the American Negro to be the barometer of American progress at the moment, not only on a national scale but on a world basis.

Writing on the much discussed Negro problem, Hughes sheds new light on the issue when he declares that reactionaries who ignore the problem of all racial minorities are those who are most anti-labor and anti-progressive in general, both in their local and global outlook. Such reactionaries, he declares, must be ferreted out and educated.

"White Americans must be shown that colored Americans are not a danger to them but a potential reservoir of help and friendship, not a liability but an asset. The mounting racial tension is disastrous and unnerving to morale, says Hughes.

While it was the custom fifty years ago for whites to be concerned about the education of the Negro, today the picture has changed and America's primary concern must be the education for whites along racial lines, he declares.

Predicting that we all stand or fall together, Hughes says "A peace that is a troubled peace becomes but an interlude for the future breeding of disastrous warfare. Surely civilized people can be taught that simple fact. For Americans the place to begin teaching it is at home."

Prejudice May Destroy Race, Says Hancock

Norfolk, Va. Journal & Guide

RICHMOND, Va. — (ANP) — While stressing the evil of the anti-Negro attitude of organized labor, Dr. Gordon Hancock, professor of sociology at Virginia Union University and Associated Negro Press columnist, told the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems last week that un-bad enough on the social less race prejudice is killed, it will worse on the economic level. Unless race prejudice is killed, it will destroy the Negro race.

"We are entering on a very serious phase of race relations," declared Dr. Hancock.

LABOR BARS NEGRO IN his economic relations.

Racial discrimination as practiced by organized labor is a national menace, Dr. Hancock points out. "It is TABOOS INTERMARRIAGE

must be de- not live," he said.

social level — FEARS

asized.

economic rela- ed out. "Unless the Negro become part of the labor he can

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destroy the Negro race.

"We are entering on a very serious phase of race relations," declared Dr. Hancock.

"A definite effort is being made to limit and restrict the

S.C. Mayor Backs Down On Newspaper Sale Ban

Kansas City, Mo. Call

WALTERBORO, S. C. (ANP) —Distributed by stores appearing in the weekly press that he had stopped the sale of Negro newspapers in this community, Mayor H. H. Sweat, excitedly called John H. McCray, editor of the Lighthouse and Informer, Wednesday to say that he had "been misunderstood" and expressed a desire

unfounded, he declared.

NOTE RACE ENEMIES

Enemies of the Negro were brought under fire when the Rev. John S. Cronin, S. S., professor of economics at the St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, [illegible] conference that the Negro today has "two great enemies"—those in his own race and outside who would change the habits of a century and those who feel that continued injustice is its own justification.

Chicago Bee
Chicago, Illinois

Dixie's Bias Perturbs A White Soldier

CHARLESTON, S. C., Aug. 12—(ANP)—Pvt. Thomas F. Conlon white, of the U. S. army, stationed at the [illegible] well known military academy here, is much alarmed over what he has observed since coming south in the attitude of southern whites to colored people.

Confessing that he was irked over remarks of a white storekeeper to a Negro customer, a few days ago, the soldier wrote the News and Courier, white daily, to say had the Negro been him he would have socked the storekeeper on the jaw.

Pvt. Conlon, among other things, raised these important issues in his letter:

"I wa[illegible]ers who believe [illegible] discrimination to answer a few questions. The Negro is either your equal or he is not. If he is your equal, why is it necessary to discriminate against him? If he is not your equal, he is either your inferior, or your superior. I don't suppose you'll say he is your superior.

"Therefore, if you consider him your inferior because, by the accident of birth, his skin is black, tell me the difference between your attitude and Hitler's attitude towards those who ,by the equally enance circumstances of birth, haven't 'Aryan' blood flowing through their veins and are persecuted accordingly."

Small Wonder He's Puzzled



Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

This Is Our Common Destiny:

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Negroes, Jews Fight Side By Side in Revolution

By BEN RICHARDSON

(Ed. Note—This is the third of a series of interpretive articles by the Rev. Ben Richardson on the unity of the Jewish and Negro people.)

In 1775 Paul Revere raced through the streets of sleepy towns in and around Boston announcing the approach of the British. There were 3,000 Jews in the colonies at that time. They were loyal, brave, and deeply interested in winning for America its rights to be free.

Black men were here too. They were slaves manacled and driven, but they were also eager to help America become free even though they themselves remained slaves, so both Negroes and Jews served in the Continental Army.

Of the Jewish population, 300 enlisted—of the Negroes, over 4,000 joined Washington's forces. In 1777, a Hessian officer remarked, "No Regiment is to be seen among the Amerians where there are not Negroes."

Jews Defend Charleston

Charleston, South Carolina, was largely defended by Jewish soldiers. One company was so nearly all Jewish that it was called "The Jewish Company." Yet in their midst were heroic slaves. Salem Poore, a Negro, was commended by fourteen commanders for distinguished fighting in the Charleston and Savannah campaigns. He fought side by side with his Jewish brother then as his race fights now for their common freedom.

Governor of Ga. a Jew

In 1801 after a brilliant career as a soldier, David Emanuel became governor of G[illegible] It was not until [illegible] ner war was fought, however, that Negroes assumed legislative offices in this state, but, between 1868-1910 a Negro went to Congress from Georgia—Jefferson Long was his name.

Wars cost money—and a lot of it. Jews in America during the Revolution turned their charity and business genius to the task of helping supply the needed funds.

The Continental Congress made repeated call for funds—Washington's army was fast being depleted by deaths due to lack of food and weapons. Jews met the need with great personal contributions.

Haym Solomon

Isaac Moses gave Robert Morris, minister of finance, 3,000 pounds. Philip Morris of Georgia, gave $7,000 as an advance to pay the soldiers their salaries. Food, clothing [illegible]

Robert Morris, finance minister, had a lot of credit—but, little cash. Solomon converted this credit into money in hand. He did it with no gain to himself, and his death in 1885 as a bankrupt consumptive glorified the spirit of America as certainly as did any death at Valley Forge or Bunker Hill.

With [illegible] Jewish deaths—Negroes and Jews in ea[illegible] liest times proved what we of this generation will prove—that in our unity there is hope for a better, freer world.

A Polish Jew named Haym Solomon was imprisoned in New York by the British and charged with aiding the Americans. He escaped and fled to Philadelphia where he gave his life in service [illegible] were to the cause of freedom. [illegible] piled by Jewish Co-

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NON-WHITES

Chinese Have Shown More Prejudice Than Any Other Group

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa

DEC 11 1943

LET'S TAKE the Chinese. Down at Fisk last spring some of the students were calling the Chinese "Yelow Uncle Toms." What they meant was this—The Chinese were treated better than any other non-white group in this country and so they had developed a sort of superiority complex toward the Negroes, Filipinos, Japanese, Indians, etc. What it's like is a real light complexioned colored person who can eat in all the downtown restaurants, stay in the best hotels, and then come out to the Negro community and act superior. Somebody always hears them talking and says "Well, after all, you're a n——r too, ain't you?" That's how I feel about the Chinese this morning. They get pretty high and mighty, but after all, they ain't white and they'd better realize they're in the same minority group boat with the rest of us.



Mr. Cayton

Here are my specific complaints. Take the Madame Chiang Kai-shek business where the Madame was taken up and courted by White America and allowed to sleep in the White House. She lost her head completely. Aristocrat that she was, when questioned about the poll tax she wanted to know how Negroes would vote before she would be willing to grant them the franchise. One thing certain—Negroes might vote to aid the slaving millions of China with whom they have some affinity, but they wouldn't vote for what the Madame represents after that crack.

AN INCIDENT AT THE CIO CONVENTION

DEC 11 1943

LET'S TAKE a more recent event. At the last CIO convention Willard S. Townsend, president of the United Transport Service Employees of America, introduced a resolution calling for the abolition of the Chinese Exclusion Act. This was a carefully thought-out plan to show to the public and to the members of the conference that an American Negro was mindful of the problems of the Chinese people. Townsend pointed this out in his speech, which was received with enthusiasm by the convention. After it was over, H. T. Liu, overseas representative of the Chinese Association of Labor, went up and thanked James Carey, secretary of the CIO. Carey informed Liu that he should thank Townsend, who had really put it over. Liu did not even have courtesy enough to look up Townsend, but dropped his personal card in Townsend's box at his hotel with a small message scribbled across the front of it. If that Chinese gentleman had really felt the brotherhood of man and recognized the similarity of the problem of non-white people throughout the world, he would have thrown his arms around Townsend rather than slipping up to the white man first.

SYMPATHETIC TO CHINA'S PROBLEM

DEC 11 1943

Of all the non-white people in this country—Mexicans, Japanese, Filipinos—I think the Chinese have shown more racial prejudice toward the Negro than any group but the East Indians. Although I've eaten in many Chinese restaurants from coast to coast, I've been refused service in many others and it hurts more to be refused by a Chinese because you know darn well he's got the same problem to face that you have.

THE MAJORITY of Negroes are really and deeply sympathetic to the problems of China. The majority of Negroes hate the militarism and Fascism of Japan and hope that China is victorious over that country. The majority of Negroes also hate the imperialism and exploitation of China by England and the United States and hope that a new day will be opened for China after this present war. I told in this column some months ago about a little Negro church that was busy for months collecting money for Chinese relief because they saw an affinity between their condition and that of the Chinese.

SOME THINGS CHINESE CAN DO

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Now if the Chinese want to do something to show that they do appreciate the understanding and feeling which Negroes have for them and their problem, they could do a couple of things in a hurry. In the first place, their consuls could attend Negro affairs when they are invited and not duck them for fear that someone in the diplomatic service will detect the fact that they are non-white themselves. Second, the Chinese can remove all discrimination and prejudice from their restaurants and public services all over the country. Surely a Negro should feel safe in going into a Chinese restaurant.

THERE ARE thirteen million of us here and we could be a strong ally to the Chinese people in their fight for liberation and they'd better begin to understand it.

Dustin' off the NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

WE NEED A "FORCE BILL" TO GET THE VOTE

DEC 18 1943

THE ROW TODAY is truly "in the same method of the recent Soldier Vote bill: by an "unholy alliance" between Democrats who made a bargain with a group of their Republican colleagues seeking other legislation. President Cleveland had withdrawn U. S. Marshals from the polls in the South; the bill sponsored by Lodge sought to put them back to safeguard the ballot for the Negro. It was known commonly as the "Force bill." That was 53 years ago. It has not come to life since. If it were to appear on the scene today it would at least "smoke out" some traitorous Republicans and possibly break up some "unholy alliances," and put the national election machinery in the hands of the Federal government where it rightfully belongs if Democracy is ever to function in behalf of the now voteless millions.

"When and under what conditions is the black man to have a free ballot? When is he, in fact, to have those full civil rights which have so long been his in law? When is that equality of influence which our form of government was intended to secure to the electors to be restored? This generation should courageously face these grave questions, and not leave them as heritage of woe to the next. The consultation should proceed with candor, calmness, and great patience upon the lines of justice and humanity, not of prejudice and cruelty. No question in our country can be at rest except upon the firm basis of justice and of the law.

"The qualifications of any elector must be sought in the law, and not in the OPINIONS, FEARS, or JUDGMENTS of any class, however powerful. The path of the elector to the ballot box must be free from the ambush of fraud and the enticements of fraud, the count so true and open that none shall gain-say it. It should give the advantage to honesty and the decision to majorities."

Pity there is not some judge who could sentence Rankin, Bilbo, Connally, et al., to recite the last paragraph of President Harrison's message as their night's prayer (that's if they pray at all) in order that some essence of democratic principles might soak into their befuddled, screwball, and muddled brains.



Defender
Chicago, Ill
DEC 18 1943
Lucius C. Harper

fact that the opposition comes from those who don't want colored people and poor whites to have their rights as democratic citizens. This won't help the cause of the United Nations among the millions of colored people and underprivileged people all over the world whose support we are trying to enlist. The Japanese will wear this propaganda to a frazzle among the darker races it has already won over through such erring tactics on the part of its enemies. Ask the British about Singapore, about Burma, and also about India.

* * *

THE TRAGEDY of the situation is that thru conniving, overlording and holding the keypoint committeeships in our national government, Southerners have been successful in getting the cooperation of many Northern Republicans in passing such morale-destroying legislation. Sixteen Republican senators, above the Mason-Dixon line, locked arms with the Southerners to defeat the bill. They were won over to the point of reason by John E. Rankin, Democrat of Mississippi, who prated about the Senate for six days buttonholing Republicans with the plea that "we must leave the election machinery in the States" where, he said, it is required to be under the Constitution.

Rankin is an expert at defeating Democracy. Our government will remain a farce of Democracy so long as Rankin, Bilbo, Connally, Eastland; in fact, the whole Southern group of like calibre and standing are permitted to represent States in the House and Senate. In 1942, when Rankin was re-elected for his 12th term, only 7,097 votes were cast for him, although Mississippi's First Congressional district, which he represents, has a population of 263,367 people. Under existing conditions one white voter in the South—in Rankin's district—has the potential voting strength of 10 voters in certain Congressional districts in the North. The South has representation in Congress based on population, white and black; but voting is limited to whites, especially in Rankin's district. In fact, Rankin is in Congress through the worst form of fraud.

* * *

WHAT IS needed to elevate the voteless colored and whites of the South is the passage of a Federal Elections bill which was introduced by the late Henry Cabot Lodge of Mass., in 1890, then serving his second term as a congressman. It sought national protection for the colored voter at elections in the South—but it lost, and by

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N.C. GOVERNOR ASKS RACE AID

Defender
Chicago, Ill
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RALEIGH, N. C.—(ANP)—A recommendation [illegible] Broughton that a committee be appointed immediately from the state board of education to study a post-war program for operation of consolidated Negro public schools in North Carolina has been announced.

The idea is to "afford more and better opportunities for agricultural and vocational training for colored

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[illegible] Gov. Broughton told the [illegible] urged equal chance for the [illegible] sical equipment to serve the large [illegible] million colored people in his [illegible] number of Negro children enrolled. [illegible] Racial harmony is at stake in the [illegible] matter of seeing that improvements [illegible] and in agriculture [illegible] and other endeavors at [illegible] are made in this field." The task of the 1945 general assembly will be to level off the differential between [illegible] salaries of white and Negro teachers still are too many one, ers, he said.

[illegible] and three-teacher schools," de- [illegible] Gov. Broughton, "many of [illegible] entirely inadequate in phy- [illegible] day.

"There st[illegible] two and thr[illegible] cared Gov[illegible] them entire[illegible]

MY POINT OF VIEW Kansas City Call
Kansas City, Mo.

What May We Hate . . .

Ruth Taylor

DEC 24 1943

A GOOD HATE

There are some people today who are saying that what is lacking in this war is a good hate—that until we begin to hate, we won't begin to fight. They want our propaganda keyed to a horror theme, so that our people will be mad with rage. They forget that mas hatred is just a step from mob hatred — and that no one can predict on whom the mob will turn next.

But if we cannot hate a people — what may we hate?

HATE WAR

We may hate war. We can hate war so much that we will fight with every ounce of our ability to wipe it from the earth forever — not in a servile pacifist withdrawal from the fight, but in a supreme battle against those criminals who bring desolation and destruction upon the peaceful peoples of the world. We can hate war so much that we will gladly put aside our way of life for a while so that we may speedily put an end to war.

We may hate intolerance. We may hate intolerance so intensely that we will try to stamp it out wherever it exists, in any place in the world, toward any group, whether that group be majority or minority. We may hate intolerance so much that we will set a seal upon our own lips and see to it that no intolerant act or speech of our adds flame to this funeral pyre of unity.

HATE DISCRIMINATION

DEC 24 1943

We may hate discrimination. We may hate it so vehemently that we will demand equal rights for all people. We may hate discrimination so intensely that we will insist that all people be judged upon their individual merits and not as a group. We may hate discrimination so sincerely that we will never demand special privileges for ourselves as part of any group.

We may hate cruelty. We may fight to the bitter end to wipe out organized cruelty to any people, anywhere. We may hate treachery, deceit, dishonor. We may hate it so that we ostracize from our lives all those who live by these practices . We may hate injustice. We may hate it enough to give our lives for the cause of freedom and fair play.

LOVE THE LORD

"Ye that love the Lord, hate evil," spake the Psalmist . These things may we hate and against these things do we fight.

OTHER PAPERS SAY

Defender—Chicago, Ill

CIVIL LIBERTIES IN MEMPHIS
(The Chicago Sun)

Boss Crump of Memphis has gone all out for home-town isolationism. No "blatherskite or demagogue of the North or South," he says, should be permitted to "interfere" with the "friendly relations" between white and Negro races in Memphis.

That is the last of Boss Crump's answer to criticism for having his henchmen intimidate Memphis Negroes into canceling a recently scheduled mass meeting on Negro problems. The meeting was to have been addressed by A. Philip Randolph, president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and member of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

Mr. Randolph may be a "blatherskite" to Mr. Crump—but he is a national leader in the ranks of labor and in the cause of Negro betterment. Doubtless his opposition to the poll tax infuriates Boss Crump, who owes his power in large degree to that indefensible instrument for thwarting and corrupting democracy. Doubtless most things that Mr. Randolph stands for infuriate the czar of Memphis. But for all his zeal in stifling civil liberties in the Randolph case Mr. Crump will lose in the end. Memphis will not permit him to isolate it permanently from the American way of democracy and free speech.

Should A Negro Sit At Peace Table?

Defender—Chicago, Ill

Some of the world's finest thinkers now focus their attention on: "Winning the Peace That Follows." We are constantly reminded that we won the last war but lost the peace. The world's peace makers spend countless hours plotting and visualizing the kind of world we must have in futuro. As we observe them and their imaginary world we are sometimes inspired as in the cases of Henry Wallace, Wendell Willkie, Pearl Buck and Dorothy Thompson.

At times they amuse us as did Mr. Wilkinson of Alabama with his proposal of a white counter organization along the lines of the NAACP, probably a National Association for the **Protection** of Southern White People, or was it "for the **Advancement** of Southern White People"? At other times we are amazed and chagrined when men in high places disgrace democracy and yield to expediency and pressure where the rights of Negroes are concerned.

In the midst of such conglomerate thoughts, actions and ideals, the question arises: **"Shall There Be A Negro At the Peace Table"?** The answer: **"Yes, at least one — probably more."**

Chicago, Ill

Yes, we American Negroes know that a delegate to the Peace Conference is supposed to be of such high integrity and sublime character as to be stripped of all race, religion and nationality, and to breathe the pure philosophy of "a single human race throughout the world."

Where do we find such statesmen? I know of no such statesmanship this side of heaven. No one can speak for the Negro at the peace table but A NEGRO who has ability, integrity and courage. He will fear no social ostracism by his white associates because he champions our cause, for he is already ostricized and Jim Crowed. He cannot lose standing with his associates because he has no standing. He cannot lose ground because he was born with his back to the wall. His civil status cannot be reduced because he is only a second class citizen in the land he helped to build. There is no way for him to go but forward. The only way he can gain anything is by fighting.

If America as a whole lost the peace following the last war, the Negro lost it tenfold. He lost it first, at the very peace table itself. No American Negro was there in any capacity and the noble sentiments of the American representatives embodied nothing that meant any nearer approach to democracy for Negroes than they then had. Our white leaders went some distance in regulating the internal life of other nations but lynching, disfranchisement, Jim Crowism and other treatment of the Negro in the U.S.A. were locked up in the "closet." The treatment of the Negro by his Country was and is the "dirty linen" of American democracy. A courageous Negro delegate would drag it out of the "closet" and put it on the peace table for inspection. — Joseph L. McLemore, President, Mound City Bar Association. St. Louis, Mo.

DEC 24 1943

White Members of Henderson's Band Use Burnt Cork to Please Ala. Union

DEC 25 1943

ATLANTA — (ANP) — It's all in their faces with burnt cork.

The problems, failures and successful right for colored and white musicians to play together at a private affair, but against "public policy" with. In keeping with Georgia racial for a mixed band to perform in public, the white Atlanta musicians' union ruled here recently in refusing to grant permission for three white members of Fletcher Henderson's band to perform at the City Auditorium.

No objection was raised, however, when the trio played with the band at a holiday affair held at the fashionable Jewish Progressive Club.

Henderson, who has his brother Horace at the piano in his band, disclosed that he had encountered difficulty with the white musicians at only four towns on his current Southern tour. In each instance the musicians' union intervened.

Permits for the men to play in addition to Atlanta, he said, were denied at Miami and Chattanooga. In Gadsden, he said, the white musicians' local compromised the issue by granting permits to the trio only on the condition that they would blacken

Kansas City Call
DEC 25 1943

Basic Study of Northern Negro To Be Published

Kansas City, Mo
The January, 1944, issue of the "Journal of Educational Sociology" will contain basic studies of the Negro in New York, Chicago, Detroit and Baltimore, it is announced.

Among the scholars contributing to these studies are: Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, sociologist of Howard university; St. Clair Drake, social anthropologist and formerly asststant director of the Illinois Commission on the Urban Negro; Edward S. Lewis, director of the New York Urban League; Algernon D. Reddick, historian of the City of New York public library; Lewis E. Martin of the Michigan Chronicle, and Dr. L. D. Reddick, historian of the New York public library.

The entire January number is devoted to "The Negro in the North During Wartime." **The Journal of Educational Sociology** is published at New York university.

56k-1943

A PLEA FOR JUSTICE

Editor, The Journal: I have been a reader of your paper since early childhood when my father was a regular subscriber on the farm. I remember well when mail deliveries improved so we could take the triweekly; I was overjoyed. The news was always dependable, we could tell it and be safe from future contradiction and your entertaining features were superb. My first letter in print was one to the children's corner, when I made a small contribution to Grady Hospital's children's ward. You championed the cause of all worthiness then and I verily believed the paper a medium of expression for all that was charitable, just and true. Atlanta, Ga. Journal

I grew into manhood and visited Atlanta the first time in 1895; saw your printing presses in operation at the Cotton States International Exposition; heard Booker T. Washington's famous speech, "Let down your buckets where you are," and have conscientiously tried to do it. I offer no apology for my 40 years in this city except my ignorance, but I was to learn many things and unlearn a few.

First, Grady Hospital's children's ward did not mean me or mine would ever be b[illegible]ted. Later Grady Hospital for me was abando[illegible] to a school, and even ambulance service discont[illegible]ed, turned over completely to undertakers (think of it). I saw an ambulance called to an accident where the driver refused to minister or assist the injured until after they had carted away the dead.

For years I have pleaded with authorities individually to secure the services of competent colored physicians to serve in the strictly segregated hospital and to admit Negro graduates as interns, but to no avail.

I have tried hard to get an auditorium or sheltered garden at the great Booker T. Washington High School large enough for the principal to lecture to the whole 4,000 students housed, crammed or patronizing it, but with no success.

Still I know that a room of this kind, where the principal could lecture once a week on public behavior alone, in cars, on sidewalks and business places, would be worth many times its cost to the city. To us the benefit would be great, because we want our boys and girls to be mannerable. This is often the entering wedge of mutual respect, but no medium of public expression will mention it. And yet like Booker T. Washington, I believe all racial injustice will be corrected by a Southerner, press or individual. Else why did I write this?

A. H. YANCEY.

676 Beckwith Street, S. W.,
Atlanta.

Whites And Negroes Shall Stay Rich Or Poor Together,-Daniels

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BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (ANP)— Jonathan Daniels, well known former editor of the News and Observer, of Raleigh, N. C., now serving as administrative assistant to President Roosevelt, told the Rotary club here last week that people in the south would all stay poor together or all be richer together.

"Fortunately for the south," Daniels said, "there is leadership in it which is neither lost in dreaming or raving in demagoguery. It is native leadership which does not regard the people of the south, white or black, as merely colonial labor working in poverty for the enrichment of a few. It has faith in the southern people. It has seen the demonstrations of their skill. It does not believe a southern worker is worth less than a northern worker nor that the south is served by his cheapness.

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"Such a leader," the speaker continued, "does not dismiss any mass of his fellows as poor whites, nor expect the south to be rich and free of heart by the deliberate denial of an economic chance for decency to its Negroes. We are hearing a lot about the race problem today, much of it angry and a great deal of it sad.

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"The one certain thing about it was said by a great Alabama educator a good many years ago. He was the Negro, Booker T. Washington, who told us the only way the white man is going to keep the Negro in the ditch is to stay there with him. It is a rule which is not merely racial. We shall all stay poor together in the south or all be richer together."

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HERE TO YONDER

By LANGSTON HUGHES

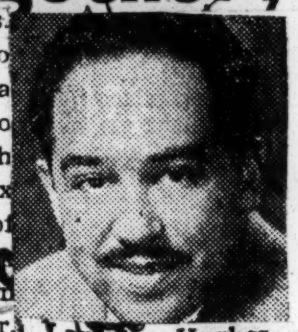
Defender
Chicago, Ill

Equality And Dogs

"NOW, you take this here social equality that white folks are always bringing up," said My Simple Minded Friend, "I don't understand it. They socialize with dogs — yet they don't want to socialize with me."

"True," I said.

"White dogs, black dogs, any kind of dogs," Simple went on. "They don't care what color the dog is. Why, I used to drive for a woman who were so rich she had six dogs. One of 'em, a big bl[illegible] dog, slept in bed with her, right in bed with his rusty back up next to her white feet. But if a Negro set down six tables away from her in a restaurant, she almost had a fit. I do not understand it."



Langston Hughes

"You see plenty of dogs walking with white ladies on Park Avenue," I said.

"But no Negroes," Simple added.

"That's right," I said.

"They walk dogs and work Negroes," explained Simple. "While them rich white ladies is out walking with their dogs, the Negroes are working back in their kitchens."

"Were working back in their kitchens," I said. "They're mostly in defense now . . . self-defense."

Dogs In Combat

"THEM RICH WHITE FOLKS give their big old yard dogs they don't like much to defense work, too. The army trains 'em to fight just like a man. But the army mostly trains Negroes to work — quartermasters, engineers, Seabees . . ."

"Yes."

"Um-hum-m-m! But they train them dogs to fight. Why, I saw a picture of a dog getting a medal on his chest for fighting so good he tore down a machine gun nest. It were in a white paper where I ain't never seen no picture of a Negro soldier getting a medal on his chest. Everytime they have pictures of Negroes in uniform, they are always unloading some landing barge or digging on some road. A dog gets a better break in the army than a Negro."

"You sound kinder bitter," I said, "about your army."

"How do you figger it's my army?" asked Simple.

"You pay taxes for it," I said.

"I do," said Simple, "but it pays me no mind. It Jim Crows me — but it don't Jim Crow no dogs. White dogs and black dogs all serve together in the army. They don't have no Jim Crow cars for the black dogs."

"You have got something there," I said. "I had rather be a dog in this man's army down South any time than colored. Why, I saw in the newsreels where they train them dogs to leap at a man and try to tear him down—a white man at that. But if I even as much as raise a hand at a cracker when he pushes me off the sidewalk, my head is beat and I am put in jail. But a dog in the army, they teach him not to let nobody push him off no sidewalk. Here I am a human, and I get less of a break in the U. S. than a dog! I do not understand it."

"Neither do I," I said.

Same Chance As A Dog

"HOW COME you ain't arguing with me today?" asked Simple. You mighty near always disagree."

"How can I disagree about dogs," I said. "I remember in depression times, when they had the NYA and the WPA and the PWA and all those things that it was so hard to get on—and that you got so little from after you did get on 'em. Well, I remember seeing folks come into stores and buy great big pieces of good red meat for their dogs, while plenty colored folks, and white, too, didn't have meat for themselves and their children. I said to myself then that it must be good to be a dog."

"Eating meat and not having to worry about getting on WPA! Black dogs and white dogs and all eating good red meat, and no color line between 'em. Like that lady I used to drive for, let her black dog sleep in her bed, all up against her feet. I tell you, dogs rate better in America than me—colored does."

"Anyhow, I love dogs," I said, "and I'm glad they get a break in our paradoxical society."

"I love dogs, too," said Simple. "But I love colored folks better."

"Then you want to take the meat out of a dog's mouth, and the medals off his chest?"

"I do not," said Simple. "I just want some meat in my mouth, and some medals for us, too. That's all! I just want the same chance as has a dog. Do you want to argue about that?"

"I do not want to argue about that," I said. "No, I do not want to argue."

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

It is necessary and important to get a clear view and perspective in order to have a clear and effective understanding. Without clear and effective to get the help of our white neighbors in order the problems which churn the minds of us all as ward us on the part of our white neighbors. In Negroes is our relations to our white neighbors. In spite of all else, it seems that we have to What is to be the underlying basis and point of basis of understanding and working together with view of those relations?

Ga. Governor Says Race Problem Mainly Economic

Afro-American Baltimore, Md

NEW YORK—Declaring that the "racial problem" is an "economic problem," Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia, speaking here Friday, recommended that government regulation of private enterprise be "minimized" in the post-war era and predicted a tremendous industrial expansion in the South after the war.

He stated that colored people are not exploited to the profit of Southern whites, but that "white and colored alike are exploited by a system that dooms agriculture to a 'one-crop' policy, and that inhibits the manufacture of high-grade products through which alone a high wage scale is possible."

Governor Arnall said further that the United States can no longer prosper under a system by which the South and the West are regarded as "colonial territory for exploitation instead of as a part of our common country."

Daily Worker

Will It Never End?

(From The Lighthouse and Informer)

Last week white workers at the Western Eectric plant in Maryland struck over sharing toilet facilities with colored workers. Samples of propaganda printed and distributed indicate among other things that Negroes were breeders of terrible diseases, were insolent and treacherous and were trying to "get out of their places." To those who know that the record of the colored workers at this plant is above reproach, and who know that the only difference between colored and white people is one of color this propaganda is both subtle and amusing.

The Dec. 17th edition of "Yank," army newspaper, carried a letter from two white soldiers suggesting that in return for their contributions to the winning of the war, the colored people be colonized in some country and put under supervision of white people. "Yank" debunked the proposal.

DEC 31 1943 Atlanta, Georgia

During the debate on the soldiers' vote bill, Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina stormed over the senate chambers with tirades against President and Mrs. Roosevelt, Communists and Negroes. His running mate, Rankin of Mississippi, took up precious time in calling up a bill he had introduced requesting that Santa Claus, by federal statute, be forced to visit white and colored children on separate nights and never bring to a colored child a gift superior to that of a white child.

DEC 31 1943

There are other incidents of this kind an editor wearies of seeing in his dispatches. More important than he, however, are the masses of colored and white people who tire of it. We pose the question, "Will this kind of carrying-on never end?"

rected at a Sgt. Nolan and Cpl. Hitner whose letter to the editor sought editorial opinion on "the race problem in the war."

DEC 27 1943

"Negroes will think they are equal to the whites because they have fought in this war, and some white people will feel the same way about it," wrote Nolan and Hitner. "It is our opinion that they should not be given equality, but should be rewarded, perhaps with some portion of some country for their own use, where they will be governed by white people, in order that they will be taken care of and still have a chance to make a good living."

The editors of Yank had this answer:

DEC 25 1943

"Yank takes its views on the post-war 'race' problem from the founders of the United States who believed that all men were created equal. No man should talk about 'giving' any American that which he already has by inalienable right. On Aug. 31, there were 74,013 Negroes serving in the navy and 582, 861 in the army, of whom 153,900 were overseas. There is a Negro general in the U. S. army. The navy recently named an airfield after a Negro who gave his life for the service.

"Yank believes it is folly to propose that Negroes be governed by whites when Negroes in the army and navy are fighting for our country's rights, when Negroes in our state and national legislatures are helping make our country's laws and when there are Negroes in our courts interpreting our laws."

China Speaks

DEC 25 1943

By LIU LIANG-MO

In Order to Have Freedom
There Must Be Unity Between
Chinese, Jews and Negroes

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa

WHAT is the most significant achievement of the Cairo conference and the Teheran conference? It is unity, united among the United Nations. This is the best Christmas gift in 1943 for all the people of the world. It is given to us not only by the leaders of the Big Four, but also by the struggles and the bloodshed by your boys, our enemy, the Fascists, not among ourselves. If we should work for unity among ourselves, we certainly will, and this is the trouble with us? should not emphasize the dissen- sions among us. But you would say, first, we forget our that we are anti-Negro people among us; not only by the there are anti-Negro people among us; not only by the the Chinese who won't let the Negro people among us; not only by your boys, our Negro people go to their shops? Yes so there are also anti-Chinese and anti-Semitic people among the Negro people. Would it be fair for me to accuse the Negro people as the most anti-Chinese and anti-Semitic people among the colored people? You will protest and say, "No!" So I shall also protest when we, the Chinese people, are being accused as the most anti-Negro people among the colored. It is most unfair.



Mr. Liu Liang-Mo

NEGROES MUST FIGHT JIM CROWISM

Of course, not all Chinese are angels. We don't claim to be. As a matter of fact, we have a few fascists among us; but they are as such, and they should be punished as such. Don't judge us by our "officials" because they are most unrepresentative. Thank heaven who live and work in a place, where there is strong jim crow atmosphere, then they also become jim crowistic. I lived this summer in San Antonio, Texas. The Chinese shop in the Negro people's area, and the Negro people are most cordial to the Negro people, and the Negro people are most cordial to them. The first thing for the Negro people to break is jim crowism, not the Chinese people.

Why is it that we don't like each

Chinese feelings among the Jewish people. We find there are anti-fascists, but they are Semitic and anti-Chinese feelings among the Negro people. Who can be benefitted by it? Our common enemies—the Nazis, the Japanese militarists, and the home fascists. If we don't watch out, the enemy agents will capitalize on our ill-feelings towards each other, stir up more ill-feelings, let us fight among ourselves, and then crush us one by one.

OPPRESSED SAME ENEMY

DEC 25 1943

The Chinese should not forget that the Japanese are still at our throats; the Jewish people should not forget that the Nazis are still at their throats, and the Negro people should not forget that the home fascists. we still have Chinese people who are bravely fighting the Japanese fascists, such as demonstrated by the tough fight around the "Rice Bowl," and they are the majority.

YOU MAY say, but tell us, why some Chinese are anti-Negro? So far as I know, those Chinese

DEC 25 1943

Yank, Army Weekly Publication Blasts 'White Rule' in America

Kansas City Call

Kansas City, Mo.

WASHINGTON. — (ANP) — "Yank" the army weekly publication, thinks it "folly" that Negroes should be "governed by whites when Negroes in the army and navy are fighting for our country's rights, and when there are Negroes in our state and national legislatures are helping make our country's laws and when there are Negroes in our courts interpreting our laws."

DEC 25 1943

This is the printed word as the December 17 issue, and dr

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S.C. LEADERS, PAPERS HIT GOVERNOR'S RACE BAIT PLEA

Bee
Chicago, Ill. _____

COLUMBIA, S. C., July 29. (ANP)—The Negro Citizens' committee, such influential white newspapers as the Columbia Record and the Charleston News and Courier, plus a liberal number of indignant Negro organizations, pounced upon Governor Olin D. Johnston's Friday address before members of the South Carolina home guards at Fort Jackson and individually and collectively condemned the assertions made by the state's chief executive.

Gov. Johnston had told the state guardsmen that "if any outsiders come into our state and agitate social equality among races, I shall deem it my duty to call upon you to expel them." He said: "Segregation is the only way to handle the race question," and "for generations we have lived in South Carolina without trouble. We have treated the Negro race fairly. We have given him educational advantages far beyond his ability to pay. We have given him every opportunity of work that leads to a decent and adequate livehood. But we cannot and will not tolerate the mixing of the races in our schools, churches and dwelling places."

The governor said he had told newspapermen at a recent governors' meeting that "South Carolina was fully able to take care of the race question without outside interference; that the white people of his state had successfully run this government for generations and that we intended to run it as we had done in the past . . . You cannot mix the races and have no trouble. God didn't see fit to mix them. I am tired of people agitating social equality of races in our state."

The Citizens' committee, in a replying letter to Gov. Johnston, said Negroes were not seeking "social equality" but did seek "equal educational facilities" and "the right to participate in our state government." The letter, signed by E. A. Adams, state president, and James M. Hinton, state secretary, said: "The Negroes of South Carolina are not impugning the motives of his excellency in his address, but the inferences made can serve no good purpose to either race."

The Charleston News and Courier, agreeing with the governor's segregation platform, Monday denounced his threats to use the state guard to "suppress free speech" and held that there is no advocacy of "social equality" and "mixing of the races" by South Carolina Negroes.

The Columbia Record, most influential of the state's evening papers, went further in its criticisms and charged Gov. Johnston with using the race question for political purposes. The Record observed that Negroes had used fair and sensible methods to solve their problems and were driven to the courts in the "equal pay" case by an unsympathetic legislature. It said there was no evidence to which they are entitled, and to talk about calling out the state guard to resist agitation which threatens no [illegible] is nonsense." It concluded that the state might well select two others in the place of Sen. "Cotton Ed" Smith and Gov. Johnston as 1943 senatorial candidates.

Baptist ministers in Columbia and several other groups also sent rebuking letters to the governor, who thus far has made no further comment.

Reviews Race Tempo Since Pearl Harbor

Journal and Guide

New York City

College Professor

Scans Horizon

Norfolk, Virginia

NEW YORK — Seventy thousand American citizens of Japanese descent are still imprisoned in war relocation centers, "though we never did set up similiar centers for American citizens of German and Italian descent, though we have been at war against Germany and Italy as well as Japan," Dr. L. D. Reddick, of City College, stated at the Cooper Union Forum on the second anniversary of Pearl Harbor.

INDIANS IN THE WAR

Dr. Riddick, one of four speakers who took stock of developments in the nation under pressure of war, pointed out that the American Indian has a higher percentage of men in the armed forces than any other group in the nation, and that the Iriquois Confederacy had officially declared war on Germany.

EVIDENCES OF ANTI-SEMITISM

The speaker, dealing with the developments in race relations since Pearl Harbor, said that despite evidences of anti-Semitism here, the way these outbreaks had been crushed by the American people is an encouraging sign:

Because of the riots and other evidences of the conflict between the theory and practice of democracy, at home and abroad, the whole nation is more interested in "solving" the race problem than it has even been before. This is our best chance to make a great stride forward, if government, labor and the people will move forward together rapidly enough," said Dr. Reddick.

C. B. Eastman, representing industry, stated that the "battle of production" had been won and that the prospects for the post-war period were bright if industry, labor and government formed a partnership to meet the problems.

Lawrence Rogan, CIO labor leader, showed that despite the howl against high wages, living costs had advanced ahead of wage increases and that with few exceptions, labor had kept its patriotic pledge of "no strikes."

Dean Harry Carman of Columbia University, after tracing the problems of the small farmer, attacked the Farm Bloc as a selfish group of big, commercial farm owners.

Southern Governors On Race Question

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

IT IS hardly a coincidence that during recent weeks four southern governors have spoken publicly, at closely spaced intervals, on the race question.

None of the remarks by the governors, as reported in the newspapers, was reassuring. A clarification by one of the governors, which we will come to later, takes some of the sting out of what he was quoted as having said.

First, Governor Chauncy Sparks, of Alabama, reiterated his earlier dissertation, so ineptly and unfortunately loosed upon Tuskegee Institute on its annual founder's day. He is for "absolute segregation" and "independent development," but believes in "economic justice, a fair deal and all the opportunity of entering every channel of service **among your people.**"

Justice, a fair deal and opportunity "among your people." Which is to say that four men having $20 among them may sit down and play poker as long as the $20 is in circulation. Twenty dollars is their ceiling. We already have that opportunity.

But that is not enough. We will always have extremely circumscribed channels of service until we are able to have representation on the school board, the board of health, the board of county supervisors and in the state legislature. We will never have equal justice or opportunity as long as we are denied these things.

Governor Johnston, of South Carolina, and Governor Broughton, of North Carolina, have both followed the lines of the Alabama governor. Governor Johnston was incendiary. He addressed the South Carolina state guard in camp and told its members that, "If any outsiders come into our state and agitate social equality among races, I shall deem it my duty to call upon you to expel them from our state."

That was an invitation to bloodshed. It was handing a poorly trained and half-disciplined substitute for a state militia an order capable of most any kind of interpretation. The governor was virtually inciting his white fellow-citizens to riot, a thing which he was doing for political effect, and for none other.

While Governor Broughton, of North Carolina, was denouncing "outside agitators" before a colored audience at Wilmington, city police officers and a bus operator were outside outrageously beating, arresting and jailing a highly respectable colored woman who was trying to get within hearing distance of the governor. He was telling his colored hearers how the two races could handle matters racial, if left alone, and outside of the church in which he was speaking matters were being handled in the customary way.

Governor Darden, of Virginia, was quoted in the papers last week as having made some remarks on the race question while addressing the State Bar Association at Roanoke.

The papers quoted the governor as saying that the race question "may rend the nation if the federal government compels the removal of segregation laws in the south." He was further quoted as saying that he was "an advocate of racial separation, but also realized that the Negro is entitled to equal educational and medical advantages."

Not wishing to arrive at any hasty conclusions concerning what Governor Darden said, the Journal and Guide asked him for the full text of his remarks on the race question, particularly as they related to the removal of southern segregation laws by the federal government. To our injuiry Governor Darden replied:

> The speech which I made in Roanoke was made without manuscript, consequently I am not able to tell you exactly what was said. It dealt generally with the problems now confronting the state, and some of the things to be done, once peace is achieved. The discussion of racial problems was very brief.
>
> To the best of my recollection I touched upon two points—one, the danger of the political parties (both Democrats and Republicans) attempting to handle race relations in the south by outbidding each other for the Negro vote in the northern cities: two, that the segregation laws are too often the basis of mistreatment and the denial of opportunities.

On point number one, Governor Darden was on uncertain ground, as we shall try to point out a little

further on. On point number two one except their uninformed white the governor took high ground—audiences when they say that race higher than is of record for any relations in the south are cordial other southern governor. It is some- and satisfactory. They are not. The thing worth while when the gov- unlettered Negro masses of the ernor of a southern state recognizes south, who are unable to read or that "the segregation laws are too to understand that anyone on the often the basis for mistreatment outside wishes to help them, are in and the denial of opportunities." a ferment of dissatisfaction, doubt and dispair, and are reaching out

To our inquiry regarding the fed- for escape just like any other hu- eral government and the segrega- mans forced to fight for self pres- tion laws of southern states our ervation. This situation is not help- governor was not specific, so we ded by the discouraging letters which not know what he said, and he may southern Negro parents receive have been misquoted. We hope that from their sons in the armed forces. he was. We know that the governor Politicians, Democrats and Re- is too good a lawyer, and that he publicans—in the north, may have knows too much about the constitu- had a political motive in espousing tion of the United States, and of a federal anti-lynching law and the the several states, to have been abolishment of the poll tax, but speaking seriously—if he did speak these two evils are but a small part —of the federal government com- of the thousand and one proscrip- pelling the removal of segregation tions against the economic and laws in the south. Through the social advancement of the southern supreme court of the United States Negro. Granting that these two something may be done to re- measures have been exploited po- move the discriminations that are litically, it has been more than inherent in each and every one of matched by southern politicians the segregation laws, but as to the and propagandists who have kept laws themselves the supreme court alive the race question in politics, has already validated them. and who have gone to great pains to establish the pattern of southern life in the north.

The governors of southern states need to talk less of "outside agita- tors" and to examine more their own words, often inflammatory and wholly unwarranted. Outside agita- tion is not a drop in the bucket to what is going on in the minds of southern Negroes who have never heard of an outside agitator.

Southern governors ought to stop blaming "outside agitators" for all of the present tension and place some of the blame where it properly belongs—upon themselves. Most of them are sitting complacently in their cloistered offices, giving no notice or encouragement to white and colored people who are trying earnestly and hard to bring about a better understanding between the races. They view with alarm every gesture toward improving the standards of Negro life; every step toward affording Negroes and other underprivileged minorities economic opportunities, and decent, humane treatment in the distribution of public benefits. Where Negroes are concerned they profess to see only "social equality" in any progressive step which would raise them from sub-standard to standard citizen- ship.

Southern governors deceive no

Negroes at the Peace Table.

Bee (Magazine Sect
Chicago. Ill.

A great public discussion is now in progress regarding whether the Negro should sit at the peace table. Some have said yes, because it will afford new blood at such a gathering and will insure better provisions for minorities that might be either insufficiently represented or overlooked by delegates exclusively non-Negro.

Others have said that Negro delegates should not be sent just because they are Negroes. This they aver promotes over emphasis on race and contributes to dis- unity in thought as well as in action.

Many other points will be brought out and it is well that thought by and for Ne- groes will receive wider dramatization, un- til the problem gets a continuous place on the world beam of public opinion.

However, regarding these peace discus- sions apropos Negro representation, we venture to believe that since the realities in American life point to the fact that Ne- groes have a peculiar arrangement of their existence in American life, that it would be well, in sending an American delega- tion, that one or more be qualified Ne- groes.

When we say qualified, we mean a Ne. gro who not only is thoroughly conversant with his own group s problems but has a masterful grasp of the problems confront- ing the whole citizenry as well. He would be a particular, and a general specialist as well. Such qualified delegates would demonstrate that we practised real democ- racy and sent a delegate of color peculiar- ly close to the pulse beat of the man low- est down to see that his case received not only a fair hearing but a fair treatment as well. This would afford in the crucible of world affairs the true test of our democ- racy.

The Negro's Future In America.

IN the October 18 issue of the New Repub lic, a special supplement, "The Negro His Future in America," appears. As a re- sume of the prehistory and the current scene, it is done with care, candor and intelligence. Bee (Magazine Section

If we are intensely critical, we might, however, ask, after we had been told of the efforts of race science, the Negro in industry, the armed forces, in politics, economics and educational progress— what precisely is the Negro's future in America? Chicago, Ill,

By assessing the means outlined in the New Republic, we might realize hopeful clues as to what ends the Negro can reach in the post-war future.

The hope of the Negro's future seems to inhere in using more effectively the agen- cies at work educating public opinion. There are more agencies now than during or following the last war. But, alas, the Hydes are shunting the Dr. Jekells to the background. World-wide race hate was never more prevalent than now.

Yet, as the New Republic suggested, thoughtful advantage must be taken of the widened opportunity to focus light where leeches and termites have undermined our social order. Get rid of "stereotyped" Ne- groes, demand an improvement in the presenations given Negroes in the movies, on the radio, in the press, this or- gan is saying.

We delight that a wider audience is reached everytime liberal organs of pub- lic enlightenment and opinion share the views, struggles and cross bearings that the BEE and other members of the Negro press fraternity have carried on so long.

We will continue to lead the way be- cause as the late distinguished publicist, Kelly Miller so well uttered: 'He who feels the pain should utter the groan." We add—and should lead the way toward win- ning allies and extinguishing the pain by concentrated thought and an unyielding will even in the face of grave peril, to be- come full and free men.

Anti-Semitism Spreads

JEWISH PROBLEM SIMILAR TO OURS

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

By MARJORIE McKENZIE, Courier Columnist

WASHINGTON, D.C.—It requires considerable self-control for a Negro to read about the anti-Jewish riots in Boston and refrain from I-told-you-so attitudes. Nothing but great objectivity and tolerant understanding of the basis of their own problems can keep Negroes from feeling a fierce satisfaction over the accuracy of their warn- ings regarding the war-time mush- rooming of American prejudices. For they know that a nation that learns to make a scapegoat of Ne- groes has learned, above all else, to hate, and eventually will lust for more than one victim.

Into the maw of America's hate are sucked all weak and defense- less minorities — Negroes, Jews, Mexicans, Chinese-Americans, Jap- anese-Americans, and aliens—until gorged and stupid from its own avarice, our country risks the dan- ger of becoming the ludicrous world figure that Germany is today. The Negro press and Negro or- ganizations have been saying this for years; they have advocated the Negro's cause, not on a narrow group basis, but in terms of pre- serving the American ideal — by making of the Negro a symbol of a democracy at the cross-roads rather than a special pleader.

JEWS FOLLOW ESCAPIST PATTERN

It has been difficult for the Ne- gro to gain support in his fight for justice and freedom. There has been no group as unfortunate and none that wished to identify its cause with his. The Negro has understood the reluctance of other minorities to subject themselves voluntarily to caste sanctions, but his understanding has not pre- vented his being bitter. This is the foundation of whatever anti- Semitism may exist among Ne- groes. It is not really race prejudice, it is a resentment that many Jews have not been willing to accept religious intolerance as being of a piece, with racial bigotry and there- fore a common danger, to be at- tacked jointly by fellow-sufferers.

The Negro is, of course, grate- ful to Jewish trade unionists, and to other Jews, whose liberal de- fense of Negro rights has been encouraging and helpful. But he looks upon the escapism of many Jews and is bitter. He recognizes that there is greater divisiveness among Jews than in his own group, that there is less acceptance among many of the fact of being a Jew, than exists among his people of the fact of being a Negro.

SAME ROOT OF EVIL

There is no doubt that the com- mon identification accorded Jews is not ethnically sound and, per- haps if a Jew renounces his re- ligion, he is not a Jew any more. Somehow, I do not believe, that this renunciation would keep his children from being attacked by hoodlums since the subtlety of the association seems to persist into physical and cultural as well as

MUST COMBINE STRENGTH

There are always such measure- ments as skin color and hair types and other differences which science has recorded and catalogued. To refuse to recognize them is com- parable to sticking one's head in the sand. It seems simpler to con- quer one's fear of the stranger, to accept him as different but equal to oneself. It is the very dis- similarities among people which enrich and embroider the culture.

The time has come when, if we wish to preserve ourselves — Jew and Negro and Mexican—as well as our integrity, which is indeed the honesty and soundness of America herself, we must combine our strengths and fight together for a future which we have a right to share with our white, Christian brother.

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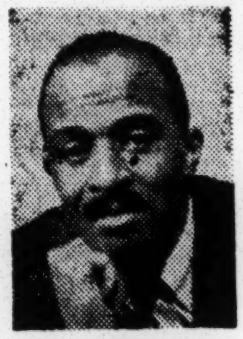
A Second Look

DEC 11 1943

By J. SAUNDERS REDDING

Journal and Guide Norfolk, Virginia

SHE GOT ON at Williamsburg. There was nothing especially remarkable about her, for pretty faces in America are a dime a dozen. She looked like upper-middle stock, perhaps a small town bank president's daughter or a young Army captain's wife. She clicked into the car very emphatically and dropped into the seat facing me. She smiled just faintly, showing neither surprise nor embarrassment at finding me there.



MR. REDDING

In the section opposite us rode a Navy petty officer and an enlisted man. I do not know where they got on, but they were on when I boarded train at Hampton, and they had kept up a kind of loud whisper in which I caught such phrases as "another car," "Sambo," and once, "Hitler's idea"—phrases which, taken separately, meant nothing, but when combined with the glances they constantly threw at me undoubtedly indicated a desire to challenge my presence. I tried to appear entirely unaware of them, though only a clod or a stone could have failed to catch the import of their tone and their glances.

When the pretty girl got on at Williamsburg, the uneasiness of the travellers opposite became something to see. To use a descriptive phrase, I thought they'd "bust a gut."

The girl clicked in. The porter shoved her bag under the seat, fussed about expertly for a moment, and left. The girl smiled faintly at me, glanced casually at the men opposite, fumbled for something in her handbag, and settled herself with an audible sigh.

WHISPERS BEGIN

Meantime the Navy men were really whispering together. Finally the petty officer, a tight-faced fellow with an enormous Adam's apple, cleared his throat and said to the girl, "Ridin' far?" The girl answered, "To Chicago," pleasantly enough, and then, looking directly at me, she said:

"Where are you going?"

"Indianapolis," I said, picking up the back section of my newspaper and laying the front section aside.

We rode in silence for some time. The men whispered and glanced. Once or twice they said something to the girl, and she answered pleasantly enough, but did nothing to keep their talk going.

At Richmond she got off, went into the station, and returned with a package of chocolate. I politely refused a piece. She asked if she could share my paper. "Certainly," I said, and handed her the front half. General Patton was spread all over the front page, and I suppose she began reading about him.

It was almost dark when we left Richmond and long before we reached Charlottesville the porter started making up the berths. The Navy men whispered together. The car was a lounge-sleeper with only about six sleeping sections on each side, and the porter worked very fast and efficiently.

The men whispered and just managed to keep from busting a gut. The porter reached the section but one from ours. The officer started to get up, recollected something he had forgotten to whisper, whispered it, and got up.

He stepped across to the section I occupied with the girl going to Chicago, leaned toward her intimately, protectively, and said:

"We figger'd you don't wan'na sleep here. S'pose you take my berth. 'I'll sling hammock here. It ain't but one night. I don't mind." His Adam's apple looked as if it would pop through his throat.

The girl looked at him with what I thought mild surprise. She lowered the paper to her lap. She looked at the petty officer and answered, pleasantly enough indeed with a kind of bitter-sweet pleasantness:

"If you don't mind, this is the berth I paid for and this is the berth I'm going to sleep in. Upper eight," she said. Then, without rudeness, she raised her paper and let her head drop back to it.

When the porter was ready to make down the section, I went into the lounge for a final smoke. A little later the girl came in. We shared a smoking stand. After a while she said:

"Can you imagine that man?" She laughed a little with a pleasant edge of bitterness to it.

"I don't have to imagine him." I said. "God knows he's real enough."

"Oh my, yes. Too real," she said. She smudged out her cigarette, smiled goodnight, and left. When I retired a half hour later, everyone was in bed. For a long time I heard the Navy men across the aisle.

In the morning I rang for the porter to come to the washroom.

"That young lady," I said. "Is she colored or white?"

"'Deed, I don't know. Why."

"Nothing," I said.

The Navy men must have gotten off at Cincinnati, for when I came back from breakfast the girl was up, the sections were made into seats once more, and the Navy men were gone. The girl and I talked pleasantly about nothing. Then, when the porter came through calling "Indianapolis. Indianapolis," I said:

"Look. Are you colored or white?" I tried to hide my embarrassment by laughing.

But she was embarrassed. She said, "Guess." Then, very quickly she changed her mind. "No. Don't guess. Let me keep it a secret." She laughed a moment. "Does it matter, really?"

"I don't know," I said. Then, "Thanks and goodbye."

"Goodbye," she said.

Says Jim Crow Costs 20 Billion

Journal and Guide Norfolk, Virginia

CHICAGO, Ill.—(ANP)—Occupational discrimination against Negroes costs the nations industries between $15,000,000,000 and $20,000,000,000 yearly, Dr. Maynard Krueger charged recently.

The occasion was the third session of the Institute of Racial Minorities in the Postwar World, held before a packed mixed audience at the Central Y. M. C. A. Dr. Krueger, University of Chicago professor, is vice-chairman of the Chicago Conference Against Racial and Religious Discrimination.

Colonial Status: Unsound And Undemocratic

Journal and Guide Norfolk, Virginia

By ELMER A. CARTER

THE PERSISTENT reports that have come out of Washington about the proposed creation of a so-called super committee to deal with problems affecting colored people in America are disturbing in spite of formal denials. For a large number of highly intelligent citizens of both races believe that some such committee is already in existence, though possessing no official status.

This belief is strengthened by the character of the plans and decisions which are made concerning us in various divisions of the federal government, and by the evident reluctance which high governmental officials have in making up their minds to treat citizens of color the way other citizens are treated.

One need not mention the moves and counter-moves, mostly backward, which have marked the War Department and the Navy Department in their utilization of Negro manpower for the armed services, nor the wierd decisions that have come out of the office of the Attorney General, nor the fantastic restrictions emanating from the Federal Housing Authority, nor even the shadow boxing of the War Manpower Commission.

THEORY AND REALITY

Wherever one looks there is striking evidence of attempts to pull in two opposite directions at the same time, to recognize our citizenship rights in theory but actually to make concessions to race prejudice here, and to reactionary and undemocratic racial atttiudes there.

For a long time there has been a tendency apparent in Washington to treat the Negro as a colonial. This idea has had for many years the sanction of some well known college professors who are perfectly honest but who despair of ever bringing complete equality to the Negro. The creation of such a super commission composed wholly of white men would be in keeping with this concept of racial adjustment. It would follow more or less closely the pattern adopted in South Africa and in some of the other British colonial possessions.

In a fashion the set-up of Negro advisers to various department heads in the federal government carried out this idea. This is no criticism of the individual advisers, most of whom have rendered heartbreaking and conscientious service to the Negro. But the appointment of representatives to advise government officials on how to treat certain elements of the population who are citizens, legally clothed with all the rights of citizens, is itself an anomaly in a democracy.

DIFFERENT STATUS

And it assumes a different status for Negro citizens than white citizens. For the adviser can advise until his tongue hangs out, he can confer and petition until he is exhausted, but he has no authority and no one need take his advice.

If it were the policy of our government to treat the Negro as an American citizen, the question arises, why special advisers for him any more than for the foreign born, the Jew or the Catholic. And if there are special problems, and there are, certainly colored appointees should have functional duties and status the same as any other department officials, and the same authority.

Negro advisers I suppose are better than nothing. But the appointment of capable colored men and women to the departments of the federal government as Americans—to do the same work as other officials— would have been much better.

But why the squawk now? Well there are those who squawked in 1933 and who were alarmed at the implications of the system then being inaugurated. It must be remembered that the first adviser on Negroes was a white man, Dr. Clarke Foreman, adviser to Mr. Ickes. Negro advisers came only after a terrific protest on the part of Negroes everywhere that the principle of appointing white men to advise the government on Negroes was one to which they objected; at least some Negroes objected.

Then came Negro advisers. But the principle of the adviser on the basis of race smacks of the colonial system. It is unsound and undemocratic. It should be abandoned.

ROGERS SAYS:

Mrs. Roosevelt Failed To Balance Credit With Debit Side in Article

BY J. A. ROGERS

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, writing on the topic, "If I Were a Negro," says among other things, that she thinks, however, that I would realize that if my ancestors had never left Africa we would be worse off as natives today under the rule of any other country than I am in this country where my people were brought as slaves."

Now were I an enemy of Mrs. Roosevelt instead of an admirer of hers, I could go to town on that, since that was a favorite argument of the slave master. When Negroes complained of their lot the master would say, "You blacks ought to be thankful we, whites, took you from Africa. If not you'd still be there eating one another and running around naked."



Mr. Rogers

Some of the opponents of slavery, among them the finest Christians, also used that argument. Seeing the hopelessness of the slave's position they tried that bit of Job's comfort on both themselves and the blacks. Mrs. Roosevelt, I am sure, belongs to this latter type. I think I can show that "if she were a Negro," she wouldn't have said that. In short, that it was still a white person speaking.

FIRST, ONE BIG fallacy in her statement. It is certain that the combination of circumstances that caused individual Negroes to be born in America would not have existed 'cause these same Negroes to be born in Africa. For instance, members of the different tribes brought here would hardly have met. I can safely say that not a single Negro now living here would now be existing in Africa in that case. Again, at least 70 per cent of American Negroes have a white strain and the Africans, also, would never have met those whites. If the mixed-bloods are to be thankful that they were not left to be "worse off as natives," ought they not, following Mrs. Roosevelt's thesis, show some cockiness too, for having come from "civilized" Europe?

WHAT ABOUT WHITES WHO CAME HERE?

Furthermore, the majority of whites came to America because of bad economic conditions at home. The potato famine in Ireland brought in vast numbers of Irish. The Roosevelts, too, came here while the Africans were still coming, and came from Holland, now under the heel of Hitler. Suppose I were to say that Mrs. Roosevelt because of that ought to be happy, would that have any relevancy, seeing that her family has been here centuries?

ANOTHER THING: Large numbers of white people were also brought to America as slaves. This sale of white slaves provided a revenue for the British Crown that few historians have cared to touch upon. Most of these slaves were thieves and jail-birds, whom kings like James II sold instead of hanging, as was the custom, because they needed the money. Georgia was peopled largely from this element, which included a large number of prostitutes. The same is true of Maryland. As for Virginia, here's just one sample from a record of 1692: "For Virginia holding 50 lewd women out of the houses of correction and 30 others who walked the streets at night."

BALANCE CREDIT WITH DEBIT SIDE

The descendants of these jail-birds and prostitutes are now to be found among the proudest families of the South. Have these, seeing that it all happened so long ago, any special cause to be thankful? I can understand it in the case of those who recently come from Europe, which is also under slavery, as Mrs. Roosevelt says of Africa. Further, would Mrs. Roosevelt care to remind the First Families of Virginia of their real past? Why should Negroes alone remember it? Moreover, there were Negroes, quite a few of them, who held white people as slaves here.

IF WE LOOK at the credit side, we must also look at the debit. The Negroes picked up in America a flock of evils they would have escaped had they "remained" in Africa—venereal diseases, tuberculosis, slums, prisons. Fine gifts from white civilization! In those parts of Africa still little touched by the white man there is no syphilis, no tuberculosis, no prostitution, no cancer, no prisons, no locks on the doors. Of course, the African has his diseases, too, but they are largely climatic ones.

LITTLE TO BE THANKFUL FOR

Another "blessing" that living in America brought the Negro was an inferiority complex. Back in Africa he accepted his color and his hair as naturally as the whites theirs. Today, Negroes in America can't change their color fast enough. The vast majority are a walking mass of self-despisers.

ANY NUMBER of Negroes will endorse what Mrs. Roosevelt said above, but why should they be more thankful than the descendants of the whites? Once I used to eat at the Greek's, now I eat at the Automat. But am I thankful for that? No, for the work I have done I ought to eat at the Waldorf. For the long time the Negroes have been here and for the contribution they have made, some of them ought to have been President, as black men have been in the Latin American lands. Negroes in America still exist largely for the benefit of white people. They have precious little to be thankful for, that is, if the newly arrived white immigrant has.

MRS. ROOSEVELT IS A BRAVE WOMAN

Negroes who endorse what Mrs. Roosevelt said above have an inferiority complex. But Mrs. Roosevelt herself has none. She is one of the bravest, most extrovert women in America. Were she a Negro with that psychology and that desire to go hither and yon uninterrupted she'd be one of the most fiery of "Reds."

AND SO I could go on disagreeing with almost everything else she said in her article. I have space but for one more. She says, "Even women of the white race still suffer inequalities and injustices, and many groups of white people in my country are the slaves of economic conditions." True. But this is a specious, irritating argument too often put out by white liberals. For instance, a white prostitute, if she has the money and the appearance, can walk into the finest hotel in Washington; but the finest, most intellectual colored woman would be barred. Were Mrs. Roosevelt a Negro woman would she be in the White House, filling the highest social position in the land?

The First Lady has made some very bad breaks in her writings about Negroes, as for instance, her endorsement of the Judas article of Warren Brown. However, I, personally, take them goodnaturedly because they differ from her actions which have helped Negroes a lot. I try to remember, too, that she moves around so fast she hasn't time to reflect.

Judge Calls Racism In Rentals Illegal

PM
New York, N. Y.

CHICAGO, Nov. 15.—Ignoring a clause in her lease barring rentals to Negroes, Mrs. Henry Reichard rented a Negro family her apartment on lower Clark St. The owner of the building, Mrs. Alice M. Chow, sued. And Municipal Judge Samuel Heller, famous for previous decisions refusing to evict Negroes, has upheld Mrs. Reichard, ruling that leases which bar Negroes "or any other race" are unconstitutional.

"The covenant contained in the lease is based on the theory of superior and 'inferior' races," wrote Judge Heller in his opinion, "and is an attempt to legalize this segregation of citizens lest the 'superior' one be contaminated by the 'inferior' problems confronting many nations, and no country has ever solved this problem through hate and discrimination."

With A Grain of Salt

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

By ARTHUR P. DAVIS

WHEN I PAID my poll tax last week, I noticed that the City of Richmond has two sets of tax ledgers, one for the white citizens, the other for the Negro; and each is so designated in bold-faced letters. I wonder if there is any logical reason why the tax returns should be racially distinguished. Or is it merely just another of those many trivial but symbolic distinctions which make up the total pattern of segregation. I have always been interested in these little semi-humorous (but essentially tragic) Jim Crow distinctions and through the years have collected quite a number of intriguing cases.



DR. DAVIS

When I was a boy, the tax bills sent out by our town were the usual printed forms with the customary "Mr." before the space in which the taxpayer's name was typed. But each year someone in the courthouse took the pains to sit down and carefully draw a line through each of the titles in the forms sent to Negro citizens. Not even indirectly would the collector of taxes be guilty of calling a Negro "Mr." No, suh!

Last week, one of my friends, a cultured Negro woman, went to a government depot near Richmond for an interview concerning a secretarial position. The place had a single waiting room, but this room contained two benches—one with a back for whites, the other without, for Negroes. Though my friend was the only person waiting, the receptionist insisted that she take the backless bench and threatened to call the depot's chief of police when she refused.

There are in Richmond several Negroes now driving Buick cars who had to go to Washington to buy their first cars of that make; for in the early days, the Richmond Buick agency, deciding that their car was a white man's car, simply refused to sell to Negroes. Mrs. Maggie L. Walker, the famous banker, I am told, was one of those denied the privilege of buying a Buick. And the few professional men who had this type of car had to take them out of the city to be serviced.

Right now in our five and dime stores, a Negro may be served, but he must stand at the fountain and his drinks must be in a paper cup. Whites may sit at the tables and be served drinks in glasses. Although paper cups are far more sanitary, the glass, in spite of germs and all else, becomes another symbol of race distinction.

In a hot dog stand that I know about, a Negro may buy food to take out if he stands at the **rear end of the counter.** (Oh, Yes, he may come in the front door and push his way back.) Front or middle will not do. In either case you will be asked out. It must be the rear end, where you wait respectfully until the clerk designs to serve you.

Just outside of Williamsburg, there is a big auto-theatre, the kind of place you drive in and watch the movies, seated in your own car. But Negroes and whites may not **drive in** the same entrance. Oh, no! At considerable expense, the management has arranged a rear entrance for Negro cars, and the sign announcing this entrance is as prominent as the billboard advertising the feature.

In several stores here, I see, side by side, two drinking fountains with the ever present WHITE and NEGRO signs above them. One day I tasted the water in the white fountain. It must have been out of order, for the water tasted just like that in the Negro.

Yes, it is the small distinctions that make up the pattern of segregation. "Equal but separate" is the law and liberal whites are pleading for equality in all segregated settings. But their efforts are pretty hopeless; for the average Southerner is more concerned with having things **unequal** than he is with having them separate because the unequal status symbolizes not only a legal but a supposed intrinsic and blood separateness.

I sincerely believe that all fights for equal teachers' salaries would be settled over night if Negro teachers agreed to accept one-dollar less per month than whites doing the same work. Under such an arrangement, the pattern would remain inviolate, which is all that matters.

But why, a reasonable man may ask? The answer, as I see it, is this: Because of the great American success philosophy upon which we are all nurtured, the little white man (and black, too, for that matter), realizing his plight, is a thoroughly unhappy and miserable creature. As he looks about him, however, he finds that there is one thing that saves him from total abjectness—his supposed racial superiority. Instinctively he determines to preserve that last remnant of importance by every means possible. Since he is little man, he makes little distinctions to guarantee his position. I can understand his desperation, and I frankly pity him.

56k-1943

Weekly Review
Birmingham, Ala.



Pursuit Of Democracy

How Are We to Judge The Integrity of Our Good White Friends?

AUG 28 1943

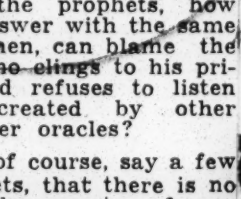
BY MARJORIE McKENZIE

Courier: Pittsburgh, Pa.

RECENTLY my colleague, P. L. Prattis pondered the question of the ultimate integrity of the white friends of the Negro. He indicated the potential danger of a situation in which we forever must weigh the amount of faith we repose in these men and women of goodwill. Obviously, if we trust no white person, it is but honest and sensible to renounce all co-operation with and assistance to them. Thus, as Mr. Prattis pointed out, the logic of such a position leads into a silly blind alley.

WHAT IS THE ANSWER?

Right or wrong, the hypothesis has its corollary. If we



Miss McKenzie

cannot believe in those who profess friendship for us, in whom may they place confidence? Whom should they accept as our leaders? Whose advice is safe? Who is motivated by a selfless zeal to advance the cause of the Negro, and who, being so motivated, has the sagacity, the experience and the scientific training to advise for the welfare of so many people? Who indeed knows the people, touches their lives, understands their fears and dreams? These must be the questions which trouble our white friends who would take a positive step in our behalf.

MANY-HEADED MONSTER OF RACE PREJUDICE

THERE is, of course, no formula by which insight into the fact of being a Negro can be acquired but the incident of birth and daily grappling with all that such happenstance portends. This alone, however, does not make an expert on the problem of race in America.

The forces within our environment combine into various patterns and fashion different kinds of creatures of us. Some of us are bitter and hard-driven, or wise and tolerant; some understand the forces and can seek intelligently to change them; others are baffled and strike out in blind retaliation. How is the one who means us well, either mildly or with devotion, to judge among us? If he were to inquire of all the prophets, how many would answer with the same voice? Who, then, can blame the white friend who clings to his private oracle and refuses to listen to the babel created by other greater or lesser oracles?

IT is possible, of course, say a few of the prophets, that there is no one answer. The monster of race prejudice is hydra-headed and perhaps must be slain by a hundred warriors wielding as many weapons. All the methods are right and none is right; all the oracles speak truly, yet every one of them lies.

WHY LEADERS TO GET TOGETHER

Herein is revealed one of our many tragedies. Being uncertain of the identity or existence of our true prophet, we deny all prophets and blaspheme all names. "No," we say to the bewildered white friend, "you must not heed this one nor that one, they cannot guide you. Here is the one you must follow."

THAT our thinking is negative is understandable. We cannot afford to lose ground because of the caprice or stupidity of some self-serving organizational giant. Consequently, the non-prophets have repeated wearily and persistently the suggestion that the leaders and the near-leaders get together on a program, state their objectives, support these goals and each other. The idea is threadbare. There is no new way to express it. Maybe it is an unattainable ideal. If it is, then we shall have to be content with the muddling of our white friends.

It is, alone the less inconceivably able that the good men of both races cannot come to the aid of each other in a time of crisis; that we must always give and they must always act upon the wrong advice.

This Is Our Common Destiny:

History of Jewish People

First Period Primitive.

(The first of a series of articles on Negro and Jewish Unity)

People's Voice
New York, N. Y.

SEP 4 1943

By BEN RICHARDSON

During the first period the Jews were semi-civilized barbaric tribes. They were wandering herdsmen with no settled pattern of

The religion of the Hebrew people is at once their history. More than any race to cross the stage of civilization, the Jew has kept God in the van of his cultural progress. In days of prosperity God was praised and in times of despair God was sought out for aid. It is true that the times when Jews forgot God or "went a whoring after other Gods" are legion. For

Jews marching through the ages with God riding before them on a cloud by day and as a pillar of fire by night" is more consistent than that offered by any other people.

Understand The history of the Jew can be divided into five distinct parts:

- the **prophetic**, which goes on from this point to the days of Exile in the 6th century B. C. The Exile itself is thought of as a transition period in the Hebrew's life;
- the **priestly**, or the time from the return of Exile until about the first century before Christ;
- the **scribal**, extending from this period to the 4th century of our times
- finally
- the **modern**, which comes from that time to this. There are no hard and set lines of separation between these periods. They slip unnoticed into one another.

- the **religion** of the Hebrew people is at once their history. More than any race to cross the stage of civilization, the Jew has kept God in the van of his cultural progress. In days of prosperity God was praised and in times of despair God was sought out for aid. It is true that the times when Jews forgot God or "went a whoring after other Gods" are legion. For such strayings we are told they paid dearly yet the picture of the
- the **formative**, which extends

life. Gradually, however, they moved closer together and the several tribes came to constitute a more unified group. By the eleventh century before Christ they had become sufficiently united to have a kingly government.

In primitive moments their religion was primitive also and the people worshipped stocks, stones—nature and many varied gods. As they progressed they threw off the worship of many Gods and settled on the one Jehovah as their only diety. The Jews were not Monotheists at this time however because they agreed the Gods of other nations were as valid as their own only theirs God was soley theirs.

Violence and rudeness marked their social ethics. Frequent wars and bloodshed were in order in these days of Israel but at length a more kindly scheme of living was devised and the beginning of a rational social existence found its way into their thinking and actions.

Second a Great Period

The second period marks a great day in Jewish history. During these times two kingdoms of Jews were destroyed and the people who made them up were carried off, as was explained last week, some going to Assyria—(Northern Kingdom) and some to Babylon—(Southern domain).

Religiously, their progress was tremendous. Through her prophets the worship of one God was preached. Jehova and none other was worthy of their worship. In this preachment rests the foundation of the Monotheism (one God worship) that underlies the Christian Church. This one fact makes the Jewish contribution to the religions of the world greater than that of any one people.

Temple worship was organized in this second period and a priesthood was formed to perform the required ministrations and duties. Because God was demanding more ethical [illegible] their social life reflected this growth and life among them was markedly more civil.

Third Period Reflective

In contrast to the prophetic period (second) is the third, or Priestly. Its great distinguishing character is its noticeable depth of reflection and orderly regulation of temple practices and beliefs.

After the long search for one God, the Jews felt they had to crystalize their worship of him. This they did with the aid of Priests and scribes. One to write the liturgies and the other to administer them.

The Priests collected and drew up codes of ritual and conduct and our present book of Genesis represents just such a collection of scattered law and tradition. The people were no longer an oral body but a people with a "Book"—(the Bible in part).

Fourth Period Bible Formed

It was during the fourth period of their lives that the Jews got together the various books that now make up our Bible.

The Temple in Jerusalem was destroyed for the last time in the year 70 A.D. the Priests vanished with it. The people for the next 17 hundred years turned to the study of the law.—It was all they had. What was written existed as we know it in the Pentateuch—or first five books of the Bible. The Jews called it the "Torah." If explanations were required Rabbis made them orally. As these explanations mounted up they were written down and eventually comprised a book called the Talmud.

They were given common law authority and became a part of the worship literature.

This period for the Jews was as such times are for other people, a great moment of intellectual concern with very little religious content. It was during this period that Christ came on the scene, and Christianity was established at first as a part of the Jewish religion—then later separate and opposed to it.

Fifth Period—Liberal and Orthodox

Jews like Negroes held firmly to tradition through the years. They were afraid to differ or break with the past. Many still adhere kindly to the [illegible] authorities of yesterday.—But about one hundred years ago, courageous minds set out on liberal trails and injected reason into simple belief.

The creed was greatly simplified and became a confession of faith in God. The Talmud was no longer considered a divine authority. Those who broke with the past are called Reformed and those who hold to the Orthodox faith, Talmudists—or Orthodox.

Courier Verse

Pittsburgh, Pa.
Courier

Death knows No Color Line When Blood Is Shed

Death knew no color line
When the draft came;
Black skin and white skin
Were all the same.

Death knew no color line
When the guns rattled;
Black boy and white boy
Side by side battled.

God save a country
That ever turns back
A Gold Star mother
Because she is black.

Death knows no color line
When blood is shed;
Black blood or white blood—
All blood is red.

—Clarence L. Peasley.

The Black Man's Burden

Keep it up, white man, you're doing well.
Sowing racial hate for the next war's hell.
The bleached white Yank is in the lead,
Of Cause and Effect, he takes no heed.
This war, a prelude to one more,
To heal the festering racial sore.
The Christ you dotingly profess,
You blaspheme, that you must confess.
A cultured, black [illegible] not live,
Whom [illegible] with you, you'd give.
A scab you're breeding on your nose,
While making tens of millions, foes;
When from the Cause, the Effect you reap,
You'll deserve no mercy as you weep
And cry to Him, you blasphemed thus,
As you lie humbled in the dust.
Think you—the billion of unbleached skin,
Will then acknowledge you, as kin?
Think you—the world of unbleached ports,
Will forever let you hold the forts?
Nay! Freedom is four-square, white man;
Soul is soul—and man is man—
And "as ye sow, so shall ye reap,"
Awake, white man, you're sound asleep!

—Irene West.

New York, N. Y.
Amsterdam Star-News

PLAIN TALK

BY ELMER CARTER

RACE IN AMERICA WORLD PROBLEM

The published report of Attorney General Biddle to the President in which he suggests the establishment of controls to inhibit the free movement of colored citizens in order to prevent racial conflicts such as occurred in Detroit came as a shock to those who believe in the democratic process.



CARTER

This pattern is clearly evident in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Corps, and all other departments of the national government, where as a rule the problem of racial antipathy is met by segregation on the one hand or exclusion where segregation is not feasible on the other. It is the mechanism of escape which assures the possibility of racial disturbance by appeasement of those who would deny the colored citizens his right to freedom from far, freedom from want and freedom of speech.

It would appear important to examine thoroughly a policy which has served to create in the normally placid Negro population a depth of bitterness which has no parallel in the history of the Negro in America. This deep-seated resentment, contrary to widely accepted opinion, is not due to Negro agitators nor is it due primarily to incitement by the Negro press. It is the natural reaction of the Negro confronted by severe limitations based on color and race, while the nation of which he is a citizen proclaims the virtues of democracy and calls upon him in common with other citizens to defend it with his life.

There must come a time when our goverment must face the issue as to whether the Negro shall be treated as a citizen in all which that implies or whether he shall be treated as a pariah. In fairness to the Negro, yes in fairness to the nation itself, the policy of evasion, of temporizing of appearsement must be abandoned, and constructive steps must be taken to carry out the constitutional guarantees which were designed to secure all citizens in their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

In Cary McWilliams challenging book, "Brothers Under The Skin" there is a proposal for a sound approach to the problem of race in America. Among other things Mr. McWilliams has recommended a program which calls for a new constitutional convention to restate and strengthen the safeguards of civil and economic liberty in this charter of the American Democracy. That there is need for such a reaffirmation of the principles of our government few who have any knowledge of the racial situation in America will deny. The oft repeated argument that without general public approval laws involving civil and social rights are useless in that they are genrally unenforceable is fallacious. The fact that there is Fourteenth and a fifteen Amendment to the Constitution, even though they are often disregarded, has served to prevent even greater more widspread violations of and more widespread violations of the Negro's citizenship rights.

However, even if this were true, there is no valid reason to believe that the majority of the American people are fundamentally or seriously opposed to the extension of complete democratic rights to the Negro. Not even in the South, is the racial problem as hopeless as it seems. What America lacks is courageous and far-sighted leadership.

A free world is in the making. The problem of race in America therefore concerns more than the Negro. It concerns America's right to share in the creation of a new and bet-

Negro Will Catch Two Hells

People's Voice New York, N. Y.

DETROIT (ANP)—"If the United States should lose this war, our white people will catch hell; if the United States should lose this war, our black people will catch two hells, from without and from within," declared William Pickens of the U. S. Treasury Department, last week, when he addressed 15 different groups in the Henry Ford plants here.

"We have all sorts of political faiths, economic philosophies; public and private opinions. But we ride on the same ship, and few, if any of us who are sane, will want the enemy to sink this ship. It is our ship, the people of it, all of them are in our 'gang.'"

56k-1943
Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

The Bone Of Contention

With rather prophetic vision, Miss Pearl Buck, writing on Barriers which must be destroyed, said "this Second World War has taken on a new and dangerous aspect, most of all because of Japan. Although we may not be willing to know it, it is possible that we are embarked upon the bitterest and the longest of human wars, the war between the East and the West, and this means the war between the white man and his world and the colored man and his world."

FEB 21 1943

We do not need to point out the dire consequences and disasters which such an interpretation of this war will bring to all the world. Wendell Willkie, speaking before the annual Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People last July, said that this was a "war between believers of a slave world on the one hand, and a free world on the other." Vice President Wallace, President Roosevelt and numerous others of high governmental ranking, have given similar and repeated assurances. And, in spite of these assurances, Miss Buck not only is content to make this observation, but goes even further:

FEB 21 1943

"Can the white man and colored man ever come together in any sort of cooperation? That is the crux of the future. If Americans deny the question and evade the answer, if they ignore it as a matter of policy and diplomacy, it is simply to behave like the ostrich, because in Asia no one denies it or evades it. In India it is the burning question, whose flames leap higher every hour; in Burma it is a raging fire; in Java, yes, and in the Philippines and in China. For while the Filipino has fought well beside the white man, it is only because he has had his promise of freedom from him." The main barrier, she concludes, between the East and the West, therefore, is that "the white man is not willing to give up his superiority and the colored man is no longer willing to endure his inferiority."

While it is true that our President and Vice-President, together with high ranking citizens, have stated and restated the aims of this war and the position of our country in the United Nations, unfortunately, we find too much local evidence in America to bear out the conclusion of Miss Buck, a world traveler and scholar.

FEB 21 1943

How often don't we hear of "White Supremacy" talk in political campaigns and rallies, in our state assemblies, and even in the United States Senate? It can scarcely be denied that Great Britain is guilty of Miss Buck's charge with respect to her attitude toward India. But in all candor, we say, civilization simply cannot survive the disasters which will inevitably follow a war fought out along the lines of color and race. Can the white man and colored man ever come together in any sort of cooperation? That is the crux of the future!

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
July 12, 1943

Negroes' Opportunity

BY ROBERT QUILLEN.

People who debate the "race problem" usually are prompted by emotion rather than reason, and so overlook facts that should be apparent to the most casual student.

When black men of Africa were captured and brought to America to serve as slaves, it was a crime against humanity and nature and justice and decency. For that crime—shared equally by Yankee capitalists and ship owners and Southern planters—America must pay in full, the sins of the fathers being visited on the children for a thousand generations.

But if the enslaved suffered great wrong, the race as a whole made an excellent bargain. In fact, never before or since in human history has a race of people gained so much at so little cost.

For a few generations of involuntary servitude, which the majority bore without suffering or bitterness, the whole race obtained the right to share in a ready-built civilization forever, and to absorb the benefits of a culture much higher than anything their own race had been able to achieve.

To measure how much they gained, consider what would have happened if they had been given one of our states and left to their own devices, shut off from all intercourse with the white race. Would they have built a fine civilization in America?

The answer is found in Liberia. Freed American slaves were established there a generation before the slaves in America were set free. They had every opportunity; they were helped by white people; yet they have made virtually no progress. A few years ago an international commission found them guilty of selling natives to Arabs as slaves.

They have built no railroad. They haven't a single good road and very few of any kind. They still live in huts of mud and grass. Though their land is rich in minerals, they haven't even explored it. Most of it is still virgin forest. Those who have a little education and know trades were trained by white missionaries. They are pleasant, friendly people, but not capable of building a civilization by themselves.

Some Negroes in America are mistreated. Some in the North and West are denied the right to work; some in the South are paid too little for what they do. But even in the South they have schools, hospitals and many other benefits, provided by white taxpayers, which they could not provide for themselves.

The Negroes can advance only by earning advancement, as all people do, but they have as a free gift the greatest opportunity any race ever had.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
July 6, 1943

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"Who can break the guards that wait
Before the awful face of fate?"

When is science not scientific? When its subject is racial tension, apparently. Certainly the Chicago Round Table radio discussion last Sunday wasn't scientific, even though the participants were social scientists. Neither was it a round table. It was only one little sector of a round table. From beginning to end the gentlemen gave themselves to childish preachments against race discriminations and feelings, as if the whole solution of the most complicated race problem in history were merely a matter of making certain people be good. The extraordinary thing about it all was that not one of the participants so much as approached the problem as it exists most—in the South. They seemed to have in mind only the situation outside, where there are 90,000,000 whites and 3,000,000 Negroes. That was worth having in mind, of course, but at least something should have been said about the immensely different and vastly more important problem in the South where there are 40,000,000 whites and 10,000,000 Negroes, and where conditions, not theories, have to be dealt in.

* * *

It was the most impoverished Chicago Round Table I ever heard, in spite of the fine introductory talk in which North Carolina's Dr. Howard Odum warned the participants they were dealing with a complicated question, not one to be solved in primary school fashion by preacher-teachers. In view of the total failure of these scientists to establish contact with the realities of the subject they were discussing, their cracks at us newspaper people were inexcusable. We may not have the right answers but at least we know what the questions are.

Charleston, S. C., News-Courier
July 6, 1943

White Supremacy

To The News and Courier:

White supremacy was held highly upon the social, political and economic housetop, in The News and Courier a few days ago, by a gentleman who, no doubt, means well; and on the other hand white soldiers and black soldiers are in North Africa dying to defend and perpetuate democracy; but democracy and white supremacy are contradiction in terms: the presence of one destroys the existence of the other. They cannot coexist and convey a reasonable idea.

The Hebrew of the Hebrews, Paul the apostle, who sat at the feet of Gamaliel, the first recorded doctor of law, warns against the danger of not retaining God in our knowledge lest we become so abandoned in sin that we would "do those things which are not convenient". Likewise, when we lay down premises, or a proposition to serve as a ground for argument or for a conclusion, it is invariably wise for us to retain God in our knowledge lest we find ourselves speaking and writing to the reading world things that will not harmonize with logic or not convenient to give to the public. "He that is hasty of spirit exalteth folly"; but "Righteousness exalteth a nation". Then why not right supremacy and not white supremacy?

It seems to stand out boldly that the white brother has yet to learn out of all of his rich background of training and outstanding background of advantages that every white man is not his friend in any sense, and that every negro is not his enemy. But the negro learned centuries ago—don't dispute it, for you might be called upon to prove it—that every negro is not his friend and that every white man is not his enemy. Our white brother, it seems, has forgotten the fact that "The dog and man at first were friends, but when a pique began, the dog—to gain some private end—went mad and bit the man".

A little over 150 years ago, the thirteen colonies and England at first were friends — just business friends—but the colonies and England—to gain some private end—went mad and bit each other to England's loss and to the colonies' gain. But each was a white group.

Now, the North and South "at first were friends, but when a pique began" over the institution of slavery, the South and the North —to gain some private end—went mad to the fighting point to save the union, and the negro was incidentally freed by permission.

When such doctrine as white supremacy, at such a time as this, is being preached from the housetop, and written so large that he who runs may read, an F. B. I. officer has solid ground for coming to Edisto island two months ago—I did not see him—and while here, he asked one of my deacons these questions: "Do you know the man Rev. Metz? Does he say this is a white man's war? Does he seem glad over victories of the Japs or Germans? What does he seem to be thinking about the war?"

There is much going on now to destroy confidence; and, when confidence is gone, all is gone; it does not return. Hate is being engendered to grow deep roots daily; riots are started with unknown origins, and only to end in massacres. The white man fights the winning battle and the negro fights the losing battle; and the victors "come rejoicing, bringing in the sheaves", and singing "happy day".

Any government conceived and woven to be carried on by the color of a race's skin is a piteous fabric inviting the moth of hate, resentment, and opportunity to eat it into many scattering threads. Changing the figure to the house built upon the sand: "The rain descended, the floods came, the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it." This is not a myth like Achilles's heel or the Greeks' gift to the Trojans; but it is God's eternal, immutable verity.

W. L. METZ.

Edisto Island

National Group Hits Of Jews Treatment

MAR 5 1943

NEW YORK.—In a pledge of the "unequalified and unlimited ef- fort in behalf of the persecuted Jews of the world who- the National ganization which includes anti-semitism in the U. S. as well as mass slaughter in Poland," the "Civilized human beings board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent this week- palled at the cold-blooded campaign of extermination of the Jews to the conference committee of the United Nations, unfortunately, we find too much local evidence in America to bear out the conclusion of Miss Buck, a world traveler and scholar.

MAR 5 1943

NAACP Board Sends Resolution to

MAR 5 1943

that it is without parallels in the history of the world from its very beginning.

"It is not enough to denounce it as the greatest crime against civilization ever perpetrated . . . The most effective means of ending this slaughter is the extermination of Hitler and Hitlerism wherever they exist. To the attainment of this goal we pledge our unqualified aid."

Brownsville, Tenn., States-Graphic
June 18, 1943

ADVICE TO THE NEGRO RACE

"EVERYBODY LIVING IN A AGE," SAYS NEGRO MINISTER TO HIS PEOPLE

I believe your readers will be deeply interested in the enclosed article published in the Laurens Advertiser under the heading "Clinton Negro Writes Letter to Those of His Race." I hope you can publish it in full.

EMMETT FINLEY.
Ware Shoals.

The article follows:

A bit of advice to the negroes in general:

In Laurens county we are living in a strange age, strange things are happening now. People act strange, look strange, and talk strange. This is an age when one needs to be careful about what he says and to whom he says it. You don't know us and will do as much for us as emy or an enemy of America. We as negroes, should realize this one fact, that no nation, no country or race has done as much for us as the American white man. I was talking to one of our men a few days ago who is eighty-four years of age that has lived in Laurens county all those years, and he has never been arrested. Why? Because he knows how to act. I am forty-six years of age; have never had one minute's trouble with a white man, and don't expect any. I have only lived in Clinton five years and can get any kind of help I need from the white race and anybody else can if you do your part. Somebody said the other day, Walker is a white man's nigger. I may be. If I am, I thank God for giving me sense enough to be one. I would rather be a white man's nigger than to be Hitler's nigger. A lot of people holler about social equality. That will never happen this side of heaven, and no real up-to-date negro wants it to happen. We have what we want down here—good schools, good negro teachers, and good negro churches and preachers. We would like for our teachers to be better paid, but that wouldn't be social equality. Look the word up and understand what it means and you wouldn't want it. Don't let anybody fool you. You will never have a better day with any nation on earth than you have with the American white man. Well, some of us say we catch the devil, but listen: Maybe some of us do, or all of us may. But believe me, if we don't play our whole part, I see something up the road, and it looks like death, hell and destruction. I wish to advise the negroes of Lauren county to remember you were born here, all the people we know are here, and these people are better to us than anybody else can be. Let us stick to them through thick and thin and I hope the white man will realize that we are his best friend. For two hundred or more years we have cooked your food, washed your clothes, and nursed your children. How many families have been poisoned by us in all of these years? None. What other race can you get along with as you do the negro? None. What race can you send to your fields and do your work for what we do it for? None. Then why not let these two races stick 'til death do us part. God help us to do so. When it comes to Hitler and the Japs, I am against them. I am against their policy. It may seem strange to hear a preacher say this, but I am against any man or set of men who try to destroy God's church. I love the church. I pray for the church, I shall die for the church. I don't have any money, but I can get hold of a little and am doing everything I can in the way of buying stamps and bonds to help keep any man from here that doesn't like the church.

In conclusion, let us not look for trouble. People usually find what they are looking for. Look on the bright side, look up and not down. God still lives. Let the American white man, and the American negro stop fighting each other on the street. We need to fight the enemy and not each other. We can't win fighting among ourselves. That's what the enemy wants. Do a little thinking. We want victory but we can't get it on the streets fighting each other.

(REV.) H. M. WALKER.
Clinton, S. C.

PEOPLE AND PLACES

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

By WALTER WHITE

MAR 27 1943

Report from Savannah

NOTHING is more significant nor pregnant with hope than the tremendous growth in intelligent, determined spirit among Negroes in places like Savannah. Everywhere James Crow rears his hideous, Hitler-like head. Negro and white passengers enter the Seaboard Railroad Station through the same doors. Inside they separate to pass a hundred feet through the station, and then rejoin to walk together through the same gate to the train. Thus "white supremacy" is preserved!



Walter White

As in all Southern towns and in some Northern ones, one can close his eyes and yet know whether he is riding through a Negro or white section by the jolting or smoothness with which he rides. (I wonder how much is added to the Negro's cost of living in automobile springs, tires and repairs by Southern street paving.)

Negroes constitute 46 per cent of Savannah's population. White children have three modern high schools and one junior college. Recently a Federal grant for education was secured from which immediately another school for white children was built.

Negro children have but one high school — ancient and inadequately equipped and unaccredited. One Negro public school used to be pointed out by Negroes as a "famous landmark" because it is one of the innumerable houses of which it is said "George Washington slept here." Washington visited Savannah in 1791 — 152 years ago — so little imagination is needed to judge the suitability of such a building as a school house in 1943. There is a deep differential between salaries paid white and Negro teachers but no colored teacher has yet stepped forward as a plaintiff despite the unbroken series of successful suits all over the South against differentials which have added nearly three million dollars to the pay checks of Negro teachers.

New Day Coming

MAR 27 1943

ALL THESE and other familiar patterns of James Crow afflict Savannah. Older residents used to boast that "race relations are better here than in any other town in Georgia." Neither they nor the younger newcomers are so naive today. They know that in part the absence of sense of conflict in the local scene is due to the fact that Negroes haven't asked for much so the white folks feel kindly towards them.

But a new day and a new spirit have come. It isn't immediately perceptible. Deep-throated, unrestrained Negro laughter still fills the colored part of West Broad street like that I heard a few minutes ago from a superbly built ebon woman dressed in a billiard table-green sateen-visored cap, sky blue sateen slacks and grey-green sweater.

But mirth is less mirthful as Savannah Negroes see the accentuated difference in pay and opportunity at war plants and shipyards and training schools for whites and those provided — when they are provided — for Negroes. Passive, hopeless acceptance of these conditions is passing. Negroes are determinedly, intelligently organizing to do something instead of merely bemoaning their plight.

I have just talked with as alert, intelligent and courageous a group of shipyard workers as could be found anywhere in the United States. They gave me a terse, accurate picture of how they and other Negroes are being cheated and discriminated against by employers and AFL unions.

One of them is an acetylene cutter with ten years experience who receives 80 cents an hour as a "helper" to green country whites he himself taught and who get $1.75 an hour.

Another who worked six years as a rigger and stationary engine fireman was allowed to fill out an application blank only as a common laborer as were all the Negroes at the Southeastern Shipyards which is operated by the Maritime Commission!

A third who is an expert anglesmith works at his skill but is paid as a "helper."

Labor Figures in Fight

MAR 27 1943

ALL WHITES at the yards are hired as "skilled" though many of them are dumb farmhands right out of the Georgia and Florida backwoods. They receive 62 cents an hour while being trained and are paid skilled wages as soon as the free course is completed.

The AFL has closed shop contracts with the two Savannah shipyards which the CIO charges are collusive. Negroes are segregated in the Hodcarriers' and Boilermakers' unions which the Negroes assert does nothing for them except collect dues and issue work cards. A fat racket is firing Negroes when they have finished paying the initiation fee of $15 (plus monthly dues of $1.50) and then inducting a new lot to pay the joining fee. Another racket is to certify white workers fresh from the canebrakes to draft boards as "skilled" and "irreplaceable" while skilled Negroes are drafted.

But tough and disheartening as the situation is, Negroes are not taking it lying down. The CIO is working to secure National Labor Relations Board elections in the shipyards to determine whether it or the AFL shall represent the workers. Negroes have flocked to the CIO, justly cynical about the resolutions passed by the AFL Southern Conference recently held at Atlanta to offset CIO gains in the South, which proclaimed the end of racial discrimination in the AFL. Negroes see no change in AFL practice and expect none.

I have just come from another manifestation of Savannah's sloughing off her old somnolence. Seventeen hundred Savannahians filled every inch of sitting and standing room of the First African Baptist church whose alert and courageous pastor is president of the local NAACP. Hundreds could not get in, Dr. Ralph Mark Gilbert, the pastor, informs me. A few years ago the branch had only a few hundred members. Today it nears the 3,000 mark and its Youth Council has 601 members.

Southern Negroes want and are determined to get exactly what their fellow-Negroes all over the country want. There is no line between them in goal. There is little in method except that in the South the resistance is more entrenched. But they

Letters to The Editor

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
July 21, 1943

Friend of the Negro

Editor The Telegraph:

Regarding the Negro—a subject one of his own color. These, however, are more content, of so much discussion lately—we ever, are results of Saturday night brawls, mostly, when the bottle believe that the Southern Negro, hardly thinks in need of help he calls on his

FRIEND OF A NEGRO.

56k-1943

Fair Enough

World-Telegram



I doubt that any American is less prejudiced than I am against his fellow-citizen for reasons of religion or race but I doubt also that compulsion is the way to put down prejudice and have a feeling that this method will aggravate rather than ameliorate the problem. When we speak of this prejudice nowadays we mean, in the case of religion, the Jews, and when we speak of race, we mean the Negroes almost exclusively, although in the Southwest there is a Mexican problem.

JUL 7 1943

The Mexicans, by and large, keep to themselves, but not necessarily because the Anglo-Saxon, or pink, American segregates them. They have traditions, language and customs of their own and run together instinctively. Time was when religious prejudice was directed against the Catholics and particularly the Irish Catholics but that feeling is either dead or dormant now and some Catholics, one priest notoriously, have so far forgotten the pain and resentment which they or their immediate forebears suffered under religious prejudice that they indulge in prejudice themselves especially against Jews.

New York, N. Y. JUL 7 1943

My wariness against compulsion arises from the knowledge that if people are forced to associate with others against their will they are more likely to be ruffled and angry than tolerant. I have in mind, also, the experience of the employer who was told that he must not fire a worker if that worker was aggressive in organizing or running a collective bargaining agency. Employers are becoming more reasonable now and so are some of the wiser union leaders and the worst may be over, but we passed through a long period in which unworthy individuals were not only permitted but openly encouraged by the Labor Relations Board to make themselves as troublesome and disruptive as they could so that they could not be fired for legitimate reasons such as inefficiency and inattention to their work.

I have in mind two individuals, both hostile to the company and both zealous promoters of a strike which, incidentally, never came off, which would have damaged the company grievously and helped a rival firm, and, of course, would have injured a great many other workers in the same shop through physical strife in the streets and loss of pay. Both men were tolerably good at their jobs, although not star performers, and both delighted to harass and heckle not only the executives but all other workers, who hated them personally, for their persistent nastiness even in the most casual contacts at work. Yet the employer could not fire them outright or even transfer them to other duties in which their conduct would have been less painful for that would have been coercion. In the end, one man's job was simply abolished and the other, tiring of the game, quit to take a better job elsewhere.

JUL 7 1943

As I understand matters now we are attempting to extend this same opportunity to make trouble into two more large areas. And by this process, an individual who is thoroughly hostile to the employer and personally offensive to his fellow-workers may invoke his religion or his race to prevent the employer from firing him or even to force the company to hire him in the first place. In this I see possibilities of great aggravation at least as bad as those which were ex-

By Westbrook Pegler

ploited to the discontent of the whole shop, including the management, by individuals who exerted themselves constantly to provocative union activity so that they could not be fired.

JUL 7 1943

Moreover, this plan seems to me to contain the germ of Hitler's idea of proportionate employment. It will be recalled that Hitler said that there were just so many Jews in Germany and decreed that the number of Jews practicing medicine and law and studying in college should be in ratio. It happened that the Jews of Germany had produced a disproportionate number of doctors and lawyers and, on a basis of proportion, had more than their share of students. But this had developed in fair competition on a test of ability.

JUL 7 1943

If we accept the temptation to adopt any such test of opportunity, would we not then freeze those ratios in employment? And, in that case, wouldn't it follow that we would limit the number of all groups in certain lines at first and, later, in all lines so that none would enjoy an unfair advantage? And, worst of all, wouldn't we establish religion and race as the basis of eligibility for employment and even for the professions and thus defeat the very purpose for which all compulsory antidiscrimination statutes are proposed?

JUL 7 1943

If we do adopt such qualifications to increase opportunities up to par it stands to reason that, in consistency, we must limit them to par and thus adopt religion and race as basic qualifications.

THE RACE PROBLEM

The Bulletin has received Vol. 1, No. 1 of "Pulling Together", a monthly magazine edited and distributed by the Booker T. Washington Publishing Company, Tuskegee Institute, the masthead of which says that it is "to improve human relations".

JUL 15 1943

No doubt a lofty ideal prompted the establishment of the magazine, and a perusal of its initial editorial page discloses that it sincerely desires to be helpful in finding a solution to a problem which has faced the South and the nation as a whole since the Emancipation.

Recently Governor Chauncey Sparks was asked by the publishers of "PM", an afternoon daily published in New York, to explain what Alabama is doing and expects to do toward solving the race problem. The governor's reply was terse, philosophical and filled with a lot of horse-sense to which even the Negro race could well afford to subscribe.

In substance, Gov. Sparks said that the South could solve the problem if let alone to do it, without outside influence being brought to bear on it.

In the first issue of "Pulling Together", we find this very significant statement: "There are, perhaps, more whites in the South who are honestly and sincerely interested in giving the Negro a chance than there are such whites in the North". And in its explanation as why progress has not been more pronounced, the magazine says, "Economic conditions, emotional fears of their groups, traditions, race baiters, and dozens of other existing bad conditions" block their pathway".

No doubt it was the "race baiters" to whom the governor referred when he spoke of outside influences. One of the greatest handicaps to a just, proper and lasting solution to the problem has been just that—race baiters. It was exemplified in the famous Scottsboro case, when men—and women—from above the Mason and Dixon Line sought to bring their influences into the South for no other purpose than to bait the Negroes for what they might be able to get out of them, politically and financially. Their "friendship" for the Negro and their "interest" in race equality were nothing more than camouflaged buncombe, and the leaders among the Negroes—Southern leaders—know that this is true.

If "Pulling Together" sincerely desires the sympathy and co-operation of the sympathetic whites who, as it admits, are in greater number here than north of here, it will help Governor Sparks and other leaders whom the Negro can trust to keep outside influences out of the picture. It will neither tolerate nor condone the tactics so often employed by such damaging publications as the Chicago Tribune and Collier's Weekly, two almost insurmountable obstacles to a solution which both the Negro and the whites so earnestly desire—and can bring about, if let alone to find the answer.—Lee County Bulletin.

News.
Birmingham, Ala.

Lo, The Poor White Man!

JUL 8

At Saturday night's session of the Pacific Northwest Institute of International Relations, it turned out that the three participants in the forum had a touching unanimity of opinion concerning the rascality of the white man. President Buell G. Gallagher, of Talladega College, who is a crusader for the Negroes; Dr. Frank G. Williston, of the College of Puget Sound, formerly on the faculty of Yenching University in China, and Haridas T. Muzumdar, a Hindu, once one of Gandhi's secretaries, were unanimous in the belief that the white man had best mend his ways. And even in the question-and-answer period, from the floor not a voice was raised in defense. Every derogatory reference to the white man's past, present and future, no matter how extreme, was ardently applauded.

JUL 8 1943

All of which is somewhat on the childish side, for there really are some things to be said on behalf of the accused—some rather important things. First and foremost is the fact that the world's population of two billions is made possible by science, largely the white man's creation. And if the white man were destroyed or absorbed by the colored races, it is a nice problem as to whether this science would go on and the population could be supported.

JUL 8 1943

It is useless to argue spiritual values. On that issue the critics can have their way, so far as we are concerned. But from the strictly material standpoint it would be most dangerous for mankind if the white man should lose his interests and his self-discipline—his confidence that he, as a race, has accomplished something unique.—Portland Oregonian.

Washington Post
Washington, D. C.

Sowing The Wind

JUL 23 1943

A reader has sent up copies of some printed matter distributed by an organization in Sacramento, Calif., which calls itself the Home Front Commandos, Inc. There is very little to distinguish this stuff from the material once distributed by such organizations as the Christian Mobilizers, the Silver Shirts and the Ku Klux Klan. There are the same appeals to greed and racial bigotry. The chief difference is that in this case the targets are not Negroes or Jews but the "Japrats," a term used to designate all Americans of Japanese origin.

JUL 23 1943

The policy on which the Home Front Commandos have been organized is published as a slogan on one of its leaflets: "No Jap is now fit to associate with human beings." Consequently, if the organization can have its way, Japanese after the war are to be prevented from engaging in any business, from owning agricultural lands, from finding employment, from obtaining education, and boycotted in general until they take the hint and clear out of the country for good. "Now," says the pamphlet, "is the time to prepare for the peacetime war."

Among various duties of the Home Front Commando are the following:

JUL 23 1943

Fill out an application card, mail in a dollar; agitate, and advocate, the deportation of Japs; join your county local chapter; perform the duties assigned to you by the president of your local chapter; having pledged yourself see that you do not break the pledge and see that others do not, and report to your chapter chairman or president any dereliction of the duties of an American.

JUL 23 1943

Since we are at war with Japan, this kind of snooping and hate-mongering has the sanction of a certain pseudopatriotism. It has been, in fact, encouraged in certain high-brow quarters on the ground that hatred is an essential weapon of war. Here we have a pretty good example of whither this doctrine tends to lead. Let us suppose that the Home Front Commandos have their way and some 500,000 "Japrats," most of whom have never seen Japan, are sent back "to their rice paddies and Geshie girls, to their brothels and fish-mongering." Are we also to assume that so lucrative a business will be liquidated? Scarcely. There will be plenty of other minorities left to work on—and plenty of customers willing and eager to pay $1 a head for a license to work on them.

Birmingham Post
Birmingham, Alabama

Racial Study

There is real need for a sound and search-

ing investigation into the conditions responsible for our recent outbreak of race antagonism. Riots such as those which occurred at Detroit, Beaumont, Mobile, Los Angeles, are by no means matters of purely local concern. They make ugly splotches on our national record on the validity of our war aims. They spring from prejudices, from educational deficiencies, from economic injustices, for which the Nation as a whole must share in guilt and shame. They are, therefore, an altogether proper subject for congressional inquiry.

But in the whole congressional roster it would be difficult to find any individual less qualified to conduct such an inquiry than Representative Martin Dies of Texas. In the work of his Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. Dies has shown scant tolerance, let alone regard, for minority rights. His has been the record of a prosecutor, not an investigator—and, at that, of a prosecutor more eager to substantiate sensational charges than to uncover basic causes. His methods have been high-handed, careless in the extreme and marked by prejudices which make it incongruous for him to examine the prejudices of others.

Who can point to a single constructive effort on the part of Martin Dies to promote economic opportunities for Negroes—even in his home State, where they are helplessly disfranchised? What effort has he ever made to improve conditions for Mexicans who are as impoverished and oppressed in Texas as in California? His intemperance regarding Japanese has already been shown by his absurd charges against the War Relocation Authority. Yet it is obvious that any investigation into racial antagonism must be animated by a sympathetic concern for the rights and welfare of minority groups.

The problem calls for a congressional committee of real stature, for investigators who possess the social insight and economic understanding needed to get at the roots of our difficult interracial relations. We need to discover much more than proximate causes. What we must achieve through a study of this problem is some means of eradicating the conditions which have created it. America's greatness has stemmed from the variety of its racial backgrounds. Its greatness in the future will depend upon their learning to live together in full harmony and unity.

JUL 1 1943

Birmingham Post
Birmingham, Alabama

A Common Shame

By Dr. Henry M. Edmonds

Let us all be ashamed the way the Negro is treated. We are all ashamed together. No man or section is clear of blame. In Mexico City a number of years ago a New England woman turned to me rather belligerently and said: "What is the attitude of the South toward lynching, anyway?"



DR. EDMONDS

I said: "At present it is one of grieved surprise at the number of our friends among the Negroes that you people at the North have lynched."

"What do you mean?" she asked incredulously.

"In proportion to the number present you have lynched more in the North than we have in the South," I replied.

Later, on investigation, I found that was not true. According to the findings in Roper's great book, The Tragedy of Lynching, the number in the two sections has balanced with remarkable regularity. Until Detroit the greatest number of fatalities in our interracial clashes has been in East St. Louis and Chicago. The latter city probably still holds the record. One of the most revolting lynchings ever known was in Indiana. Another almost as bad was in Northern Missouri. Nor is the [illegible] spectacle limited to this country. Hawaii and South Africa and India have their records. The treatment of the Negro in the Belgian Congo is probably the blackest of all.

It is a world shame and a world problem.

JUL 29 1943

Roi Ottley's prizes are the least of his joys

New York, N. Y.

WHEN ROI OTTLEY, erstwhile red cap, reporter, social worker, soda jerker, bell hop and press agent, goes overseas next month, he will be on assignment for *Liberty* as the first Negro war correspondent for a national publication in the history of the United States.

AUG 8 1943

This month, furthermore, Ottley's $2500 prize-winning book on Negroes, *New World A-Coming*, will be published by Houghton-Mifflin—first book by a Negro chosen for HM's *Life-in-America* series.

These firsts don't excite Ottley. What does excite him are the things he hopes to accomplish by means of them. Take his book, for example. For 10 years the tall, 36-year-old author gathered material for it with one purpose in mind—to make as many people as possible aware of the Negro's history, problems and hopes. The more people who understand what Negroes are up against, he believes, the quicker the Negro problem will be solved. More than that:

"Solve the Negro problem and you'll solve the problem of all minority groups in the United States. The Negro is the barometer of democracy. He's at the bottom of the scale. It's obvious that if he gets democracy all minorities will get it.

"I've discovered," he went on, talking to us last week in the lobby of a 125th St. hotel, "that the majority of white people are not so much apathetic about Negro problems as ignorant of them—obvious things like wage differentials



PHOTO BY DALE ROOKS

Roi Ottley, author, war correspondent.

for the same type of work, being banned from restaurants, the fact that where a Negro lives doesn't depend on his income but on where he's allowed to live and that in thousands of communities he can't go to theaters, art exhibits, schools or libraries. Only the people in progressive movements know these things. Unless everyone knows them there can be no solution."

Negroes themselves want to participate fully in American life, Ottley says. "Negroes today realize that they aren't wards of the United States, but contributors to its development. And another thing. They are beginning to realize that theirs isn't an isolated problem. They see it as a world problem, as the fight of all races to live together on an equal basis."

Ottley is going overseas on a Rosenwald Fund Fellowship of $2500 to tour the United Nations and make a study of working class minorities. He'll fulfill his *Liberty* assignment—to write human interest stories from and behind the front—at the same time.

"I'm going to North Africa, India and China, among other places," he said. "I'll talk to the colored peoples in all those countries. With my underdog psychology perhaps I can reflect their hopes and aspirations and bring them home to the American people."

Until he leaves, Ottley will continue in his present job of publicity director of the CIO War Relief Committee in Washington. In telling us about some of the difficulties Negroes face in the capital, Ottley suddenly laughed.

"Speaking of trouble in restaurants," he said, "Ickes did a wonderful thing a little while ago. A delegation of southern women came to see him, told him Negroes and whites were eating together in the Interior Department's cafeteria and asked if he wouldn't stop it.

"Ickes said, 'No, damn it!' and then went down to the cafeteria and ate with the blackest Negroes he could find. When he'd finished he got up on the table and said this was a people's cafeteria, it didn't belong to the whites, it didn't belong to the Southerners, it didn't belong to the Northerners, it didn't belong to anyone, and as long as he was head of the department Negroes and everybody else could eat there.

"There hasn't been any racial conflict there since."

Oriental Exclusion Favored

New York Times

Complication of Racial Problems Seen in Proposed Repeal of Act

New York, N. Y.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

I feel deeply that the people who call our policy of Chinese exclusion insulting and discriminatory do not understand the basis for our policy of exclusion or oriental immigration.

JUN 25 1943

There is no insult asserted and no insult intended by the policy of exclusion. The policy of exclusion does not assert that the Chinese or the Japanese or the Hindus are inferior. It merely asserts that they are different. It is based on the conviction that a happy and successful and coherent democracy cannot be maintained in a country whose population is made up of whites and browns and yellows and blacks.

But we are told that nothing more is involved than the admission of a hundred Chinese a year. If, however, we remove the bar against the Chinese on the ground that it is discriminatory, what possible argument shall we have against the removal of the bar against Japanese, Hindus and Malays and all other people of the brown and yellow races?

I count at least twenty Asiatic countries whose people are of the brown or yellow races, each of which would be entitled to a quota of a hundred if China were granted such a quota. Moreover, if the Japanese now call the policy of exclusion insulting, is it not likely that they would say that such a quota is insulting when many European nations have quotas of several thousand each?

Finally, is it not clear that if this immigration question were a two-way question, this talk of insult would stop instanter? Does anyone believe that the Japanese or the Chinese would permit white common laborers, white farm laborers and mechanics to enter their countries?

In short, the policy of exclusion is intended to prevent the rise of a yellow race problem and a Negro problem, superimposed on our tragic Negro problem. When the Japanese immigration question was up while Woodrow Wilson was President, he said that surely we should have learned our lesson from the Negro problem. But apparently we have not learned it.

EDWARD R. LEWIS.

Winnetka, Ill., June 21, 1943.

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

DISCRIMINATION HANDICAP

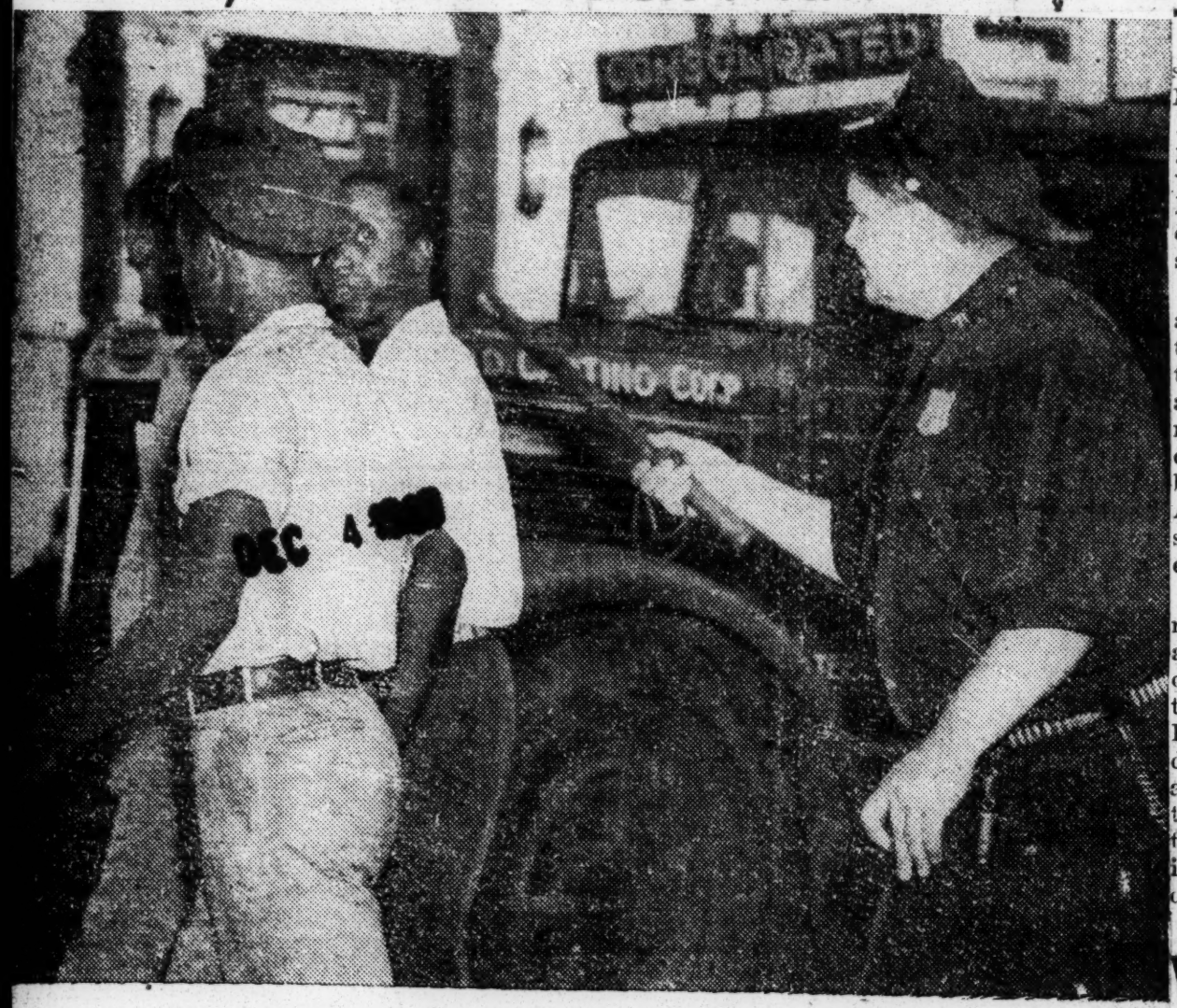
To the Editor of The Courier-Journal.

It is time to review what we are fighting for, and giving We have failed to throw off the oldcause of color, we leave ourselves open to superstitions and the bigoted prejudicesfollowing the battle when both ingagainst peoples of Our Congressmen colored.the Japanese War Lords for their ws.these critical times if they recognized thethe white people only. Congress could atharm that these discriminatory laws do tostrike as great a blow for victory as a e's our cause in the eyes of the world. Today thousand airplanes to China by wiping out on it becomes manifestly clear that unless the restrictions against citizenship of the ht steps are taken to change this situation we colored races, and would point the way for are headed for trouble with our allies, freedom for India with deeds, not idle words. r," It is time to recognize the fact that unless Washington, D. C. RICHARD STEIN. nstCongress passes a law to make it a criminal offense to discriminate against anyone be-

56k-1943

A Negro Who Fought for His Home

One Law for the Black and One for the White, So the Black Man Went to Jail



DETROIT—WHERE RACE VIOLENCE FLARED.

The Story of Tee Davis

THIS is the story of Tee Davis—a man who sought to defend his home. It is also the story of a group of southern Negroes who bought some land and tried to live at peace. But what started as high hope has ended in tragedy.

Tee Davis is in jail today, serving ten years, although he hurt no one. He defended his home against an illegal search and was convicted of "shooting a rifle with intent to kill." The Negro community is shattered under the rapacious onslaught of a white planter who turned a respectable town into an uproarious honky-tonk.

That is the story of Tee Davis.

It came to us not as a social document, but in the "prosaic" form of a lawyer's report. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU) was handling the case and appealed to the Workers Defense League for help. The WDL asked lawyer Joseph S. Freeland of Paducah, Kentucky, to investigate the case and report.

We read the report and were struck by its simple, terse sketching of a race relations pattern that started nearly 70 years ago and has held sway to this day.

We think this is an important document—this case of Tee Davis, and print, therefore, the full report:

THE background of the story is this:—The case occurred in Crittenden County, Arkansas, which I understand to be just across the Mississippi from Memphis. Crittenden County has a large Negro population, and for many years in the Reconstruction period and after was controlled by the Republicans, electing Negro Republican sheriffs and other county officials. In fact, it was the last county in Arkansas to be "rescued" from Republican rule.

During this period, a group of Negro families acquired a tract of land in the county where the town of Edmondson is now located, and established the town there. It was intended to be a 100% Negro settlement! the stores and businesses were all owned by Negroes, the town officials were all Negroes, all real estate was owned by Negroes. No white people lived in the town. As I recall what K. T. Sutton (the Arkansas attorney for the STFU) said, the town was established around the turn of the century.

Some years thereafter, the white planter element organized a raid on the community, killed a large number of Negroes, drove out many other families, and deported the town officials to Tennessee, with instructions never to return. However, in after years many of these people drifted back. Mr. Sutton says that this white antagonism to the community exists because of the belief among the planters that it is bad to have any land-owning Negroes in the county; it might make the Negro tenants and laborers dissatisfied with their lot.

WITH the community in this plight, the taxes were allowed to become delinquent on much of the land, and it was of course sold, and a white man named Weaver, who appears to be at the head of the reactionary white planter forces, bought it in. He built a commissary and honky-tonk in the town, plowed up some of the streets and tore down some of the buildings, and in general seemed determined to destroy the community.

The STFU became interested in the situation several years ago, organized a local there, and started a fight to get the town back for the Negro people. The union employed Mr. Sutton to file a suit to recover the lost property from Weaver, which suit has been pending for about two years, every possible legal device to delay it having been employed by Weaver and his backers. However, Mr. Sutton tells me that he believes that the possibilities for delay have just about been exhausted, and he expects eventually to win this suit.

Also, about two years ago, an election for town officials was held in Edmondson, and the union put up a slate of candidates. The ballots for the Weaver's candidates. It stated it happened in the spring of this year. It union candidates were thrown out by the election officers, whom Weaver controlled, and Sutton for the union filed a suit contesting the election. Immediately the ballots disappeared, but Mr. Sutton says that this is no great matter, as he can prove by the voters themselves how they voted. This suit also is being delayed eventually to win it.

BY this time, the other officers had arrived, and they finished breaking down the door and arrested Davis. Subsequently, they or some other officers found the thief they had been looking for, who was not Davis but another Negro, and this other Negro pleaded guilty to the theft and went to the penitentiary. Davis asked who was tried for shooting with intent to kill, and him it was Mr. was convicted and given ten years, despite his plea that he acted within his rights in defense of his home, which Mr. Sutton says is absolutely to the state- the case under the laws of Arkansas. Mr. Sut-

Davis had 60 days under Arkansas law to perfect an appeal, and the time expired, according to Mr. on, on ber 26. Neither Mitchell nor I had known that the time was so nearly out; and in view of the fact that it would prob-

tion represented Davis at the trial, and after the conviction made a motion for a new trial, which was overruled.

I BELIEVE the foregoing will help you to understand the situation, and how the Negro people there are fighting to get back their homes and their community.

Tee Davis was one of the residents of the community, but not one of the landowners; he was renting land from one of the Negro landowners of Edmondson at the time the shooting occurred. Mr. Sutton was not able to give me

moved from the main settlement. rived ahead of the others, and findi of the house locked, began to ki shouting to the inmates to "open u the damned black son of a bitch." Davis

community. Weaver did not mak

ably be impossible to get the facts before you and the WDL executive board in time for you to act on the case, Mitchell decided to go ahead on behalf of the STFU and authorize Sutton to take the appeal, although the STFU has very little money for this purpose. Mitchell feels that it is vitally necessary that Davis' rights be protected, and that it will be quite a setback to what the union is trying to do in Edmondson if he has to go to prison.

[For those interested further in the case of Tee Davis and who wish to help, write Workers Defense League, 112 East 19th St., N. Y. C.]



Burning the Cross—at a Klan meeting.

PROFESSOR

Philadelphia, Pa. Philadelphia Tribune

By Langston Hughes

Promptly at seven a big car drew up in front of the Booker T. Washington Hotel, and a white chauffeur in uniform got out and went toward the door, intending to ask at the desk for a colored professor named Thomas Walton Brown. But the professor was already there sitting in the lobby—a white-haired Negro with a round brown face and his black overcoat ready to button over his dinner clothes.

As soon as the chauffeur entered the professor approached. "Mr. Chandler's car?" he asked hesitantly.

"Yes, sir," said the white chauffeur to the clean little Negro. "Are you Dr. Walton Brown?"

"I am," said the professor, smiling and bowing a little.

The chauffeur opened the street door for Dr. Brown, then ran to the car and held the door open there. Inside the big car the lights came on, and on the long black running-board as well. The professor settled in among the soft cushions, the deep rug and the cut glass vases of flowers. With the greatest of ease the chauffeur quickly closed the door of the professor's car, closed the door of his own seat in front, beyond the partition, and the big car moved off. In the lobby of the hotel, a few ill-clad Negroes watched the procedure.

"Who is somebody?" somebody said.

But as the car passed the ash-colored children on the street in front of the hotel, their ragged legs and cheap clothes in the glare of the chauffeur slowed to a stop. Then the car turned the whole length of a Negro street that was lined with pawn shops, beer joints, pig's knuckle stands, ten cent movies, hairdressing parlors and other ramshackle places of business patronized by the poor blacks of the district. Inside the big car the professor, Dr. Walton Brown, regretted that in all the large cities where he had lectured on his present tour in behalf of his college the main Negro streets presented the same sleazy and disagreeable appearance: pig's knuckle joints, pawn shops, beer parlors and houses of vice, no doubt—save that these latter, at least did not hang out their signs.

The professor looked away from the unpleasant sight of this typical Negro street, poor and unkempt. He looked ahead through the glass at the dignified white neck of the uniformed chauffeur in front of him. The professor in his dinner clothes, his brown face even browner above the white silk scarf at his neck, felt warm and comfortable under the fur rug—but he felt too, a little unsafe at being driven through the streets of this city on the edge of the south in an expensive car, by a white chauffeur.

"But then," he thought "this is the wealthy Mr. Ralph P. Chandler's car, and surely no harm can come to me here. The Chandlers are a power in the Middle West, and in the South as well. They are great fortunes of America. In philanthropy, nobody exceeds them in well-planned generosity on a large and highly publicized scale. They are a power in Negro education, too, and that is why I am visiting them tonight, at their invitation."

Just now, the Chandlers were interested in the little Negro college at which the professor taught. They wanted to make it one of the major Negro colleges of America. And in particular the Chandlers were interested in his Department of Sociology. They were thinking of endowing a chair of research there, and employing a man of ability for it. A Ph.D and a scholar. A man of some prestige, too, like the professor. For his **The Sociology of Prejudice** (that restrained and conservative study of Dr. T. Walton Brown) had recently come to the attention of the Chandler Committee, and a representative of their philanthropies visiting the campus, had conversed with the professor at some length about his book and his views. This representative of the Committee found Dr. Brown highly gratifying, because in almost every case the professor's views agreed with the white man's own.

"A fine, sane dependable young Negro," was the description that came to the Chandler Committee from their travelling representative. So now the power himself, Mr. Ralph P. Chandler, and Mrs. Chandler, had the colored churches of the town, had invited him to dinner at their mansion in this city on the edge of the South. Their car had come to call for him at the colored Booker T. Washington Hotel—where the hot water was always cold, the dresser draws stuck and the professor shivered as he got into his dinner clothes; and the bellboys, anxious for a tip, had asked him twice if he needed a valet or a woman.

But now he was in a big warm car and they were moving swiftly down the boulevard, the black slums far behind them. The professor was glad. He had been very much distressed at having the white chauffeur call for him at this cheap Negro hotel in what really amounted to the red light district of the town. But then none of the white hotels in this American city would keep Negroes, no matter how cultured they might be. Roland Hayes himself had been unable to find decent accommodations there, so the colored papers said, on the day of his concert.

Sighing, the professor looked out of the car at the wide lawns and fine homes that lined the beautiful and well-lighted boulevard where the white people lived. After a time the car turned into a fashionable suburban road, and he saw no more houses but only ivy-hung walls and shrubs and box woods, that indicated not merely homes beyond, but vast estates. Shortly the car whirled into a paved driveway, past a small lodge, through a park full of fountains and trees and up to a private house as large as a hotel. From a tall portico a great hanging lantern cast a soft glow on the black and nickel of the body of the big car. The white chauffeur jumped out and deferentially opened the doors for the colored professor. An English butler welcomed him at the entrance, and took his coat and hat and scarf. Then he led the professor into a large drawing room where two men and a women were standing chatting near the fireplace.

The professor hesitated, not knowing who was who; but Mr. and Mrs. Chandler came forward, introduced themselves, shook hands and in turn presented their other guest of the evening, Dr. Bulwick of the Municipal College, a college that Dr. Brown recalled did not admit Negroes.

"I am happy to know you," said Dr. Bulwick. "I am also a sociologist."

"I have heard of you," said Dr. Brown graciously.

The butler came with sherry in a silver pitcher. They sat down, and the whites began to talk politely, to ask Dr. Brown about his lecture tour, if his audiences were good, if they were mostly Negro or mixed, and if there was much interest in his college, much money being given.

Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

COLORED AMERICANS are often ADVISED that they should "keep in their place." The SAME advice is given to colored peoples the world over by those who entertain the strange notion that they are BETTER because their skin is lighter, their hair more wavy and their features different.

There are all sorts of laws, regulations and customs designed to make it APPEAR that colored people are inferior and consequently have some DIFFERENT place than other people and ought to STAY there.

In literature, textbooks, newspapers and the theatre, the ILLUSION of racial differences is subtly (and sometimes not so subtly) EMPHASIZED.

The more FIRMLY the idea of difference is fixed in the minds of people, the easier it is to get them to accept the thought that the "place" of colored people is "DIFFERENT" from the "place" of OTHER people.

Discrimination and segregation are further means of teaching that colored people have a different "place", and an inferior one.

Wage differentials, discrimination in promotion, separate schools, segregated residential districts based on fictitious "race", and vote bans, are all part of the machinery of establishing a DIFFERENT "place" for colored people.

When higher illiteracy, crime, delinquency, disease and death rates result from the operation of this machinery, this is SUPPOSED to indicate the colored citizen's "place" SHOULD be different from that of other citizens.

As a matter of fact these by-products of discrimination and segregation all prove that the victims are NOT "in their place."

The colored person's "place" is where all OTHER citizens are.

If colored people were "keeping in their place", they would NOT be living in segregated districts.

If they were "keeping in their place", they would not be EXCLUDED from public places.

The "place" of a colored child is NOT in a jim crow school, but in the same school attended by other American children.

When ANY citizens are set aside and given separate and inferior accommodations, facilities and opportunities, they are NOT "keeping in their place", and such a situation is an indictment of the society in which they live.

Each person is BORN with the inalienable rights, privileges and dignities with which the Creator endows him.

His "place" is wherever these natural rights are vouchsafed him.

In a civilization dedicated to freedom and EQUALITY, the "place of every person is in the ranks of the free and equal."

The ideal of every free society should be to keep EVERY citizen in the "place" God intended him to be, and nowhere else.

The EXCELLENCE of a society is to be judged by the proportion of people who are in this place.

A land peppered with prisons, orphanages and alms houses is an UNCIVILIZED land.

A country where people are DIVIDED and treated differently because of skin color differences is a barbarous country.

It should be the resolve of every citizen who LOVES his country to make it a place of EQUAL rights, privileges and opportunities for ALL citizens.

It is quite true that people SHOULD "keep in their places" but that place is in the ranks ALONGSIDE their fellowmen marching toward a world that will guarantee all a HIGHER (not an unequal) standard of life.

56k-1943

THE LIVING SOUTH

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

—By HAROLD PREECE—

AUG 7 1943

Brother Tackett Speaks Up

WE HOPE some day that an appreciative soul will pass out medals to plain, everyday Southerners who practice human brotherhood while a lot of other well-meaning people talk about it.

We hope that a humble preacher of a poor folks' religious sect will be among those standing in line to get his award when the names are called off.

The preacher is Rev. J. R. Tackett, minister to a Louisiana congregation of the Church of God (Reformation Movement). Preacher Tackett has faith in mankind; he proves it in work as well as in words.

A southern friend has just handed me a copy of the Church of God magazine, the Gospel Trumpet. The Trumpet blasts at the walls of Southern Jericho with Preacher Tackett's article entitled "My Brother."

"My Brother," to this Louisiana apostle of brotherhood, is the Negro and every other member of the human family.

What Preacher Tackett has written should be required reading for Louisiana's Governor Sam Houston and the rest of those Southern bogey-men plotting political revolt in next year's elections to preserve what they call "white supremacy." These men profess to believe in the profoundly human teachings of Christ but insist that Negro followers of Christ should "keep their place" in a jim crow earth and a jim crow heaven.

"Of course," Preacher Tackett answers these arch-Confederates by implication, "there are some of the older Christians in the South who will deny having any prejudice against the Negro race. They even profess that they like the Negro, but 'they want him to stay in his place'."

"Well, we can say that of men or women of any race. We like them if they will stay in their place. But most people in sin are already out of their place; Christ came into the world to help them get adjusted to their place again. If we are not careful in our effort to keep our brothers of other races in 'their place,' we will get out of our place."

Break the Ice

I'M NOT qualified to pass on this question of "sin" that Preacher Tackett raises in this paragraph. I'm a working newspaperman and not a theologian.

But what our good friend says about keeping "our brothers of other races 'in their place' is pretty good medicine for certain gentlemen in our state department who are trying to pour the old poisons of racism and imperialism into the new vessels labelled "Atlantic Charter" and "Four Freedoms."

Noble words have to be backed up by noble actions. Statesmen should shut up if they can't put up. Preachers who coin golden phrases about human brotherhood should also find the golden meaning of that natural, easy association between races which is brotherhood.

"A young sergeant came to visit us — a Christian boy who is the son of a colored minister." Preacher Tackett relates. "We invited him to come in and visit in our home with other soldier boys. They exchanged stories and experiences and laughed and enjoyed the evening together as though they had all been of one race and color. They were all Christian boys, and since we made no difference between them there seemed to be none made so far as they were concerned.

"When it came time for the church service — we invited the group to church and they all went. In the testimony service, the colored boy testified as naturally and earnestly as any of the others. Remember, this was in the 'deep South' where there are many people, even Christians, who find it very difficult to treat their brothers of the colored race just as nicely as they do those of the white race. Our attitude toward our dark-skinned brother was rather shocking to some who were in the service that night, but it broke the ice of their entrenched prejudice to some extent and at least helped the young Christians in the group to see the possibility of a broader faith in Christ."

Now we have plenty of sour, grumpy preachers in the South who think that their indigestion is inspiration when they climb behind a pulpit. Their cars and their bicarbonate of soda are often paid for by selfish men who thrive and grow fat on the slow starvation of millions of poor Southerners like my neighbors in this mountain community.

Youth Forums

THESE MEN do not share the conviction of Preacher Tackett and of St. Paul — that "of one blood hath He created all the nations of the earth. By their lives they mock brotherhood and set up stumbling blocks for the Southern youth whom Preacher Tackett sees as the hope of the South.

"One thing that would go a long way toward ironing out race differences." says our friend, "would be youth forums including both races — forums held in an effort to reach a better understanding. — No church or nation can really be strong until its racial units are united, and the best possible way to unite these is by a system of practical education and mutual understanding."

To which a hard-working newspaperman say "Amen!" We are all for the brother's idea of youth forums where young people of both races can get together for "practical education and mutual understanding."

But, Friend Tackett, let's be clear on just what we want down here where we live. Forums are fine places to get ideas and to get acquainted with the other fellow.

But they mustn't become ends in themselves if one Negro is to be freed from the cotton patch or the chain gang. "Practical education" spells "practical activity." "Mutual understanding" without mutual action of both races to bring about a better South is as dead as faith without works.

Let them realize that one great truth you wrote in your article:

"An unfair economic setup that discriminates against colored people makes it difficult to overcome race prejudice, even in the Christian family."

AUG 7 1943

Open Letter to Senator Smith

Washington, D. C.
Senator Ellison D. Smith
Senate Office Building

Dear Sir: Washington Tribune

I am addressing this open letter to you in a DEC 16 1943 upon the thirteen millions of Negro Americans on the floor of the Senate: Because (1) It was a gratuitious insult to the largest minority group of American who have no representative to answer you from the floor of that august body whose dignity you prostitute by delivering a terrible tirade against Negroes, and those who would give all soldiers the right to vote for Federal officers. (2) It gives Axis propagandists opportunity to point to your unreasonable and unreasoning hatred of Negroes as the American attitude toward the darker races.

I hold no brief for those who charged an "unholy alliance" to defeat the bill to give the vote to soldiers in 1944, but I am sure they had in mind, and were speaking for the millions of white soldiers who are denied the right to vote — I do not think they thought to loose upon the millions of Negroes, who are doing everything they can to win the war, the flood of vituperation that only you can use. The Negroes have proven themselves to be among the most loyal of Americans; a Group that has made the greatest contribution to labor, in the South, than any other race in the world.

You speak of your love for the old Negroes at home and particularly "old Uncle Bill": I wonder that a sense of decency caused you to omit your "old Uncle Bill" and the other old ones from the filthy slurs you heaped upon Negroes.

Senator DEC 18 1943 spoke boldly of your feelings concerning the comments made of you and your colleagues from the South who have done so much for the Democratic party. I am wondering what do you think the intelligent, cultured Negroes think when they hear such slurs as you and others have hurled against this minority group in the halls of Congress. The Negro race has suffered and labored to help make America the leading nation of the world. Negroes have licked the hand that has continued to slap them in the face without turning traitor or becoming so hostile as to assassinate a president.

No Negro desires to eat at the table or sleep in the bed, in private homes of white folk: but Negroes do contend for their rights as American citizens, under the Constitution. They believe with the Declaration of Independence, the self-evident truths "that all men are created equal", that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness". Negroes believe too, in the words of our Holy Writ, which says "Out of one blood God created all nations to dwell upon the face of the earth."

What crime has the Negro race committed that has not been committed by the white race? If the Negro women of the South were permitted to tell their story of the past 75 years, there would be a different picture put on the canvass. I am wondering when will the law be respected: If Senators and Congressmen, on the floors of the Senate and Congress, openly admit that they will join a lynching party. Senator, I thank God, that all the white people of the South are not like you.

You say you believe in the Constitution. But that is exactly what you do not believe in. The Constitution gives the Negro the vote. You keep it from him. The Constitution declares for law and order. You declare for lynching and offered to join the mob.

If you were a statesman, you would discuss the question at issue. Poll Tax and the Soldier Vote is the issue. Instead of presenting your opinion for or against it, you get down in the gutter of politics and drag the question of Negroes eating and sleeping with whites.

No statesman would make an assault on human rights, and the dignity of the individual, when the whole world of civilized men is fighting for Justice and Equality of all men, regardless of race.

All that you have said, sir, is evidence conclusive that your day is done. Your place will be filled by a representative from South Carolina who will speak the language of the new South and will uphold the principles of a thorough-going Democracy. Thank God, that speech you made in Congress December 9, was your "Swan Song". For God is not dead.

Among the honorable and legal means the Negro church uses to maintain the economic, social and civil rights of its people, the everlasting efficacy of Prayer, Fathers and Mothers in America can be depended upon to save our country from adopting your ideas of slavery during the Very prayer occupies an important place. Representing, as I do, over six million Christian Negroes, and believing, as I do, in same God who answered our

Yours truly,

W. H. Jernagin, Chairman
Washington Bureau.
Executive Board, Fraternal Council of Negro Churches

DEC 18 1943

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Washington Tribune
Washington, D. C.

THE WASHINGTON SCENE

By **Edgar Brown**

(The opinions expressed by this [illegible] do not necessarily reflect the editorial opinion of the Washington Tribune.—The Editor.)

Southerners Scared to Death

Back of the scenes for the past week the "pole" tax Senators and Congressmen have been amusingly jittery. It is the irony of fate catching up with them. The sword of Damocles hangs over their heads in the soldiers' vote bill. They had hardly finished laughing up their sleeve as they presaged the doom of the anti-poll tax bill by the usual filibuster than this very real and immediate threat to the continuance of the South's venal disfranchisement and discrimination against 10,000,000 American voters because of race and color has met them head on. They have found even the time honored constitutional dodge impossible in the face of their Northern Republican colleagues' interpretations of that incomparable document insisting, as they have on the floor of the Senate that a higher power just guide them in this all important soldiers' vote legislation to make certain of the soldiers' right to a ballot in the Presidential and Congressional elections of 1944.

BILBO AND RANKIN MUST GO

These 9,000,000 American soldiers and sailors on far flung global battlefields regardless of race, creed or color were drafted into the armed services of the nation by vote of the Congress. These servicemen stand ready to fight and die for the very preservation of the constitution and democratic processes. This same Congress, despite its "pole" tax Senators and yelps of Bilbo and Rankin who will go down shouting, "bloody murder", must now in the soldiers' vote bill guarantee the constitutional rights of all and their immediate and complete suffrage over and above ancient state subterfuges, conceived and executed by the earlier Ku Kluxers of Reconstruction Days and their ilk of this generation. ***The next job of the thirteen million colored people is to move in and follow through on this first break of World War II. Colored Candidates in Mississippi must run against Bilbo for U. S. Senator, Rankin in the first Congressional District and every one of the six other Congressional Districts in Mississippi where the vote for the most part is predominantly in their favor, as well as other southern states.***

202 COLORED NURSES

The National Negro Council register a ten pin strike before the Senate Appropriations Committee by pointing up the unbelievably small number of colored nurses, two hundred and two (202), which is the so-called quota limit according to the reports from those colored women applying to the War Department and the Red Cross. This colored quota of nurses for the U. S. Army and Navy composed of 8,000,000 members— 800,000 of them colored servicemen and women precludes any more colored women today from responding to the daily radio broadcasts, public speeches, newspaper publicity, all appealing for 60,000 volunteers immediately to give aid and comfort as trained nurses when these brave Americans fall in battle. The answer is, still, "White Only." No colored women are wanted as nurses by Uncle Sam. Senator Joseph O'Mahoney who wrote the scathing denunciation of President Roosevelt's first supreme packing message bluntly, stated as a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, "Certainly the Colored people are entitled to more than 202 nurses in the Army and Navy."

THE G. O. P. RIDES ON

Congressman Chester O. Carrier (Rep.) Kentucky, comes to Washington this week after defeating Dan Tolbert, a Democrat "big shot" at the special election in the long time Democratic 4th District, of the Blue Grass State. Mr. Carrier won by the approximate number of colored voters, who joined their fellow Americans in redeeming the G.O.P. principles of yester years. Hodgenville, the birth place of President Lincoln is located in this Kentucky district.

CHARLES W. ANDERSON, Jr., KENTUCKY, REPUBLICAN

Attorney Charles W. Anderson, Jr., five times member of the Kentucky legislature was honored by election to the Presidency of the National Bar Association at the 37th Annual Convention in Baltimore. Like other Kentucky signs it indicated the complete route of the New Deal Democrats headed by Charles Houston and the N.A.A.C.P. crowd who still had good words for Attorney-General Biddle following his speech counseling, patience, second class citizenship and local justice with no federal interference in impending and explosive race riots on a national front. Mr. Biddle and the administration which he sadly represents, was rejected, too, by the repudiation of his well wisher. This chief law officer of the United States in his speech before the colored lawyers meeting gave no explanation, apology or denial of his recommendation to stop race riots in Detroit and other northern industrial war centers by keeping the colored people down South to stew in the lynchings, disfranchisments and bloody justice, while the Ku Kluxers would have his blessing to bring their bigotry and prejudice above the Mason-Dixon line.

"Niggers" and the Negro burden.

Of course, I still hold that one man is no better than another, but I hold that some folk are more highly developed than others and that some way should be found to prevent merchants who get rich off "niggers" from building or maintaining stores in Negro communities.

One of the unforgivable sins of the South is the business of throwing all types of Negroes into the same categories and trying to hold them there.

I was in a school recently and heard an otherwise very swell person of another race refer to the teacher right in the presence of her students as "Mary". I talked with a teacher who is doing very fine work in one of the college towns of Alabama. He had been asked to come to some sort of meeting where he was the only colored person. Most of the other folk who came in, at first were afraid to speak to him. Finally an enlightened person came in and said "How do you do, Joe?" He replied, **"Fine, I thank you, M—So and So." In one way or** the other the Negro and the niggers—thrown into the same treatment cast, have had to be what one woman described as "The bowing kind." There were days in this land when men were lynched because they didn't bow every time they came in contact with a white person be the "quality folk" or just plain old honery "white trash."

This business has gone on so terribly long in our Southland that in order for most of us to live we have had to pretend to be niggers.

Here is what a nigger does: He looks his white contact right in the face and tries to size him up If asked a question, he tries to say just what he thinks his questioner wants to hear him say. If this nigger is honery, he knows that with a few exceptions whites love to have someone bolster up their arguments that the Negro is fundamentally different and inferior. So, he gives fervent evidence of agreement with that sore of rot He is helped if his contact thinks to tell him that he is different.

Now, you have the two Negro Worlds—the Negro struggles forward in one and the nigger flops around in a happy-go-lucky fashion in the other. All the laws of segregation and discrimination are proven the best for all by comparing the product of a nigger with that of "quality white folks." Very few laws designed to suppress the Negro are made and executed on the basis of their maker's knowledge. Did you ever see an English butler in the movies? Can you imagine any student of human nature or the English, throwing Winston Churchill, Anthony Eden and the Duke of Windsor into the same category with one of those traditional English butlers and proceeding on the basis of the butler's intelligence and background to evolve a way of life for the whole of the English people? Can you imagine throwing a resin chewer from my native state Mississippi into the same category with Mrs. Clara Booth Luce and working out a place in life for Mrs. Luce based on what might be considered best for the resin chewing female from the hills and backwoods of Mississippi.

Well, the argument about one having to lift up a loud mouthed bozo before one can get what he, **as an individual deserves**, is like laughing when one is tickled. You just do that for a few seconds, but you cannot laugh for a living. In fact the sweetest things in life, when carried too far become the bitterest things.

I still think we must recognize that there are two Negro Worlds and two types of Negroes. The line between the two must be made strong and kept so until those on the Don't-give-a-damn side work their way out of their world when they learn that the cost of low living is high.

More of our leaders, I think would get further, if they plead for us on the basis of what the leader is himself instead of for the entire 15,000,000 Negroes. It is unfair to ask any people who have developed themselves and achieved a deep appreciation of the finer things of life, to accept a bunch of niggers or low brows of any group, into their arms.

Eventually, mankind must destroy its words constructed on the basis of color and rear up their ashes in a world wherein the best from all races and groups can progress and live together just as ten thousand leaves live on the mighty tree which only God makes.

That leads me to suggest that this utopian world of which I speak cannot, it seems to me, be brought about by any of the things we now stress. Give a man a mighty brain, scientific power, great resources and you have a dangerous robot. But, add to that a soul, directed by a spiritual power bigger than man and you have a man capable of building the type of utopia whereof I speak.

The Negro must create a world for himself in which niggers will have no place. He must then graduate with other highly evolved, spiritually guided, prejudice free and justice loving men and women of all races into a world where men are brothers and God is Father.

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The Southern American Way

New Republic
New York, N. Y.

A SHORT TIME AGO A. Philip Randolph, president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, got off the train at Memphis to address a mass meeting. A delegation of railroad porters met him with the news that "Boss" Crump had forbidden the meeting. The porters were humiliated, but they were also frightened. Twenty of Memphis' Negro leaders, at Crump's orders, had been called into a conference by Sheriff O. [illegible]ry, who ordered them to call the meeting off. The interview was not held in the district attorney's office or in the municipal conference chambers, but in the bull pen of the city jail. Boss Crump said Memphis had treated its Negroes well, had given them housing, medical centers, schools, playgrounds, parks, swimming pools, a tuberculosis hospital and help for the blind. The Boss said there would always be "about one percent" who would never be satisfied. The one percent weighed heavy on his conscience.

"No blatherskite or demagogue of the North or South should be permitted to interfere with the friendly relations between the races that now exist in Memphis," he said. "Free speech doesn't mean that anyone has the right to holler 'fire' in a packed theatre." The county attorney had warned the Negro delegation that the white people were arming themselves with clubs and guns and were going to break up the meeting if it was held. Randolph had spoken in Dallas and Houston without precipitating riots, and later in Memphis he addressed a small gathering of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. But the big mass meeting was called off.

There is something ugly involved here. There is a social dilemma highlighted by this incident which white Americans had better try to understand; it is a festering dilemma, and it is not going to be taken care of by the expedient of calling off meetings.

Here, on one hand is Boss Crump, a tall, white-haired, slick politician, who has been milking Memphis of political patronage for going on forty years. He runs a fat and fool-proof insurance business—a sign on the wall of his building says it is the largest general insurance business in the South. The building is right next to the courthouse. In the courthouse you get your license to run your restaurant. Then you step across the yard and get insurance coverage from the Boss. The Boss has been a fairly efficient administrator. He wins his elections with the pay-roll vote. And Memphis has supinely taken this dictatorship for nearly four decades. Like most Southern politicians and members of the business class, Boss Crump points with pride to the housing and the hospitals for Negroes. There is always a hypocritical assumption of altruism, and exaggerated claims for the services actually provided. Measured against the Negroes' dire need, these facilities are small. White Southerners are habitually insisting that expenditures for Negro schooling and housing are largely outright gifts, since Negroes pay scarcely 10 percent of the taxes. They forget that Negro taxes are a measure of low Negro pay, not of the work and wealth they have supplied the South for two centuries.

Here on the other hand is Randolph, a tall, deep-voiced, tireless trade unionist. For thirty years he has been a militant, effective, indomitable leader. He exhibits little diplomacy in dealing with white men, has injured the feelings of many and has frightened some. Southern white leaders have frequently quoted fighting phrases from his speeches as an example of the "inflammatory" Northern Negro leadership they want the Southern Negroes to ignore. And, indeed, Randolph's threats of a civil disobedience, threats which have now receded, seemed like bad tactics for Negroes and for our democratic fortunes in the war. And yet it was an earlier threat—the March-on-Washington movement—which jolted President Roosevelt into issuing the FEPC order which helped correct a general and outrageous discrimination against Negro workers. Over the past twenty years Randolph has done a monumental job of organizing poorly paid and defenseless Negro railroad workers into a tough, efficient union. His speeches are vigorous and uncompromising. But he asks no more than the Negro's legal and moral rights.

Randolph and the Memphis Negroes would not have gone out to precipitate a riot. It is possible that the armed white men the county attorney spoke of might have come to the Negroes to start trouble. But it is certain—and this is what Crump and all those like him fear in their hearts—that the Negroes would have gone away from the meeting more determined to press for their rights at every opportunity.

A Negro asking for his rights is evil *per se* under the Southern caste system—no matter what the man's character and personal worth. But this is obsolete thinking. Negroes are thinking on another plane now, and they will never return to the plane of the caste system. Here is the rub and the crisis.

Boss Crump and the bus[illegible] Memphis may want to keep things as they were in the good old days. But denying Randolph his right to speak is not going to prevent trouble. When a truth exists, it will break through of its own force. The truth is that Negroes are oppressed and denied. If white people want to prevent protest and trouble, they must acknowledge this truth, and grant the Negro a decent place in America. Preventing a speech is an extremely short-term measure.

THOMAS SANCTON

Brooklyn Wife Tells Her Startling Story

New York, N. Y.

Relates How Officials Break In Hotel Rooms During Night To Check Wives

(Special To Brooklyn AMSTERDAM NEWS)

TAMPA, Fla., Oct. 27—"I traveled 2000 miles to be with my husband who is stationed at Mac Dill Field in Tampa, Fla., and they treat me as though I were a prostitute." These words came from the wife of a Brooklyn soldier.

The communication in part revealed that wives who are in hotel rooms with their husbands are molested during the night and asked to show their marriage licenses. "They treat soldiers' wives just like they slaughter cows," she wrote to the Brooklyn AMSTERDAM. Amsterdam News

Here's the wife's letter in part:

Tried To Do Her Share

"I am a Brooklyn wife who happens to be in love with her husband who is stationed here and I thought as long as he was on this side and if I were able, I would try and be as much around him and to be with him as much as possible.

"First: When a soldier's wife reaches Tampa, she must have on her person a marriage certificate before she is allowed to [illegible] place to stay.

Strange Rules

"Second: Then she has to have a blood and smear test and carry with her a health card at all times. If she is caught on the streets with a soldier who is not her husband and without a health card, she is thrown in jail and will most likely be sent to some prison farm.

"Third: A soldier's wife must have her marriage license with her in order to secure a pass to see her husband at the camp.

Wives Face Insults

"Fourth: Wives of soldiers get a pretty bad break. Hostesses can get all kinds of passes to go in and out of the camp to try and make the boys feel a little less homesick, but if a soldier's wife tries to get a pass without her marriage license she is subjected to insults, and humiliation from the U. S. Center Manag[illegible]. Yet these hostesses are allowed passes [illegible] our husbands.

"Fifth: A soldier's wife can't rest peacefully in her own hotel room because at any hour of the night the M. P. comes in on you and your soldier husband and demand to see your marriage license.

"Honestly it is disgusting and not so long ago, it was asked that wives visit their husbands at the camps in order to help build up morale. But down here it looks as though they never heard of it. Take me for instance, I have been married for 15 years to my husband and I have a child 14 years old. People of my sort and who have been married as long as I have, don't travel with a marriage license in their pocket. So you can imagine how much embarrassment and humiliation I have been through.

Have It Tough

"Why we are classed as prostitutes and I don't think that's quite fair. After all when a [illegible] travels 2000 miles to be with her husband, she could hardly be coming to see other men.

"Tell the soldier wives in Brooklyn if they are coming down in this God's 'forsaken country' to get a health certificate from the Health Department there, because the people here have no pity on you . . . And by all means bring your marriage license or you will be sent through hell."

Thus this letter came from a well-known Brooklyn soldier's wife asking that the local NAACP's SOS Committee get busy and try to remedy the situation.

MANY NEW "DEMOCRATIC" PLANS STILL MISJUDGE COLORED PEOPLE

"YANKEE FREEMAN" BLASTS JIM CROW --SEEKS UNITY OF CITIZEN RACES

Guardian
Boston, Mass. By THE ROVER

"The Yankee Freeman Movement" informally greeted the Colored Press here in Boston last week when one of the "Yankee" sponsors, a spry, intellectual, elderly, white gentleman from Concord, Mass., dropped into the GUARDIAN office, explained his mission to Editor Maude Trotter Steward and promptly ordered a New Year's subscription to New England's oldest weekly.

Something In Common

The name of the gentleman (an admirer of William Monroe Trotter) is as impressive as his-toric Concord, headquarters of the Yankee Freeman Movement. Edward Holton James is apparently well known by some of our leading state officials. He reputedly has plenty of money and a driving ambition to cleanse our Democracy of its evils. On page 25 of his organization plan entitled "I Am A Yankee," Mr. James writes that he is against "putting Jap citizens into concentration camps, against Jim Crow cars, against conscription, regimentation and bureaucracy; against sedition laws and against ignorance and a false view of life that stirs up nations against us, and lastly, with all that is ... insult ... spirit of God." Some men ag... an dothers do not agree with these policies. Mr. James has been reprimanded for criticising the President's relations with Britain, Cotton Ed Smith and other southerners have said far worse and with slanderous attacks upon the President and gotten away with it. Mr. James says his Movement is anti-Fascist, anti-Communist, anti-racial, and strangely enough, anti-capitalistic. He is strong for the Constitution and the ideals of its Founding Fathers. His links have something in common with everyone.

Racial Conflict "Scare"

The "I Am A Yankee" 64 page booklet opens up with dire and dark prophecies of future racial conflict in America as visioned even as far back as 1840 when Alexis de Tocqueville, a French scholar and statesman published an amazing book entitled "Democracy in America" which predicted political dangers an devils which, in many instances, have come to pass.

"If ever America undergoes great revolutions, they will be brought about by the presence of the black race on the soil of the United States—that is to say, they will owe their origin not to the equality, but to the INEQUALITY of conditions". So wrote (often misquoted) Tocqueville, back in 1840.

Tocqueville was right. In 1861, a "social revolution" was fought involving the unequalities of Colored men. There will never be another. Nevertheless certain people (with a guilty conscience) still wildly imagine "black revolts" in America. This is preposterous since Colored people constitute only a tenth of the population. No Colored leader, not even fiery Marcus Garvey ever preached such nonsence. In all social changes from Crispus Attucks in 1770 up to the present time the Colored man in America has shared his destiny with white men. So much is history.

All Work Together

"I am convinced," writes Edward Holton James in his new book, "that they (Colored citizens) will never fight a revolution to victory as Colored People —I see a movement in which Colored and white will stand shoulder to shoulder. They will fight out their destiny hand in hand. They will be lifted up together by a force that will shake the earth, and by a force of determination such as this planet never saw before."

Isn't that what the Colored race in America has been trying to do for the past 225 years? Haven't we been fighting to work, vote, build, and battle beside our white brethren? Don't we resent being "separate" citizens? The Colored man is ready for integration; always has been!

What the authors of many racial amity unions generally forget is that they need not come preaching to the Colored man about aims and ideals we already possess— and nuetured even while in bondage. We don't need to be "told" these things; let them be told to our white brethren in who foster and maintain "racial standards" of inequalities. Tell it to "Cotton Ed", tell it to Bilbo, inscribe it into the Four Freedoms and make it a world wide crusade for 1944!

What About Housing?

Before this writer "goes overboard" on any of the northern or southern societies for "improving race relations" we think it best to know just how far the "hand of equality" is to be extended to our people. Some of the "planners" can only see the Colored man elevated to menial labor. As yet I haven't seen any that advocates equal housing, mixed army and navy, more Colored in Congress, and fair employment practices. The Yankee Freeman Movement is said to idolize George Washington. Do the authors know that Phylis Wheatley, a Colored slave girl was encouraged and commended by Washington as one of America's best poets? Do they know that on the suggestion of Thomas Jefferson, a colored man, Benjamin Bannker, was invited by Washington to plan our nation's capital? Here Washington honored and RECOGNIZED a Colored poet and a Colored architect, citizens of high mentality, surpassed by none. Washington thought so much of Colored that he freed his own slaves. These are the high levels upon which other men must view the Colored man.

We have too many with the idea of merely "tolerating" our very existance and who offer a hand of "friendship" that feels more like a wet fish. The whole sum and substance is that the Colored man is tired of just being "tolerated"; he wants—and justly so, to be accepted as a real citizen! No "plan", north or south that fails to recognize this fact will ever win the solid support of Colored [illegible]ip in this country.

Will Irk South

Since Mr. James has sent me a copy of his dynamic book "regarding the Yankee Freemen Movement and since he is plain speaking and likes honest opinions I am obliged to express the belief that the south will never accept his title "Yankee" for American. From first hand interviews with both white and colored soldiers who have been stationed in Dixie quite recently the news is that "they're still fighting the Civil War down there" and they hate a white Yankee more than the Colored. I am tempted to warn Mr. James to stay away from the south with his idea and to give up any contemplated plan of holding a convention down in Mississippi. That might be suicide! Moreover the Southern Society and other Dixie units are banding together as well as the politicians. Those two words "Yankee" and "Freemen" would not stir up very pleasant memories in the south.

Many Aims Good

Regardless as to whether one agrees or disagrees with Edward Holton James, it must be admitted from his writings that many of his aims are good aims and far better aims as concerns race minorities than are being propagated in Congress by certain individuals who imagine they are more patriotic and loyal to the Constitution than Mr. James. The man is bound to suffer obstacles and perhaps make some changes. There is room for improvement in all individuals and agencies and it is the wise individual or agency which makes those changes in time. Mr. James' attitude against persecuting all American Japanese is fair enough. The prejudice here against Asiatics is bad. Someday China with her 450 million will be a powerful friend or ally, depending on our prejudice against Asiatics. Prejudice against any and all races must be stopped. The Colored man knows this but Mr. James an dothers must start a "campaign of education" among the white. Nor need Mr. James mind the censor of some of his white Boston critics whose attitude against Jews is criminal. We don't agree in total with the Yankee Freeman Movement ideas, but we believe them to be correct in some matters where they condemn race discrimination, and human exploitation. And it would seem that if little men like Mr. James, Chaplain Fuller and other individuals are to be "punished" for their views while the Southern railroads, numerous other business bigshots and Congressmen, including "Cotten Ed" Smith, are freely allowed to insult and defy the President, then something is radically wrong and unequal in our justice. The sooner we eliminate "segregated justice" based on race, creed, class and color, the better we Americans (and I like that title, Mr. James) can stand before the world as true champions of a genuine Democracy. May we all, of every race, creed and color, work toward that noble objective in 1944. Happy New Year to everyone!

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Conditions Found 19 Miles From Broadway Like Those in Alabama

Kansas City Call Kansas City, Mo.

Segregated System in Hillburn, N. Y., Has Been in Existence 25 Years; Use Outdoor 'Privies'

NEW YORK, N. Y. — In a spontaneous surge of mass indignation taking the form of a general school "strike" the Negro residents of the town or Hillburn, N. Y., located just 19 miles from New York City, brought to light last week a segregated school system of 25 years' standing in many respects parallel to the worst practices of Georgia or Alabama.

The strike, which on opening day kept 94 out of a total of 100 children from school, is still in progress although N.A.A.C.P. officials suggested to the incensed parents that they were running the risk of violating state attendance laws.

Town Divided

Latest development is that the school board has hastily divided the town into two sections, the children of each section to supply the school located in the area.

Roughly the main highway is the dividing line, the catch being that it likewise effectively constitutes a dividing line between Negro and white residential districts, so that, if it obtained, no white children would attend the Brook school and only two or three Negro children would attend the Main school.

On Monday, September 13, Negro parents say they are taking all their children to Main school to register. It is expected that the two or three "eligible" children will be registered, the rest turned away. In this event, parents say they will bring their children back home, refusing to let them attend the dilapidated Brook school, and "pay fines if necessary."

Cast to N.A.A.C.P.

The case was brought to the attention of the N. A. A. C. P. when a committee from the Hillburn branch of the Association called upon Thurgood Marshall, special counsel, to explain resentment of their school board's practices which rigidly designated the town's' two grade schools as "white" and "colored" to the point of compelling Negro children in the vicinity of the "white" school to attend the "colored" school and vice versa in the face of State law declaring such practice illegal.

The committee also reported that protest conferences had been held with Foster Brown, supervisor of the school system serving Hillburn and vicinity, and with J. Edgar Davidson, president of the Ramapo Central School Board embracing Hillburn. Brown was noncommital, but Davidson took an antagonistic attitude, inquiring if the Negroes of Hillburn thought they were as "bad off" as Negroes of Tennessee or Georgia, and stating flatly that as long as he was a member of the board of education the segregated arrangement would obtain. Angered, the Negroes of Hillburn called several mass meetings, deciding as a result to place the case in the hands of N.A.A.C.P. attorneys for legal action if necessary.

No Hygienic Facilities

On visiting Hillburn Marshall found that not only were the reported facts true, but that the "white" school known as Main school, a modern eight-room building, provided with library, gymnasium, music room and large playground which 54 white children attend, while Brook school, the "colored" school, is a 3-room, 45-year-old frame structure to accommodate 100 Negro pupils.

In addition, Brook school, until last week, had no hygienic facilities except two "privies" in the weed-grown back yard, and a single parallel bar is the only equipment of a playground immediately adjacent to a deep, rock-strewn gully and separated without obstruction by not more than 75 feet from a main highway very near a dangerous blind curve.

This highway, because Brook school has no clinic facilities, no gymnasium and no library, children are forced to cross several times daily to reach Main school and Firemen's hall, when gymnasium classes are held.

Dental Clinic Segregated

Mr. Marshall also found that the dental clinic in Main school had certain "colored" days, and that the school buses which take children to the joint high school at Suffern a few miles away are segregated, one for Negroes and one for whites. Immediate community pressure from Negroes has already eliminated the segregated buses.

Marshall, on Wednesday, escorted 5-year-old Allen Morgan Jr., accompanied by his mother, Mrs. Eleanor Morgan, to Main school, where the attempt was made to have the youngster registered.

He was rejected by the principal, Nina Stickle, but his parents was told that she would be advised later after a decision as to whether or not he would be accepted had been reached by the school board. Since he lives on the "white" side of the road, it is expected that when he is brought back to school on Monday he will be registered.

Protests Made

Protest made at once to the State Board of Education of New York by Marshall brought quick action, the state board dispatching the following telegram to President Davidson of the Ramapo Central School Board: "Provision for maintenance of separate schools for colored children repealed by Chapter 134 of Laws of 1938. Necessary for your board to arrange school facilities for both white and colored children without segregation."

Friday Attorney Marshall prepared a petition to the Ramapo Central School Board on behalf of the Negro residents of the Hillburn community protesting the segregation and pointing out the inadequacy of the Brook school as compared to the Main school. This petition is to be followed on Sunday with a mass meeting in Hillburn, at which Marshall will advise parents in detail as to procedure to be followed the next day when children are brought to Main school to register.

'Southern Viewpoint'

Davidson had not been "available" to Attorney Marshall on Wednesday, a fact which Mr. Davidson later through newspapers with the contention that he was most anxious to meet Mr. Marshall or other representatives.

Mrs. Davidson, however, was spoken to by Marshall, and her attitude reflected a racial conception consistent with the school board's astonishingly "southern" viewpoint. The Negroes of Hillburn, she said, were being most ungrateful, because the white people had always fed them when they were hungry and given them money when they needed money, and besides, she could not understand why any Negro child would even try to register at the "white" school.

The whole matter had upset her husband, she said, to such a degree that he had become ill with "fatigue poisoning."

A ridiculous delight is the fact that although there are a very few children attending kindergarten in either school, one teacher is maintained to shuttle back and forth between the two schools, spending mornings at one and afternoons at the other.

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PLAIN TALK
Philadelphia Tribune
Philadelphia, Pa.
By ELMER CARTER

LIBERALS DESERT COLORED AMERICA

One of the most pathetic and ous action against the wretched at the same time revealing treatment of colored citizens in pects of race relations dur the armed forces of the nation these war years has been the nation and segregation has hard- precipitous re- ly evoked the notice of elect- treat of the so- ed representatives of the people. called American When the sonorous eloquence liberals from of Wendell Phillips aroused in the production the firing line indifferent nation, and the pow- of war. But not since the erful denunciation of Joseph P. been appointed pre-slavery era Foraker stung another Roose- causes of the has the ques- velt, there is now silence sav- of racial tens tion of the for the timid voices of one or and despair. status of the two whose tenure in office r ay- and represen Negro had such be determined by Negro votes whole capitu monumental importance to the Only the feeblest effort has tionary and future of America and the world been made to examine the poli- they who as the present time, but the lib- cies and practices of the United the mighty on eral movement in America has States Army, and Navy and Air and fearful met the issue by studied evasion, Corps. No question has been pos- colleagues weasel words, if there were any ed when these departments have words at all and innocuous ges- sought appropriations, no at- tures that were as futile as they tempt has been made to intro- were meaningless duce legislation, or even at- tach riders to these appropriation bills designed to protect the col- than in the Senate and in the ored man in his rights as an Senate and in the House of Rep- American citizen. House of Representatives of the United States where the almost complete absence of any courage- A half dozen committees been appointed to study and



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a first-rate colored man and a second-rate white man, they prefer second rate white men. Not that the trustees of Hampton are not good, sympathetic, Christian Americans. They are. And that is the pity of it. For their perspective is the perspective of an age that is past. The specter from which they flee is the specter which General Armstrong, the founder of Hampton, banished or there never would have been a Hampton.

There are of course a few individual exceptions among the liberals but on the whole they have forfeited their birthright and betrayed their trust. As the colored American faces the post war years he must understand the limitations of the American liberal movement. He must evolve a technique utterly independent of the wish-washy, spineless, and apologetic well-wishers. He must seek strength and support where common interest not mercuric and transient affection provisions a common goal.

Says No Southerner Fit for Peace Table

Kansas City Call

ATLANTA. — (ANP) — The opinion that because of their "inborn race prejudices" there is not a single member of the U. S. senate qualified to assume the leadership at the peace table was expressed Tuesday by Solon H. Bryan of Arden, N. C., in a letter published in the Atlanta Journal, most widely circulated newspaper in the south.

"To lead at the peace table," wrote Bryan, "one needs to put aside his prejudices, sympathetically recognize that all races are members of the human family, and that they have rights that are equal of our own.

"He should know that we can enter into understandings and agreements with other nations without losing our independence or sacrificing democracy. In fact, he should know that only by so doing can we hope to preserve our rights and enter into the full stature of a nation that [illegible] ment has the leadership of th world. We cannot grow withou giving, we cannot long continue without leading."

"Cotton Ed' hasn't the faintest conception of what is happening in the world," Bryan continued, "nor does he comprehend the principles which I am discussing." Neither does Harry Byrd of Virginia, nor Reynolds of North Carolina, nor Wheeler of Montana, nor O'Daniel of Texas, nor very many if any of the members of the senate.

"When you stop to consider that 33 men in the senate can defeat any peace treaty that may be arrived at, you will readily understand that the future of the world depends largely upon them. It is truly a serious situation and one that cannot be remedied except by pressure from the people, and even with that there are some who will never change."

A Second Look

By J. SAUNDERS REDDING

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

THE average Negro in America today does not believe that the death of black men in a war for the Four Freedoms will be enough to win for himself an extension of democratic rights. He does not believe in the righteousness of the Allied cause. He does not believe that the white men who are conducting this war for America and in America's name mean what they say. He does not believe that the peace to come will be a peace for him.



MR. REDDING

The average Negro in America believes that, never having had a national birthright, he is now in process of being cheated of his national deathright, and that this is willful forethought on the part of whites, who, the average Negro believes, does not want to give the Negro a real claim to consideration [illegible] ing died as a combat soldier in this war. The average Negro believes that America wants to say to him when this war is over, "After all, boy, you didn't do any of the fighting. You hauled stuff and ran messages and built roads and bridges and guarded stuff way behind the lines, but you didn't fight and bleed and die like the white boys did. You ain't got no kick, boy; so go on back where you came from."

PERMITTED TO KILL JAPANESE

The average Negro believes this in spite of propaganda to the contrary, and in spite of the 99th Pursuit Squadron, whose activities he believes were belittled in the white press with just such an argument in mind. The average Negro believes that this argument will be used against him in spite of the fact that he believes also that he will die—and in great numbers — in the campaigns against the Japanese on the stinking islands of the Pacific.

He believes that the white men who are conducting this war have it all figured out. He believes that he's going to be permitted to kill the Japanese because killing Japanese, who after all are not white and who, so we have been told time and time again, are not the MAIN enemy, is different from killing the white men of Germany, and can give the Negro no feeling of after-all-Negroes-can-kill-white-men-and get-away with-it.

The average Negro believes that to this end propaganda is being blown up to instill in him that, in fact, the Japanese are something less than human, and that therefore there can be no dessert and no glory for the Negro in pitting his courage and his skill against a sub-human foe. The average Negro believes that this does not make sense, but he believes that this is true.

"GOOD" WHITE MEN

The average Negro in America believes that the average white American has nothing but hatred in his heart for the Negro. The average Negro believes that even the "good" white men, like President Roosevelt and Thomas Dewey and Wendell Willkie never treat with the Negro or for the Negro from a sense of pure humanitarian kindness, but always from a sense of gaining some advantage easily measurable in terms of votes and good will.

The average Negro believes that the average Negro earning a salary of $2500 (or above and in no matter what capacity) can be bought out by whites for a few dollars more, or can be made to pull Mr. White American's chestnuts out of the fire.

The average Negro believes that other Negroes don't care anything about him and won't stick with him when the going gets tough.

LOT IN COMMON WITH JEW

The average Negro believes that he and the American Jew have a lot in common and that they should get together some how.

The average Negro believes that if he just had more money things would be better.

The average Negro believes that if other Negroes were more like him things would be better.

The average Negro believes that if he could "rule supreme" for a while things would be better.

The average Negro believes that if God were black things would be better.

Southern Governors Evade Race Question

NEW ORLEANS, La., July 22—four [illegible] eight were deliberately ignored and still remain unanswered. The Efforts of representatives of the [illegible] indicated an with New Orleans Press club to arrange the part of the solons," the Press a race relations conference between officials stated. Governors of the Southern states Ralph Davis, executive secretary and race leaders for the purpose to Governor Spessard Holland of of alleviating racial friction in the Florida, stated in a letter, "The so-called "Southern Black Belt" governor has been away from through a study of the socio-eco- capitol for some time, but, nomic and racial problems affect- his return, I will place this ing this region have been thwart- respondence before him for con- ed, officials of the newspaper club sideration."

announced last week.

These allegations were made by letter to Governor Sam H. Jones of Louisiana. It was very interesting to note that no comment to make, Robert A. Kerr of Oklahoma and Ellis Arnall, governor of Georgia.

Press club representatives follow- ing communications directed early in June to Governor Sam H. Jones of Louisiana and subsequent copies to eleven governors of other Southern states.

INADEQUATE REPLIES

"Of the twelve letters mailed, reads, "Your letter will be brought to his attention (Governor Adkins) on his return. You may be assured the governor will give it every consideration and attention."

Mrs. D. C. Lea, executive secretary to Paul B. Johnson, governor of Mississippi, wrote, "I have held this letter, awaiting an opportunity to bring it to the attention at this time. This is vitally interesting and a matter to which he is to his attention as soon as

Letters addressed to Governors Cooper of Tennessee, Sam H. Jones of Louisiana, Chauncey M. Sparks of Alabama, Prentice Cooper of Tennessee, Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, J. M. Broughton of North Carolina, Robert A. Kerr of Oklahoma and Keen Johnson of Kentucky are still unanswered.

A response from Joe N. Martin, executive secretary to Homer M. Adkins, governor of Arkansas, "Your letter will be brought

56k-1943

Brooklyn Judge Denounces Jury For Bedford-Stuyvesant Report

New York, N. Y.

Sala Says Presentment is 'Irreparable Injustice' to Negro Minority

NOV 22 1943

Magistrate J. Roland Sala, in Felony Court, yesterday denounced the Grand Jury presentment that laid responsibility for "rampant" crime in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section, Brooklyn's "Little Harlem," at the doorstep of Mayor La Guardia.

Sala declared that his court has shown an unusual decrease, since Pearl Harbor, in the number of cases handled. Where he used to have to hold court until 4 or 5 p.m. daily, he now clears his calendar in less than an hour, he said.

Injustice

Sala declared:

"I was distressed and emotionally disturbed early last week by the presentment filed by the August Grand Jury in Kings County Court. I consider that presentment incredibly unfair, totally unfounded and replete with errors, replete with unjustified allegations and rank hearsay. I have remained silent in the face of what I knew: that an irreparable injustice has been committed against a weak, helpless and minority people. I remained silent against the deplorable reflection against the Negro. I remained silent because I was hoping against hope that some other public figure or member of the Judiciary who was familiar with the situation in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section would make some statement. I hoped for seven days. I can't be too severe in my criticism of these judges and public officials who by their irresponsible utterances are contributing to the hysteria, chaos and prejudice."

Knows Penalty

By making the statement, Sala said, he knew he was "casting my political future out of the window, for I will be taking an unpopular and impolitic position."

He said that a presentment should be a factual report by the Grand Jury in respect to crime or condition in particular, not mere allegations or conclusions, and that such a presentment must be followed by indictment of the officers concerned in the case; in this instance, Mayor La Guardia and Police Commissioner Valentine.

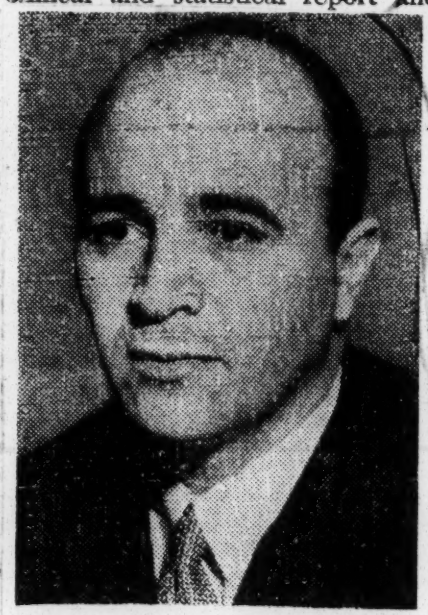
"Nowhere in the presentment is there any statement or scintilla of evidence reasonably to believe that there was misconduct in office," he said. "With respect to that, the presentment is unjustified and should be stricken from the record."

Analysis

Taking the presentment apart, he said:

"'Many children have been robbed, assaulted and mistreated on dozens of occasions.' Vague words. What crimes do the talesmen mean by mistreated? Conditions are not alarming. The picture created by the presentment is that of mass, active and innumerable crimes. I say that it is not factual; merely allegations and conclusions.

"The presentment should be a clinical and statistical report and



J. Roland Sala

not an artistic composition. It is a diabolical technique to create confusion and chaos—I hope unintentionally—and to arouse bigotry and prejudice.

"There is the allegation of hoodlumism. Groups of young men roam streets with knives." Mere allegations; no facts.

"Another item in the presentment is that the police have not adequately used 'muss-'em-up' technique. Members of the Grand Jury have disqualified themselves by trying to incite—I hope not intentionally—to break the law, create riots, inflame passions of whites against Negroes."

Knows Area

Sala said he had made it a point to visit the area frequently, has friends living there, and has walked through the streets, both day and night, without being molested.

"We do not have the solution in multiplying the police officers in the district," he said. "The solution is not by degrading or debasing a minority. The first thing we must do is to educate the whites and the Negro. We must give the Negro a chance to earn his living. There should be legislation to make it a criminal offense to refuse employment to a person because of his race, creed or color."

The Northwest Enterprise
Seattle, Washington

WHITE WOMAN TORMENTOR SAVED BY NEGRO VICTIM

NEW YORK — Despite the fact that he and his wife had been repeatedly insulted by their neighbors after moving into a so-called "white section" in Queensborough, Clarence Rannie, last Friday pleaded for one of his oppressors — an aged woman — when the case was called in Flishing Magistrate's court.

Rannie won his plea to the court and the white woman was freed, but Magistrate DeAndrea gave her a lecture on racial relations, declaring that no group or race has any monopoly on decency or patriotism.

Rannie, 47, who operates a beauty shop in Harlem moved with his wife Evelyn, to their new St. Albans home on Septemebr 8. Ever since then, he told the court, t hey have been ridiculed and insulted by their white neighbors; they have been spat upon, their home has been stoned, t heir auto tires punctured and they have been beseiged by crowds in front of their home yelling "Dirty Niggers."

In desperation, Rannie obtained a sumons for one of his white neighbors, Mrs. Elsie Schmidt, 11432 169th street, charging disorderly conduct and the use of abusive language.

Arraigned before Magistrate DeAndrea, Mrs. Schmidt admitted that she was among those who heckled the Rannies when they moved in, and admitted that she shoulted: "You people ought to be among your own kind."

Magistrate DeAndrea, after hearing the woman's statement, told Rannie to sign a formal complaint so that Mrs. Schmidt could be brought to trial.

But Rannie protested, declaring: "Please your honor, I don't want her punished. I just want to be let alone. All I ask is that they mind their own business and I'll mind mine.'

"All right," agreed the judge. Then, turning to Mrs. Schmidt, he continued: "As long as he respects you, you should respect him.'

Again addressing Rannie DeAndrea advised: "When they say these things, tell them to read the casualty lists and they'll see where there are whites and blacks, Jews and Gentiles, Germans and Irish — all races, all nationalities. Tell them no group has any monopoly on decency, patriotism or bravery — not in this country."

Virgin Islanders Resume Fight for Negro Troops

People's Voice

Because of continued racial and bitter feelings existing between the native inhabitants and white soldiers stationed at Benedict Field, St. Croix, Virgin Islands, the American Virgin Islands Civic Association, with headquarters 217 West 115th st., is urgently requesting the War Department to fulfill its promise of July 6, 1942 to send Negro troops to the islands.

Ashley L. Totten, President of the Association states that on June 18th of this year a company of soldiers armed with rifles and bayonets paraded the town of Christiansted to show the natives who is BOSS there and forced everyone indoors creating unnecessary panic.

This incident followed a series of street brawls with natives during the past year.

On January 26, 1942 states Totten, an American soldier, picked up a rifle belonging to the sentry on duty and without provocation shot Joseph Allen and Emaro Civil, instantly killing the former and wounding the latter.

Donald Civil, father of one of the victims, who lives at 677 Lenox Avenue this city, explains that no compensation has been paid to the relatives, and no one has ever heard of any adequate punishment to the soldier, states Totten.

Ban Newspaper Sale In S. Carolina Town

Amsterdam Star-News
New York, N. Y.

WALTERBORO, S. C., (ANP)—Sale of Negro newspapers was forbidden here Saturday when Mayor H. H. Weal, reportedly responding to a request of "an officer" at the Walterboro Army Air Base, two miles informed representatives that they would not be permitted to sell further copies in the city or at the air base.

Monday afternoon Police Chief Manuel Smith took him before Mayor Weal and he quoted the mayor as saying:

"Reason" Missing

While no official reason was made public for the sudden bar, leaders said it was probably because two weeks ago, colored soldiers at the base, upon getting orders to leave for an embarkation port, went in and around here. I've been trying to get a NAACP branch fired several rounds in the woods and find hidden there. No one was hurt, but the ammunition has been coming down here they've been one of these damn niggers. I don't want another one of these damn nigger papers sold around here. I was injured in the shooting nor know the charter for which putting hell in your niggers. I don't have any knowledge. Others believe the order this week. were involved. trees. Since the result of the establishment of these damn Yankee soldiers have was expected this. at Walterboro, the order "Said" the Mayor

So "Said"

A representative for one of the newspapers said around here. I said at two o'clock Sat-

Race Hatred Danger Exaggerated, Post Office's Chief Solicitor Says

PM
New York, N. Y.
NOV 17 1943

Joins Walker in Opposing Bill to Ban Smears From the Mails

By NATHAN ROBERTSON
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17.—Vincent M. Miles, chief solicitor of the Post Office Dept., followed up Postmaster General Frank Walker's opposition to banning race hatred from the mails with a statement to the House Post Office Committee yesterday that the danger of racial hatred was being exaggerated.

In the face of hundreds of exhibits submitted to the Committee by witnesses from church, labor, liberal, Jewish and Negro groups, Miles told the committee:

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"If you ask my personal opinion, I do not think there is as much racial prejudice as people believe. If you pass this legislation it will cause more racial prejudice."

Postmaster General Walker had already reported that "there is no present need for the enactment of this legislation." The solicitor also followed up Walker's objection to the bill on the ground of administrative difficulties.

Sole Opposition

He was the only witness during the two days of hearings to oppose the legislation. Most of the Nation's leading liberal, Jewish and labor groups have testified for the bill, warning that the mails, attacks on Catholics, Jews and Negroes were dividing the Nation in time of war. No Catholic organizations have testified.

Rep. Samuel Dickstein (D., N. Y.), author of one of the pending bills to ban hatred literature from the mails, slapped the Post Office Dept. for its opposition. Dickstein said the Department was being used by the fifth column to "destroy unity in time of war." Congress never intended, he added, in providing the $80,000,000 subsidy to newspapers to "give a license" for race prejudice.

Richard T. Frankensteen, of the United Auto Workers-CIO, warned further race riots in Detroit and other war centers were a distinct possibility.

Knifing Uncle Sam

Frankensteen said "no respectable private firm would do any sort of business" with the peddlers of race hatred "but Uncle Sam does," by providing them "with the most efficient distribution service they could desire, and they use it to knife him in the back."

Daniel Lapidus, of the United Community Council of Crown Heights, Brooklyn, testified that "if it is treasonable to engender race hatred, then it is equally treasonable to let these people use the postal system."

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Morris Muster, spokesman for the CIO, said the legislation "would make it possible to protect America from those who want to destroy it." M. Maslon Fertig, of the American Jewish Congress, noted that the peddlers of race hatred were not present to oppose the bill because they "work in the dark."

Closing the hearings, Chairman Samuel A. Weiss (D., Pa.), forecast that the bill by Rep. Walter Lynch (D., N. Y.), would be approved swiftly. He said 15,000 letters and telegrams had been received in favor of it, and none in opposition. Even Rep. Noah M. Mason (R., Ill.), a member of the Dies Committee, seems to be supporting the legislation.



Postmaster General Walker

Many Distinguished Leaders Petition For Race Equality

Globe & Independent
Nashville, Tenn.
AUG 17 1943

Many of Most Noted Educational, Labor, Business, and Proessional Leaders Issue Stirring "Statement On The Race Relations Crisis" 37 States Represented

NEW YORK, Dec. 17—A "Statement on the Race Relations Crisis" urging the elimination of racial segregation in American life was issued today in behalf of 317 leading figures in the fields of education, religion and labor in 37 states by Oswald Garrison Villard, writer and former publisher of the New York EVENING POST and THE NATION.

Bishop Francis J. Haas is quoted by the noted signers on the need for knowing one's neighbors, as shown by the lack of friction during the Detroit rioting in the section where Negro and white families lived on the same block, and on the need for exalting "the ideal of 'togetherness' in the place of separateness and division." The statement then declares that "discrimination by the dominant white community, not togetherness has been the almost universal pattern. . . . . Frustration of those suffering the insult of segregation and discrimination in employment, housing, the armed forces and in political, economic and religious life begets hatred and bitterness."

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Noted signers of this historic document on race relations, which made clear that organization listings on the statement were for identification only, include:

William M. Agar, President, Freedom House, New York; William Rose Benet, Author and Editor, New York; Shelton Hale Bishop, Rector, St. Philip's Episcopal Church, New York; Henry Seidel Canby, Writer and Editor, Killingsworth, Connecticut; Elizabeth Christman, Secretary-Treasurer, National Woman's Trade Union League, Washington, D. C.; Gloster B. Current, Executive Secretary, Detroit Branch, NAACP, Detroit, Michigan; John Dewey, Author and Educator, New York; Max Eastman, Author, Chilmark, Mass., Clark M. Eichelberger, Director, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace; Royal Wilbur France, Professor of Economics, Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla; Harry D. Gideonse, President, Brooklyn College, New York; William H. Hastie, Dean, Howard University School of Law, Washington, D. C.; Lauren e T. Hosie, Minister, Presbyterian Labor Temple, New York; Arthur Huggins, President, International Brotherhood of Paper-makers, AFL, Albany, N. Y.; Fannie Hurst, Author, New York; Stanley M. Isaacs, Member, New York City Council, New York; Rufus M. Jones, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.; John Howland Lathrop, Minister First Unitarian Church, Brooklyn N. Y.; Eduard C. Londerman Teacher and Author, New York; John Mackay, president, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton New Jersey; James H. McGill Chairman of Board, McGill Mfg Co., Calparaiso, Indiana; Robert M. MacIver, Head of Sociology Department, Columbia University New York; Carey McWilliams Writer, Los Angeles, California; Morris Milgram, National Secretary, Workers Defense League New York; James Myers, Industrial Secretary, Federal Council of Churches, New York; Endicott Peabody, Clergyman, Groton, Massachusetts; David de Sola Pool, President, Union of Sephardic Congregations, New York; A. Philip Randolph, President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, New York; Thomas Sancton, Managing Editor, NEW REPUBLIC, New York; Guy Emery Shipler, Editor, THE CHURCHMAN, New York; Lillian E. Smith, Editor, SOUTH TODAY, Clayton, Georgia; John W. Thomas, Secretary, Department of Cities, The American Baptist Home Mission Society, New York; Norman Thomas, Chairman, Post War World Council, New York; Willard S. Townsend, President, United Transport Service Employees of America, CIO, Chicago, Illinois; George L. P. Weaver, Director, National CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination Washington, D. C.

AUG 17 1943

Charging that "Negro Americans are outraged by segregation in our armed forces, . . . the gulf between professed war aims and their application to hundreds of thousands of Negro soldiers is so great as to make a mockery of the Four Freedoms," the statement declares the general policy of segregation in much of American life "proves an insurmountable barrier to true happiness or even human decency. It torments the Negro people daily like a dagger which is always in the flesh. At the same time, by setting white against black in the competition for jobs, a fatal handicap is raised to every effort to achieve adequate economic standards and a genuinely democratic existence for the masses in the majority group."

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The statement concludes: "If they are to stop fearing and hating each other, Negroes and whites must KNOW EACH OTHER. But how can they know each other so long as segregation fosters ignorance and fear in the people of both races? Therefore we call to all America:

"Open wide the doors of all churches, all schools, all unions, all fraternal bodies and all businesses to people of every race and color. Only by working, playing and worshipping together, day by day, can you wipe out the misunderstandings which are fertile soil for race hatred. Unite Negro and white schools, churches and other institutions so that together you may help solve the economic, social and political problems which beset all people everywhere. Only in that way can we build a world of brotherhood, with peace, liberty and justice for all."

In releasing the statement from his office at 20 Vesey Street, New York City, Mr. Villard said: "Proof that what we ask is possible is shown by the recent Richmond TIMES-DISPATCH editorial asking the legislature to repeal the law making segregation of Negroes and whites on street cars and busses mandatory. Editor Virginius Dabney made this as a constructive, not a radical, proposal for decreasing racial friction."

56k-1943

Dreaming Of A White Christmas



Defender
Chicago, Ill

Atlanta City Council Asks Ouster Of FEPC Office And White Director

Defender
Chicago, Ill

By HARRY McALPIN

(Chief, Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The City Council of Atlanta, Ga., has passed a resolution which seeks the closing of the regional office of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice there, and orders the regional director, A. Bruce Hunt, white and Virginia-born, to leave town.

The reason: FEPC's regional office is located in the Forsythe building, a downtown office structure, and the City Council is opposed to any Negroes working in the building other than as janitors.

It is reported that a petition was drawn up by occupants of the building objecting to Negroes being brought in. There are no Negroes in the FEPC office yet—the only occupants being the regional director and his white secretary. But the report spread that FEPC hires Negroes in clerical and professional capacities.

Sponsor Radio Program

Besides carrying the petition to the City Council, the occupants of the building, who are themselves federal government employees, sponsored an hourly broadcast over an Atlanta radio station, stating that FEPC plans to bring Negro white-collar workers into the Forsythe building. All eight stories of the building are under government lease.

This climax to Atlanta's action followed a two-week effort on the part of Representative Ramspeck (D) of Georgia, Democratic whip of the House of Representatives and chairman of the House Civil Service commissioin, to get FEPC to move out of the building.

In an exclusive interview with the Defender, Ramspeck said he had tried to get hold of Chairman Malcolm Ross of the FEPC several days ago, but Ross was then in California and Oregon for the Boilermaker hearings.

Following the effort, Ramspeck was in Georgia to see his mother, who underwent an eye operation, and at that time, he said, he became acquainted with the problem at first hand. He was then approached by citizens and urged to put a stop to FEPC in Atlanta.

Violence Threat

"What FEPC proposes to do," said Ramspeck, "will be harmful to all concerned. There are no separate toilets in the Forsythe building for Negroes, and there is no place in the vicinity for Negroes to eat."

To insist on carrying out the plan, he declared, will set race relations in Atlanta back 25 years. It may even lead to violence.

"You can't force this kind of thing down the peoples' throat," he stated. "FEPC has done a good job of putting Negroes to work in factories and war plants. I am glad to see that. I think Negroes deserve a chance to make a living

The Question of the Week.

Has the Fallacy of Hitler's Master Race Theory Served to Encourage Racial Tolerance In This Country?

Doris King.

It has helped a little indirectly. I think It has helped intelligent ... that much of the help has come through ... Jews of this country whose attitudes have ... been altered toward other minorities because ... they have been the target of persecution on ... basis of race. Of course there are a few who ... have taken on the feeling of superiority from ... those of similar complexion about them, and ... to whom a revised attitude would be abso- ... lutely unacceptable.

... prejudices were caught ... There is little or no ... many of our prejudices ... ignorant man does ... open-mindedness and mental ... not trouble himself to take an ... of the Hitler attitude toward ... hand there are intelligent ... the crowd) who dislike certain ...

YEA — NAY

M. F. Tucker

...and is not fairly well acquainted with the Nazi's attitude toward minorities. This same person who knows all these things never remembers the stupidity of them when he is daily discourteous and un-Christian to Negroes.

N. E. Howell.

OCT 9 1943

OCT 9 1943

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I do not think that it has helped at all. Even if I leave of discussing the lamentable situation of the Negro; look at Puerto Rico, read the pleas that some of the Congressmen from up around North Dakota and other states where there is a large Indian population for better recognition of Indians. (Hon. Karl Mundt of South Dakota on "Let's Treat the Red Man White."—Nation's Schools Magazine for Sept. 1943). The four freedoms are badly in need of actual interpretation. I really do not know how to explain it, but Hitler's "master-race theory," and its attendant persecution of Jews has been widely criticized by people who are not intolerant that it is pittiable.

OCT 5 1943

A. B. Smith.

Mr. Biddle Is Disturbed

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Speaking to a group of Negro lawyers in Baltimore last week, Attorney General Francis Biddle said he feared a recurrence of race rioting "at any moment" and was "profoundly disturbed by ever growing tension."

As prime factors in the disturbed Negro-white relations, Mr. Biddle listed general war tension, bad housing, reduced police protection through manpower shortage, treatment of Negro service men and "contradiction between our profession of faith in democracy and our acts."

All of us are as much disturbed as the Attorney General about worsening interracial relations, but we are even more disturbed over the apparent inability of the most powerful government on earth to do anything about it.

Taking up consideration of the factors mentioned by Mr. Biddle as causing growing tension, it seems to us that the federal government has been remiss in the performance of its duty, and that the Attorney General could and should make strong recommendations leading to the removal of these causes.

DEC 11 1943

He could very well recommend that the jim crow patterns in the armed services be abolished as having no place in a democratic country professedly fighting to establish democracy and "freedom from fear" everywhere.

The President is Commander-in-Chief of all the armed forces of this country, and if an order from him to end racial segregation of soldiers, sailors and Marines were issued, we can scarcely believe that it would not be obeyed.

It is not so much BAD housing as SEGREGATED housing that causes so much of the tension, and if a government can regulate rents, there is no reason why it cannot regulate occupancy.

It seems to us that the federal government should set the example for the country in bringing practices in line with professions.

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The Office of War Information, for example, might well spend some of its millions on intelligent propaganda here at home designed to lessen racial ignorance and bigotry, and so might many of the great corporations fattened by war profits who are spending millions advertising munitions and equipment which readers of newspapers and magazines cannot buy and do not care to buy.

Recently thousands of businesses, large and small, co-operated with the government in buying billboard and newspaper space to advertise the Third War Loan, and many of them would probably do the same for better race relations if such were suggested by Washington.

But this is not a job alone for the federal government and big war contractors—Negro-owned businesses and organizations can also set an example by using such propaganda devices, even though the resources at their command are small by comparison.

This job of trying to lessen racial tension is EVERYBODY'S responsibility, but it cannot be discharged merely by set speeches viewing the situation with alarm.

N.Y. Jewish Leader Scores Treatment Of Negro Race

Defender Chicago, Ill.

NEW YORK—(ANP)—Jim Crowism as practiced on buses, street cars, and trains, was flayed by Rabbi J. X. Cohen, chairman of the Committee on Economic Discrimination of the American Jewish congress, in a ring address "Is This a White Man's War?" last week at the New York Free Synagogue, where he serves as associate rabbi.

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"Just as the Jew considers the treatment of Jews in other lands as the measure of the liberal spirit," he declared, "so must the treatment of the Negro and other minorities be the barometer of democracy in America."

He told his audience to "try this psychological trick on yourself. Whenever I [illegible] instance of Negro abuse, substitute the word Jew for Negro. Notice how your blood pressure raises. That is exactly the way Negroes react to the abuse of Negroes. As Americans we should react with the same indignation over Negro as over Jewish injustice."

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Rabbi Cohen further stated that the present global war "has heaved into naked relief the hitherto submerged problems of Negro-white relations," and added:

"This is certainly the time for the Negro to seek his rights. Race prejudice is promoted by forces of evil. It is spawned by frustrations and insecurity. It is designed to breed violence."

Anti-Semitism that may exist among Negroes, he said, is the result of Nazi propaganda which has persuaded some of the Negro population that, if a portion of the persecution to which it is subjected can be sidetracked against the Jews, the lot of Negroes might be easier.

DEC 18 1943

Ministers Condemn Outrages To Group

Daily World Atlanta, Georgia

By B. J. JOHNSON

The Atlanta Baptist Ministers' Union met Tuesday, September 21 at the West Hunter Street Baptist Church, with the President, Rev. C. N. Ellis, presiding.

Notwithstanding the unfavorable weather a large group was present. Very interesting devotional services were conducted by Rev. Jr., Pastor. Lewis and his comments on the scripture were impressive.

The Civic Committee made its report [illegible] after which discussion, a motion prevailed condemning the outrages heaped against the Negroes of Athens, Ga., who were forced to work in the cotton fields against their wills. It was stated by the Rev. Y. L. Danveport, minister of the Lindsey Street Baptist Church, who was in Athens at the time of this outrage, that many Negroes were arrested and fined because they refused to pick cotton.

President Ellis stated that we are fighting now for the Four Freedoms from fear, that among them is the freedom of worship, that we are the lead in fighting for rights of Negroes, for indeed we are Americans.

The Union went on record as supporting the NAACP and all militant organizations which fight for the rights of the minority group.

SEP 2

Rev. D. J. Mack, Chairman of the Executive Board of the Mt. Calvary Baptist Association announced that the Mt. Calvary Association will convent Tuesday night, October 5, at the Greater Mt. Calvary Baptist Church, Rev. B. J. Johnson, Pastor.

Racism And Discrimination Denounced By H. G. Wells

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

By GEORGE PADMORE (Courier's London Correspondent)

LONDON, Sept. 9 (Censored)—Asserting that unless President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and other United Nations' leaders issue a declaration guaranteeing Universal Rights of Man" and equality between all races, H. G. Wells, the foremost intellectual leader believes that there will be another world war after the defeat of the Axis.

Appealing to all progressive humanity to unite against the forces of reaction, Wells says: "What is the black tragedy of the world and about-petition for advantage over one's fellow-men. The merethe honor and privilege of serving mankind, but competition to dominate upon competition in business, competition between states and nations which [illegible] the immense disaster of competition or advantage, under the new world conditions, may equipped with these powers, has culminated in a single all-embracing threat of a combination of political and economic tyranny over our race has never been so plain."

"This military struggle is only one result of the immense disaster

56k-1943

Public Relations and Race Attitudes—An Analysis

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

By GORDON B. HANCOCK

IN HIS COLUMN "People and Places" in the Chicago Defender of recent date, Walter White deplores the low state of public relations as they pertain to race attitudes in this country. According to information he had received through access to a recent report of one of the government bureaus, Mr. White was alarmed to find that 90 per cent of the whites of this country favored the segregation of Negroes.

Said Mr. White: "The findings were startling and indicate that Negroes have done on the whole a rather poor job of public relations so far as white people are concerned. They indicate that the Negro has an enormous task ahead of him in [illegible] every possible [illegible] the white people the facts and to counteract the 24-hour-a-day campaign against the Negro by his enemies."

We are venturing here the opinion that Mr. White's recognition of the poor state of public relations throughout the country is one of the most important steps in the improvement of those relations. Close inspection of the situation will reveal that current trends in these public relations have been largely influenced by the programs and policies to which Negroes have been committed by the NAACP under the leadership of Mr. White himself

The Washington — DuBois Controversy

The situation which Mr. White deplores is rooted to a large extent in the old quarrel between the followers of Booker T. Washington and those of Dr. DuBois. Washington was the arch-proponent of industrial education tied up with the ideals of thrift, industry, politeness, self-reliance and intraracial cooperation as means of attaining fuller emancipation of the race. To be sure this was a round-about way but it would lead by and by into the Promised Land of full-fledged citizenship which Emancipation and the resulting Constitutional amendments did not achieve-has not achieved even until today.

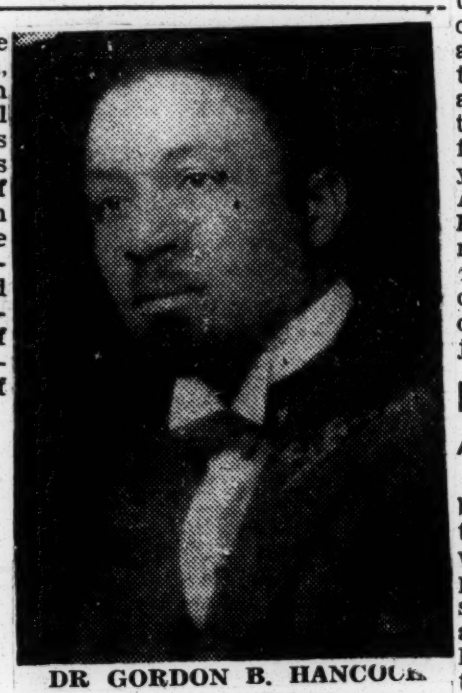
This notion of beginning at the bottom was in the nature of things somewhat distasteful to the Negro masses who had come too long over the "hard way" and were longing for some near-cut to the object of their dream. When, therefore, Dr. DuBois appeared on the scene advocating classical education and the ballot as means to achieve the desired ends, it is no wonder that the popularity of his doctrines became dominant in the thought and thinking of the Negro race. The DuBois philosophy of Negro progress captured the imagination of Negro leadership and of the two schools of thought the DuBois school has secured dominance in the minds of Negroes.

One of the great tragedies of the situation developed from the inability of Negroes to see that these two schools of thought were not antagonistic but complementary. At the time Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois appeared on the race relational scene the situation was calling for just such men and had there been some sort of compromise and understanding by these two moral giants, it is quite conceivable that the picture as it appears today would have been appreciably improved.

Cultivated Antagonism

The object in this allusion is not to berate or exculpate but to state the situation in which the roots of our impaired public relations are hidden. Long after Dr. DuBois became sobered in his attitude towards the Washington school of thought, lesser lights have cultivated the apparent antagonism of these two schools of thought after such manner that the results have in many cases been calamitous. The NAACP is nothing but the implementation of the spirit of the DuBois school and as such has sponsored the protest and resentment psychology which is the outstanding characteristic of Negro thought and life.

It is not reassuring to imagine what a plight would have been the Negro's without the militant leadership that the NAACP has given, albeit this leadership at times begets some dangerous reactions. Fighting fire with fire as Mr. White so often advocates can and does achieve some notable victories; but this spirit is not calculated to build the kind of



DR GORDON B. HANCOCK

public relations the low state of which is so alarming to Mr. White and to us all. The extent therefore to which the Negroes have taken their cue from the NAACP in their fight for fuller citizenship is the partial explanation of the current state of public relations.

NAACP Program Has Its Place

The fighting program of the NAACP has its place and need not therefore be regarded as subversive of the larger objectives so urgently desired; but it is when the supporters of the NAACP become intolerant of other organizations and movements, trying to do the same thing in a different way, that they do the larger cause of public relations a disservice. Within recent years there has been a disposition to disparage, discredit and disembody whoever dared to make a conservative approach to any race relational question.

Too often the person who does not see eye to eye with supporters of the NAACP is smeared and called names. It has come [illegible] that Negro leadership [illegible] as might have remedied the situation which Mr. White deplores has been devitalized by a species of intolerance that savored of Hitlerism. While the litigational approach to race relations has its place in the present state of things, the fact however remains that litigation alone is not a sufficient basis of race relations. While segregation is a matter for litigation, prejudice its cause cannot be reached through litigation, however well financed.

It is even so with public relations; whereas the "fight" psychology has its place, it is just as well for the Negro to realize that by itself it cannot afford ample basis of better public relations. The best proof of this is found in the fact that after forty years of "fight" 90 per cent of America still favors segregation. Karl Marx saw competition as the major principle of human progress and unfortunately he saw only this. Kropotkin posited cooperation also as one of the major principles.

Fight Versus Goodwill And Understanding

Neither had all the truth but both had some; so in race relations, fight has its place but good will and understanding have their place. If we have over-emphasized fight and disparaged mutual understanding and good will we have not only the explanation of the low state of public relations but we have a powerful suggestion for the improvement of this untoward situation.

The Southern Negroes who called the Durham Conference last October faced the sombre fact so thoroughly deplored by Mr. White. By calling the Durham meeting they were addressing themselves to a side of race relations that had been neglected; they were attempting to find as they said "a common denominator of constructive action between certain progressive whites and themselves. The meeting was not an anti-NAACP movement as so many feared without ample warrant. It came about that those who tried to discredit, discount and disparage the efforts of the Negroes who met in Durham did so largely because they were jealous of the power and prestige of the NAACP.

There was never any grounds for the "whispering campaign" to the effect that white southerners "ordered" Southern Negroes to hold the meeting and that the movemen was financed by southern whites. When pressed for proof that whites were financing the Durham Conference these hecklers were as glum as a steel-trap. Every Negro who went to Durham was a member of the NAACP and not one of them would have renounced his allegiance as a price of cooperation with the white South.

Fortunately those whites to whom the Durham Conference was addressed have never intimated that they conditioned their cooperation on our renunciation of membership in the NAACP. The Durham group realized that while effective in certain situations litigation as a means of further emancipation is limited and that there are broader bases of public relations that must precede the constructive efforts these critical times are demanding. To litigation the Durham Conference was adding a constructive program of cooperation.

Common Sense Approach

It was this common sense approach that captured the imagination of the country and largely explains why eight-thousand copies of the Durham Statement have been circulated upon demand throughout the country. So convincing was the position of the Durham group that the white South that spoke in the Atlanta meeting almost unanimously approved the Durham program and gave proffers of their fullest cooperation.

When representatives of the Atlanta and Durham groups met in Richmond and ratified jointly what each had ratified separately the ground had been laid for an approach to race relations that promised to remedy the very situation that challenges interracially minded men everywhere. Negroes cannot settle this question by themselves or among themselves and neither can the whites. Mutual understanding and cooperation must receive emphasis in the future even as fight has received emphasis in the past.

The sponsors and supporters of the Durham Conference are too intelligent to imagine that their proposed program will solve in every little detail the problem of race relations, neither do they imagine what will be done can be done over night; but they have laid down the blueprint that must be followed if we are to improve those public relations that Mr. White so appropriately deplores. Strangely enough when riots break out, whites and Negroes cooperate in suppressing them. The Durham Conference sought to formulate a program that would prevent them.

The Durham Conference Manifesto

The influence of the Durham Manifesto has been powerful in holding in check certain forces that were designed to produce of the post-war world, the Negro great tribulations for the Negroes has in the Durham instrument a The written statement as embod- tion of public relations. ied in the Durham Manifesto one of the most in- gives the lie to those white dema- tion may hark back for assurance gogues who always preface their that Negroes have made a mo- anti-Negro activities with the no- mentous gesture for the improve- tion that the Negroes are trying ment of public relations. to crash the white man's parlor. In conclusion we repeat that the In his determination to share apparent conversion of Mr. White more largely in the opportunities to the necessity of an additional

is paramount ques- Regional Conference that may relations is easily prove to be an answer to our com- st important steps mon dream! hese relations, and he sponsors of this should assure the sp embodied in the new venture em festo of a coopera- Durham Manifesto idence that would tion and confidence work wonders in the in the Implementa- tion of the Southern rit of the Southern

Today On The Home Front

Birmingham, Ala. News

Southern Democrats In Congress Ready To Go To Bat On Oft-Agitated Race Question

BY JAMES MARLOW AND GEORGE ZIELKE

WASHINGTON —(AP)— Southern Democrats have broken steadily in the open in which has South since Civil War days. There are about 13,000,000 Negroes in this country. Three quarters of them live in the South, where only a comparative handful of them vote.

Poverty and illiteracy among the Southern Negroes is great. Poll tax requirements or various tests keep them away from the Poll taxes keep poor whites away, too.

Negro labor in the South is cheap—or it was until war made manpower scarce and therefore valuable—which helped keep costs lower there than for whites and blacks.

Because those living costs were lower, wages per infinishing the South. But an economic change gradually has been coming over the section.

Negro becomes organized, as his wages go up, his demands will grow. Those demands will intensify the racial problem for the South.

Sen. (Cotton) Ed Smith, of South Carolina, arose in the Senate Dec. 9 and said:

"I have one platform on which I shall live and die—my loyalty to the constitution, my loyalty to states' rights, and my loyalty to white supremacy. . . . Here under the driving force of all the power that can be brought to bear on us, attempt is made to compel us to take the Negro on an equality, to eat with him, to sleep with him."

What Smith specifically mentioned as irking him were attempts in Congress in recent years to put through an anti-lynching bill and a bill to eliminate poll taxes as a pre-requisite to voting.

Southerners — and Smith was talking about this—say that passage of the anti-poll tax measure now pending would be unconstitutional by being an invasion of states' rights to fix their own voting laws.

* * *

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT had created a committee on employment practice to [illegible] discrimination [illegible] Monday, [illegible] Southern railroads and [illegible] terminal companies bluntly challenged the constitutional authority of the CFEP to issue directives to cease discriminatory practices affecting employment of Negroes. The railroads' action indicated the question. The railroads were ready to carry their fight to the Supreme Court.

Rep. Rankin, of Mississippi, got up on the House floor to accuse the CFEP members of being a "bunch of radicals . . . bringing about dissension and disunity in time of war."

Southern Democrats keep pering our transportation system and threaten to tie up the country with riots over the nation."

He said he hoped the president would "clean out" the CFEP.

The racial problem in the South is emphasized last March by Gov. Sam Jones, of Louisiana. Calling himself a "liberal," he said in a magazine article that President Roosevelt was "magnificently ignoranth" of the South. Jones, soon to be succeeded by Gov. Jim Davis, in the governorship, said in his term as governor, he had "never had a Negro ask me for anything."

Charles A. Collins, of the Hotel and Club Employes' Union, AFL, with an eloquent appeal for racial tolerance and quick enactment of the bill.

Post Office Fighting Bill to Ban Race Hate Material From Mails

PM

New York, N. Y.

NOV 16 1943

By NATHAN ROBERTSON

PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16.—A House Subcommittee favorably inclined toward the enactment of legislation to ban race hatred literature from the mails called the Post Office Dept. today to explain its objections to the proposal.

Chairman Samuel A. Weiss (D., Pa.) forecast the Subcommittee of the House Post Office Committee would favorably report the bill by Rep. Walter A. Lynch (D., N. Y.) after a score of witnesses from labor, liberal and Jewish groups yesterday pleaded for its enactment.

The witnesses poured hundreds of exhibits into the Committee record showing how the mails are being used to circulate literature promoting race hatred. They warned that the mails were the chief vehicle for this Nazi propaganda which is interfering with America's war effort.

Opposes Bill

But Postmaster General Frank C. Walker has submitted a report to the Committee opposing the bill. Walker, in a letter to the Committee, protested that it would involve "many serious" administrative difficulties. He also contended that "there is no present need for the enactment of this legislation."

Smith W. Purdum, Second Assistant Postmaster General, was called by the Committee today to defend this attitude by the Department. He was expected to be closely questioned. Weiss, critical of the Department's attitude, said he did not see why a prohibition against literature promoting racial discrimination could not be enforced as well as the existing law against obscene literature.

Rabbi Stephen Wise of New York also was scheduled to testify on the legislation today.

Model Is N. Y. Law

The Lynch bill, modeled on the New York Criminal Libel Statute which has been upheld in the courts, would bar from the mails all literature "containing any defamatory and false statements" which "tend to expose persons identified by their race or religion "to hatred, contempt, ridicule, or obloquy." It would make it a crime to mail such material knowingly, subject to a fine of $5000 or imprisonment for five years, or both.

Leading witness for the measure yesterday was Judge Nathan Perlman, of the New York Court of Special Sessions, representing the American Jewish Congress, who cited the recent race riots, the Jewish attacks in Boston, and other similar events as evidence of the effectiveness of the propaganda being distributed through the mails.

Sees 'Planned Results'

Judge Perlman said these things were not "merely sporadic manifestations of ill will," but "planned results of a propaganda campaign which has been fostered by the Nazis and by native Fascist groups which follow the Nazi line." The mails, he said, "are vital in the success of the Nazi-Fascist campaign to stir up racial and religious hatred."

"It is ironical," Judge Perlman said, "that a Government engaged in deadly combat should lend its enemies the use of facilities for its own destruction." He contended that existing legal remedies for dealing with such propaganda were ineffectual and that the Lynch bill would strengthen them without violating constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech or the press.

Lynch opened the testimony for his bill by asserting that "there is nothing we should be more concerned with than preserving the unity of the country." He said our enemies would be "delighted to see races and religions fighting among themselves."

Efforts in Vain

Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan, of Astoria, L. I., said that efforts by religious leaders in that community to stop racial prejudice had been "impotent" because of the flood of racial propaganda in the mails.

The biggest applause of the day was won by a Negro witness,

VIRGINIA SCRAP BOOK

Afro-American

Baltimore, Md.

By B. T. GILLESPIE

Closed Meeting

RICHMOND, Va. — In South Carolina, I sat in on a meeting of school teachers who, seeking to have their salaries raised from $35 per month, had met behind closed doors. The situation was tense. Meetings of this kind were not to be held, I was told, and no one was allowed to attend unless he had given assurance that the matter would be of the greatest secrecy.

A week later I was overnight guest of a school principal in another South Carolina city. Everything I could wish for was at my command. But, to my disappointment, he was one of those set-up leaders who was to have the last word over the fate of every colored person of the community.

Showing me through the schools (he had charge of all schools of the city) he talked as though he owned them and teachers and pupils were his hired servants. Throughout the city he had business establishments, at which he spent more time than he did at his schools.

If a drunkard or law-abiding citizen landed in jail, his fate rested in the hands of this czar. My host told me that he was making plenty of money at the expense of other people.

No Equality

Later, I listened to ex-Governor Hoey, of North Carolina (then governor) as he told the general assembly that "North Carolina does not believe in and will not tolerate social equality." While he spoke these words, a white woman in Goldsboro, 50 miles away, was dressing her daughter up so she could steal away to Chicago to marry a colored man. And over in Charlotte a white police officer was being chased from the home of a colored woman with whom he was about to spend the week end.

Interracial Committee

Now we have a move on foot to bring about better relations between the races—an outgrowth of the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond conferences. Before now, clubs in the South made up of white women and our interracial groups have met for years, but discrimination, segregation and unfair practices continue.

Whatever advancement has been made in race relations has come about because of the Federal Government, and we should have no patience with anyone who preaches that we can't break down discrimination overnight.

If the Southern interracial group is in the frame of mind to grant to colored people complete equality of privileges and opportunities, then it should have the support of every U.S. citizen. But, if it be the wish of this group to dish out half a loaf, it will not meet with success.

Lily-White Boards

In order to get a fair portion of what belongs to us as American citizens, we must have representatives in every executive branch of our Government, city, State and Federal. We need not expect to have adequate schools and playgrounds as long as we have all-white boards and separate schools. Neither should we expect streets as clean as those in white sections while our city council remains lily-white.

As long as our physicians are barred from city and State maintained hospitals, we need not ex-

pect them to be experts. Until the differential is removed in salaries for all workers, regardless to race, creed or color, we shall not reach our standard economically, and we shall not escape the pang of disease.

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Senator Hattie Caraway Is a Reactionary Southerner

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md

Colored People Are "Child-Like and Don't Think Much;" Sure, Arkansas Has Poll Tax, and a Brick School, Too; She Admits She "Doesn't Think Much" About Most of AFRO's Questions; Threat of Lynching Keeps People in Hand

By MICHAEL CARTER

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The clocks in Hattie Caraway's office probably keep excellent time. But the calendar of social progress has never passed 1840.

To Senator Caraway, "her" colored people are the great big affectionate dogs. Sometimes the dogs get out of hand and you have to strap them.

You feed the dog, you teach it tricks with pencil and paper. But if it gets too familiar and sits at the table with you, you slap it down.

Although the Senator has considerable colored population in her State, Arkansas,, she knows practically nothing about them. She remembers a few names: Joe Louis, Booker T. Washington, and that "Doctor fellow—Carver Washington."

To her, colored people are a nameless mass, everywhere except in the draft boards.

On migration of colored people from Arkansas: "I sort of wondered about that. I don't see how we can keep them all down there. There's no preventive legislation and they are leaving—some of them. I reckon they all will be coming back after the war."

State Has Poll Tax

Poll tax: "Certainly, our State has a poll tax. It is a State matter, and we can have one if we want it. I don't think the Senate or any branch of the Federal Government should intervene in the affairs of a State like that. The State itself will act when it's ready. No, the State is not yet ready to act. I can't imagine it (the poll tax bill) aiding the 'Nigra' either."

Opposes Brutality

The woman, who represents the great State of Arkansas, and who will, by virtue of her place in Congress, help to create the post-war world, is a humanist. She told me that she opposed brutality.

I believe that she would be horrified at horsewhipping, or cruelty to animals. She is also opposed to any anti-lynching bill.

"I'm against lynching. Don't see any reason for a law now, because there is not any more lynchings going on now. Since it is on the decline I don't see how a Federal bill will help.

"You know how some of you all are—apt to take advantage of everything. An anti-lynching bill might cause trouble. People might get out of hand, maybe." Did the Senator mean that colored people might "get out of hand?" Yes.

Discipline for Colored People

She believes that the omnipresent threat of murder and insane mobbery is discipline for colored people. Keeps them in hand, sort of.

Nor can the Senator see how jim crow, which is really a complicated pattern of social relations, affect the war. "I don't think much about that. I don't see how it hinders anything."

During the first part of the interview the Senator had been apparently drawing doodles on her desk. She brightened up and asked me who I was. I told her. "You a student?" she asked.

Can't Understand Objection

"I don't see how you all object to separation. I don't see anything wrong in going separately. We always lived with 'Nigras.' Up here we all ride together, but I can't see why you want to go where you are not wanted."

The Senator answered the questions about our Nazi-like Red Cross policy, similarity between Jap-Nazi ideas of race supremacy and the American "Mister-Master White Man" method with a profound shake of her greying head. "I don't think much about those things.

"Am I going to think about them? I don't see how the war can make me do that. No relation at all."

About equality in educational opportunities and equalization of teachers' pay: "We have a brick school for them in Jonesboro. Maybe not so many schools in other parts of the State. I can't say much about them."

This Flower of Southern Womanhood agreed that the Detroit pogroms were a dirty shame. All the Southerners to whom I talked, and the Nazi-Jap radio broadcasts I've heard liked the same subject. Caraway absolved white Southerners of all shame for the riots.

Thought North Was Friendly

"I never did hear all about it; but the Southerners are not to blame." By implication she laid the blame on the colored people.

By inference she indicated that the Northern white man, after his first taste of association with colored Americans had reacted normally. Murder was the result. Her attitude in this was, "See, you thought the North was your friend. Now you know."

"I never stopped to realize why I liked some of the 'Nigras' who worked for me. I always did like some of them. It's just typical of the South—we like the colored people.

"We get a 'Nigra' for stealing a hog and we sort of let him go. We sympathize with him. Oh, of course, I mean if it's all colored. If it's white it's different."

Explained Love for People

The Senator went on to explain in infinite detail her great love for the colored people. The whole South, she said, shares this affection. Her description was touching.

It reminded me of the visual evidences of this great fraternity. I thought of the bad housing, the lack of voting rights, syphilis, pellagra, lynching, general abuse and other whimsies of love.

But, "I could not support the Barbour Bill (Civil Rights Bill for the District of Columbia). I just can't see how we ought to have those things in the South," she said.

Child-like, Not Capable

No, the white Southerner did not have a sense of guilt about his relations with "Nigras." "We sympathize with them. They are so child-like and they are not capable, you know."

What about colored doctors and lawyers, and newspapermen? "Oh I guess they are different, but you know what I mean."

Personal Observation:

Senator Hattie Caraway of Arkansas is a short, plump, motherly-looking reactionary Southerner.

Memphis Officials Rule Out Randolph's Address

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier NOV 20 1943

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—City and county officials denied A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, the privilege of addressing a scheduled mass meeting, Sunday, November 7, at Mt. Nebo Baptist church. Declaring that they had learned of Randolph's activities in Chicago and New York, the officials told a delegation of Negro leaders that Randolph as a trouble-maker, the church, and Matthew Thornthe speech would not be delivered and said several white people had on, "mayor," of Beale street. because it might result in a telephoned, insisting that there riot and bloodshed.

CALLED A CHALLENGE

When informed that there would be no mass meeting, Mr. Randolph said he considered the action of the officials not only a challenge to the citizenship rights of Negroes but to the cornerstone of democracy itself.

Mr. Randolph, who also holds the titles of national director of the March on Washington Movement, and chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, was notified of the ban by officials of the city and by officials of the group of Negro leaders.

These leaders received orders from Sheriff O. H. Perry to report to his office Saturday afternoon, November 6, at 3 o'clock. Upon arriving at the courthouse, the colored leaders were confronted by County Commissioner E. W. Hale, Safety Joe Boyle, Attorney General Amos, Will Gerber and County Attorney Cabtree.

RANDOLPH BRANDED

During the brief meeting at the courthouse, the officials pointed out the things the city of Memphis had done for Negroes, brand-

NEGRO DELEGATION

The white officials refused to grant leaders the right to enter discussions with the Negro delegation and showed definite impatience with any explanation offered by the colored men.

Negro leaders said to have been ordered to the courthouse conference upon, and that "if this was not be glad to time that they should assert meeting if their rights as American citizens, it is now."

New York, N. Y. News

Discrimination Boomerang

Last week statistics released by the Selective Service showed that of 5,043,135 men sent to induction stations, 27.8 per cent were rejected by the Army for physical or other reasons. This is indeed a serious indictment of the physical conditions of the masses of citizens of this country. It clearly shows that the nation which is the richest on earth. It can achieve the mental and physical fitness stages for our democracy to succeed. For educational, health, economic, political and all other kinds of equality. In fact, Negroes are purposely denied equality of all kinds in the South in order that they will forever remain

The reason why this is so, particularly in the South, is because racial segregation and discrimination in the United States have prevented Negro citizens from enjoying equal

Negroes rejected were higher than elsewhere in the Southern states were generally higher than elsewhere in the country. And, of course, in all instances the percentages of Negroes rejected were higher per state than the percentages of whites. This was especially true in the South.

Carolina, 31.6 per cent of the whites and 41 per cent of the Negroes were rejected. The percentages of rejections in the

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Afro-American
Baltimore, Md

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During the first part of the interview the Senator had been apparently drawing doodles on her desk. She brightened up and asked me who I was. I told her. "You a student?" she asked.

Can't Understand Objection

"I don't see how you all object to separation. I don't see anything wrong in going separately. We always lived with 'Nigras.' Up here we all ride together, but I can't see why you want to go where you are not wanted."

The Senator answered the questions about our Nazi-like Red Cross policy, similarity between Jap-Nazi ideas of race supremacy and the American "Mister-Master White Man" method with a profound shake of her greying head. "I don't think much about those things.

"Am I going to think about them? I don't see how the war can make me do that. No relation at all."

About equality in educational opportunities and equalization of teachers' pay: "We have a brick school for them in Jonesboro. Maybe not so many schools in other parts of the State. I can't say much about them."

This Flower of Southern Womanhood agreed that the Detroit pogroms were a dirty shame. All the Southerners to whom I talked, and the Nazi-Jap radio broadcasts I've heard liked the same subject. Caraway absolved white Southerners of all shame for the riots.

Thought North Was Friendly

"I never did hear all about it; but the Southerners are not to blame." By implication she laid the blame on the colored people.

By inference she indicated that the Northern white man, after his first taste of association with colored Americans had reacted normally. Murder was the result. Her attitude in this was, "See, you thought the North was your friend. Now you know."

"I never stopped to realize why I liked some of the 'Nigras' who worked for me. I always did like some of them. It's just typical of the South—we like the colored people.

"We get a 'Nigra' for stealing a hog and we sort of let him go. We sympathize with him. Oh, of course, I mean if it's all colored. If it's white it's different."

Explained Love for People

The Senator went on to explain in infinite detail her great love for the colored people. The whole South, she said, shares this affection. Her description was touching.

It reminded me of the visual evidences of this great fraternity. I thought of the bad housing, the lack of voting rights, syphilis, pellagra, lynching, general abuse and other whimsies of love.

But, "I could not support the Barbour Bill (Civil Rights Bill for the District of Columbia). I just can't see how we ought to have those things in the South," she said.

Child-like, Not Capable

No, the white Southerner did not have a sense of guilt about his relations with "Nigras." "We sympathize with them. They are so child-like and they are not capable, you know."

What about colored doctors and lawyers, and newspapermen? "Oh I guess they are different, but you know what I mean."

Personal Observation:

Senator Hattie Caraway of Arkansas is a short, plump, motherly-looking reactionary Southerner.

Memphis Officials Rule Out Randolph's Address

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
NOV 20

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—City and county officials denied A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, the privilege of addressing a scheduled mass meeting, Sunday, November 7, at Mt. Nebo Baptist church. Declaring that they had learned of Randolph's activities in Chicago and New York, the officials told a delegation of Negro leaders that Randolph as a trouble-maker, the speech would not be delivered and said several white people had on, "mayor" of Beale street. because it might result in a race would be trouble should Randolph riot and bloodshed. deliver his scheduled address.

CALLED A CHALLENGE

When informed that there would enter discussions with the Negro not be a mass meeting. Mr. Ran- leaders and showed definite impa- dolph said he considered the ac- tience with any explanation offered tion of the officials not only a by the colored men. challenge to the citizenship rights of Negroes but to the cornerstone of democracy itself.

Mr. Randolph, who also holds the titles of national director of the March on Washington Move- ment, and chairman of the Na- al Council for a Permanent was notified o by officials the city and by officials the group of Negro leaders.

These leaders received orders from Sheriff O. H. Perry to report to his office Saturday afternoon, November 6, at 3 o'clock. Upon arriving at the courthouse, the colored leaders were confronted by County Commissioner Hale, Safety Joe Boyle, Attorney General Will Gerber and County Attorney Cabtree.

RANDOLPH BRANDED

During the brief meeting at the courthouse, the officials pointed out the things the city of Memphis had done for Negroes, brand-

NEGRO DELEGATION

Negro leaders said to have been ignored, disregarded and upon, and that "if there a time that they shou their rights as American

INVITATION AWAITS

Mr. Randolph informed leaders he would be glad to return and address a m the leaders saw fit to in- him. He declared Negroes of Memphis permit these basic rights to be ig- and trampled there ever was should assert American citizens.

Discrimination Boomerang

New York, N. Y.
News

Statistics released by the Selective Service 043,135 men sent to induction stations, 27.8 ected by the Army for physical or other indeed a serious indictment of the physical conditions of the masses of citizens of this t on earth. It clearly shows that the nation ieve the mental and physical fitness stage for our democracy to succeed. For edu- health are the two basic things of suc- e democracy.

Last week statist showed that of 5,043,1 Negroes were rejected Southern states were higher than the percentages country. And, of course, in all instances the percentages of Negroes rejected were higher per state than the percentages of whites. This was especially true in the South.

The reason why this is so, particularly in the South, is because racial segregation and discrimination in the United States have prevented Negro citizens from enjoying equal educational, health, economic, political and all other kinds of equality. In fact, Negroes are purposely denied equality of all kinds in the South in order that they will forever remain

Of 59,647 men sent to induction centers from South Carolina, 31.6 per cent of the whites and 41 per cent of the Negroes were rejected. The percentages of rejections in the Southern states were generally higher than elsewhere in the country. And, of course, in all instances the percentages of Negroes rejected were higher per state than the percentages of whites. This was especially true in the South.

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ignorant hewers of wood and drawers of water. At least, that is the Southern white man's mandate.

It is hoped, however, that the unnecessary extra load of unfit Negro and white citizens this country is compelled to carry because of racial discrimination, segregation and greed, will awaken Americans to the grave danger inherent in any policy of racial, religious and economic discrimination. The more than a million men turned down by the Army because of physical, educational and other reasons might well have enabled us to win the war, at least much quicker. America can no longer enjoy the luxury of discrimination and econmic oppression of its masses of citizens without running a serious risk of national defeat and ruin.

SEP 4 1943

Calls Race Relations Top Problem of USA

Afro-American Baltimore, Md

Civil Liberties Chief Stresses Need of Co-operation of All Groups

NOV 6 1943

WASHINGTON

Speaking at exercises marking the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the National Alliance of Postal Employees, Victor Rotnem, chief of the Civil Liberties Unit of the Department of Justice, termed race relations "America's great problem."

One of a group of speakers heard on the program held Sunday night at Asbury Methodist Church, Mr. Rotnem stressed the need for co-operation of all groups toward solving the problems which, he said, have been made more acute by the doubt cast upon the status of the FEPC as a result of the recent ruling of Comptroller General Lindsay Warren.

In this connection he stated that Malcolm Ross, FEPC chairman, had requested a ruling from Attorney General Francis J. Biddle upon the validity and power of the FEPC directives, and that such a ruling might be expected by the latter part of this week.

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Other Speakers

Other speakers on the program included:

William C. Jason, Jr., president of the Philadelphia branch of the NAPE; Mrs. Pauline Coggs, executive secretary of the Washington Urban League; the Rev. Arthur D. Gray, president of the D.C. branch of the NAACP;

Mrs. Pauline Myers, March-on-Washington Movement; James B. Cobbs, president of the D.C. branch of the NAPE, and the Rev. R. M. Williams, pastor of Asbury. Mrs. Ruth Thompson Savage presided.

Urges War on Race Hate

Mr. Jason, declaring that race hatred "sits in our Congress, marches in our army, sails with our navy and infests our temples," urged unified warfare against the evil which constitutes a greater menace to America and democracy than the foreign enemies whom we fight.

NOV 5 - 1943

He then pleaded for unceasing, unrelenting warfare to drive segregation, discrimination and prejudice out of the nation's schools, government, public utilities and private industry.

"Land of The Noble Free"

NOV 27 1943

By LAYLE LANE

Age New York, N. Y.

TO THE accompaniment of the theme song "Freedom Of Speech" written by Franklin D. Roosevelt, almost dimmed out by the violent effects of bombers and tanks, the ensuing living newspaper was enacted recently in Memphis, Tenn.

Tableaux 1. The office of the Memphis local of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The president reads a letter from Brother A. Philip Randolph stating that he will stop in Memphis on his way back from a regional conference of the Brotherhood in New Orleans. He will report on the most recent developments in the fight to save the jobs of Negro firemen and to strengthen and maintain the FEPC. "We ought to make Brother Randolph's visit a big thing for Memphis and arrange a public meeting for him," said the president. The men agree and decide on a program and a publicity committee to make all arrangements.

Tableaux 2. Beale Street and environs. The street is crowded and one hears loud, good natured talk with occasional drunken quarrelling. High school boys walk along with the crowd handing out circulars, while a Brotherhood member goes in and out of stores, restaurants and saloons leaving a few handbills in each. The bills read:

"Attend monster mass meeting. Hear A. Philip Randolph, National Director March-On-Washington Movement, International President Brotherhood Sleeping Car Porters. Hear The Great Negro Champion of Negro Rights. Mount Nebo Baptist Church, Rev. Roy Love, pastor, Sunday, 3 p. m. November 7, 1943."



Passers by receive the handbills eagerly and occasional comments are heard. "I'll sure be there; want to hear what he has to say." "We've got to find some way to get around this white man's prejudice."

Tableaux 3. The mayor's office at City Hall. The mayor has called in the sheriff of the county for consultation, after receiving word from his political bosses that Randolph is persona non grata with Washington and should be checked closely. The Sheriff too has read a notice in the white daily of Randolph's meeting and has a few of the handbills given him by a patrolman in the Beale Street section who reported. "The Negrito seem to be all excited about this meeting and plan to turn out in large numbers." Mayor C remarks "Randolph is that radical Negrito always talking about discrimination in the A. F. of L. He even threatened to lead Negrito in a March on Washington. We can't have him down here making trouble for us.

Sheriff: "Just leave it to me, Mr. Mayor. I'll see that Negritos don't speak. We ain't gonna have him coming down here and stirring up any race riots. These Negritos have got to be kept in their places."

Tableaux 4. Sheriff's office in the County jail. Fifteen leading Negroes of Memphis are seated about a table with a few patrolmen lounging back of them. The sheriff announces: "I called you in to tell you that you can't have your meeting tomorrow. The white people of this town have been calling me up and telling me they won't stand for this fellow Randolph to come here and stir up trouble between Negritos and whites. He's getting along alright and we ain't gonna have any else."

"If you expect any trouble couldn't you prevent the people who are threatening it?"

"There ain't gonna be any meeting; that's all there is to it. I've been talking to the mayor and he backs me up in whatever I have to do to prevent a race riot. You don't want trouble. There ain't gonna be any meeting. Good day."

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SAVE US FROM OUR FRIENDS!

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On the surface this seems like a fine bill but what it would do would be to give to the enemies of minorities a club by which they could bar from the mails every Negro newspaper, Jewish protest or Chinese opposition to white domination.

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"But Sheriff Perry, there won't be any trouble from Negroes, especially in one of their own churches."

"I ain't gonna run any risks either in church or anywhere else."

"If you expect any trouble couldn't you prevent the people who are threatening it?"

"There ain't gonna be any meeting; that's all there is to it. I've been talking to the mayor and he backs me up in whatever I have to do to prevent a race riot. You don't want any riot, I know."

"But sheriff, if . . ."

"There's no buts and ifs about this. I'm here to prevent trouble. There ain't gonna be any meeting. Good day."

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56k-1943

EDITOR'S DIGEST



Weekly Review

LOBEL D

"They Did Not Sing"

BY E. STANLEY JONES, SPEAKING TO THE WHITE WORLD

Birmingham, Ala.

I was talking with the very able principal of a vocational school for Negroes. He said that he was worried about his people in this national crisis. He cited the following incident as the basis of his worry: "I was in a movie theater when 'America' was thorwn on the screen. Everybody arose to sing it. The white people sang with fervor, but I noticed the silence of the Negroes—they did not sing." What underlay that silence? The Negroes love to sing; then why this silence?

Apparently the silence meant that they would let the whites sing "My Country 'Tis of Thee, Sweet Land of Liberty," for they could sing it; to them it was "my country," to them it was "sweet land of liberty." But not to the Negroes. They are on the edge of this land of liberty, segregated and discriminated against at almost every point. That inner resentment lay beneath that silence.

I have heard the Negroes sing their own "national anthem" and when they do they make the heavens ring. One verse goes this way:

God of our weary years,
God of our silent tears,
Thou who has led us thus far on the way;
Thou who by Thy might
Led us into the light,
Keep us forever in the path we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places our God, where we met Thee,
Lest our hearts drunk with the wine of the world we forget Thee.
Shadowed beneath Thy hand
May we forever stand
True to our God,
True to our native land.

They can sing that, for it tells of a struggle for liberty, not yet found.

LIVING IN A WHITE MAN'S WORLD

We who live in a white man's world, in a world built for us cannot quite imagine what it means to live on the edge of that world. A Negro about to leave the fellowship our ashram at Blue Ridge said: "For the first time in my life I lived in a society of equal privilege without any strain. Here I have been free. But I am about to step out of this society, into a world where I have to watch my step lest I bump against those invisible walls that I meet everywhere." "Those invisible walls!" The white man, for the most part, is utterly unconscious of the exitsence of any such walls; it is his world. But the Negro dare not be unconscious of them; he has to watch his step or get hurt.

A white man in South Africa said to me naively, "I don't find society a barrier to my Christian living. I don't feel it thwarts me." I replied: "Ask the Negro brother beside you there how he feels about it. This world is made for you and not for him. The white man was unconscious of those walls; it was his world. But the iron had entered the soul of the black man. Said a Negro teacher in a college in South Africa to me: "The only hope I can see that Europe is arming. They will blow themselves and their civilization to pieces, and then our chance will come." It was a bitter word, out of the depth of a bitter soul. But put yourself in his place before you blame him. I am quite sure we would never have been as patient as they have been.

WHY NEGROES ARE BITTER

Three hundred and forty million dollars are being spent in government contracts in a plant at Baltimore. They are importing labor from the outside. No Negroes are being used. Can you blame them if they grow bitter? How can you expect them to die in the defense of their country when they are excluded from defense programs? Dr. Mordecai Johnson, head of Howard Univ. says: "My people are more discouraged now than they have been since they were emancipated from slavery." No wonder they are discouraged.

In the six or seven states where there are 1,125,000 Negro children, the per capita educational expenditure for those Negro children is $7.50 per child as against $75 for the nation, and $86 to $100 in the most advanced states. In five states the average salary for Negro teachers per year is $287. Amid this dark picture there is one hopeful gleam: Oklahoma and Missouri are trying to do justice to the Negro by putting up a greater per capita expenditure for Negro children than for white.

You white people have a very narrow range of choice—you have to take the very white. We have a very wide range of choice—from the very shades of white to the very black and all shades between. We are freer. Have you ever heard of Joe Louis? He's the greatest boxer. Ever hear of Marion Anderson? She's the greatest singer. Ever hear of Jesse Owen? He's the fastest human. Ever hear of Father Divine? He's God?" Anyone who would answer that kind of question in that fashion has genius.

BEHIND JOE LOUIS

Apart from the humor of the "Father Divine" part of the answer, there was something very illuminating in it. Why do Joe Louis, Marion Anderson, Jesse Owen and other Negroes stand out when they enter a realm where they have equal opportunity? They overcompensate. That will increasingly happen in our national life. If we do not give the Negro equality of opportunity all down the line we will have to suffer the humiliation of seeing him surpass us in the realms where he is free. Joe Louis is not an individual; he represents a surpressed race and when he hits a whole racial suppression is in that blow—so they go down in order before him. He is striking a blow for the freedom of his people.

The Negro has much to contribute to us. Not to take that contribution is, in the words of a white principal of a Negro institution, "like refusing a million dollars as a gift." Our attitude toward the Negro will have to change from one of patronage and condescension to one of appreciation and gratitude.

A white officer sent up a Negro student aviator and told him to do an impossible thing: "See that setting sun? Point the nose of your plane srtaight toward the center of the sun and without moving the nose, turn the plane completely over describing a full circle." To the amazement of the officer the student did it. He had to. His moment had come.

Are we going to take the marvelous powers of these people and turn them into a contribution to our country, or will we suppress them and thus turn some into bitterness and frustration and have them hate us, and others into overcompensation and have them surpass us?

COLOR AND THE WAR IN THE EAST

Moreover, there is a further danger. Japan is appealing to Asia on the basis, "Asia for the Asiatics." It is a terrific appeal, for there are resentments smoldering in the souls of the colored races because of white insolence over long periods. But China is **cutting the nerve of the appeal—a yellow race has attacked a yellow race. It is not a racial war. But it could very easily become one. Suppose China should drop out. The appeal to the colored races, including the Africans in Africa, would be terrific and** dangerous. Visualize it.

What conclusion must we draw from all this? There is only one way out—we must solemnly pledge ourselves as a people to stand for a world order in which equality of opportunity is the basic cornerstone—this apart from class, race or color. We would further add: This equality of opportunity should be for those who are now counted enemies—Japanese, Germans and Italians. Nothing less than that can save us as a world.

We Americans can begin right at home and apply this basic principle of equality of opportunity—basic to democracy and to Christianity — to the Negroes among us. We must not wait till the end of the war to do it. We must begin right now. That will be a sign of national repentance, a sign that we intend to be different and to make a different world order, if God will give us another chance. Last chances do come. We as a race have sinned grievously in this matter. I trust we have not sinned away our day of grace. But we cannot take anything for granted. "The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly small," and nothing escapes. God does not have a pay day every Saturday, but men and nations do pay. If not today, then tomorrow. Our Judgement Day may be upon us now.

On November 11, 1918, when news that the armstice was signed was brought into the assembly of bishops of the Methodist Church, they spontaneously called on Bishop Quayle to speak. They expected the silver-tongued orator to flow of oratory. Instead he arose express their delirious joy in a and said very solemnly: "now that peace has come we must see that justice is done to the Negro," and he sat down. Peace meant that to him—or nothing. It was the greatest speech of his life.

So far America's greatest act as a nation has been the liberation of the slaves. Her next great act will be to give the descendants of those freed slaves equality of opportunity. We must do it, not through patronage or condescension, but through simple justice—an already too long delayed justice.

The Negroes have more than earned the right to that justice Although suppressed and thwarted at every turn they have made

No mere program of charity will do. There must be simple, elemental justice. The Negro must be given equality of opportunity.

New Zealand is one of the most progressive states of the world. The Maori and the white New Zealander are advancing side by side, each proud of the other. The secret? A bishop and a governor put through a bill making it illegal to alienate the land of the Maori.

It put a solid economic basis under the Maoi. We enslaved the Negro, and now keep him under, in economic slavery. That is why we are prejudiced against him—the sight of him reminds us, perhaps unconsciously, of our own sins. We always hate and despise those whom we wrong. We will never appreciate the Negro until we do him justice. Then we will be proud of him.

The Negro of America have been and for the most part, are loyal to our country. I am astonished at their loyalty and lack of bitterness. They have sublimated their bitternes sinto the Negro spirituals; they have set their pain to music and out of that pain have sung the most triumphant religious music of the world.

"NOBODY KNOWS DE TROUBLE I'VE SEEN, GLORY HALLELUJAH"

Anyone who can begin the way that verse begins and end the way that verse ends has something—has something the rest of us need.

They are loyal—in spite of. But that loyalty is being strained and is at the breaking point. In some breasts it has broken. Where it has broken communism finds fertile soil and often it helps break it.

Some have not merely sublimated their frustrations and set them

to music; they have been spurred by those frustrations into over-compensation and astonishing achievement. When the Negro of our team, he got across." His quiet answer was: "He had to. A whole member of the Northwestern University team went across the goal He had to. And he got across. line with several men hanging to him, scoring the winning touch down in a crucial game, I said to down. Twenty-two Negro students from Hampton and Tuskegee to take the examination. Institute how it happened and his at the top of the list, with an average of 94.2 per cent. I asked the white principal of Hampton twenty-two Negro students stood couldn't have done it. It was a stiff examination, but these

OVERCOMPENSATION

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knew they wouldn't get anywhere unless they were better than the rest. So they were better. That is happening all down the line. Wherever the Negro gets a chance he overcompensates and be omes better."

The same thing is happening with the Jew. He is standing out, intellectually. Why? Is he naturally more intellectual than others? No, his history doesn't say so. What has happened is that he knows there are prejudices against him and he knows that if he isn't better he will get nowhere. So he becomes better—he overcompensates.

A dispatch from the training center for Negro fliers says: "Their instructors revealed yesterday the number of 'washouts' was lower than the general average of white flying cadets." They overcompensated.

A Negro member of our preaching mission was speaking before a white high school and at the close of his address a white boy publicly asked the question, "How does it feel to be a Negro?" The Negro replied: "It's wonderful!"

Washington Tribune
Washington, D. C.

A Damnable Bill

Sam Hobbs, Alabama's gift to the House of Representatives, has introduced a bill, hearings on which are now under way, to give police throughout the nation the right to disobey the law, and that failure on their part to observe the requirements of law, should not react in favor of a man whom they may place under arrest.

It is the most damnable piece of legislation ever introduced, and is almost a parallel to the Dred Scott decision.

What Hobbs is seeking to do is to take the sting out of the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the now famous McNabb case.

In that case, involving three Tennessee moonshiners, the Court held that their confessions were inadmissable as evidence because the men had not been arraigned promptly as required by law.

As a result of the ruling, evidence in five local cases in District courts was thrown out, because confessions were obtained prior to arraignment, which was not promptly performed.

What has aroused the ire of Hobbs is that one Negro accused of raping a white girl, was freed under the McNabb ruling, because the only evidence the police had against him was his confession obtained prior to arraignment. The defendant in the case claimed the confession was given under duress, and retracted it.

It was this very danger which the Supreme Court had in mind, when it ruled in favor of the moonshiners, having found that their confessions, too, were obtained under duress.

We are glad to see that the Washington Bar Association has taken an active part in opposing this diabolical bill. Thurman L. Dodson, and Richard Atkinson, representing the local and national bar associations, appeared before the House Committee, holding hearings, in opposition to the bill.

Their contentions were buttressed by the testimony of the Railway Labor Executives' Association (white), which has more than a million members.

This organization told the committee that the only reason police want a man held incommunicado is to extort confessions by methods which may or may not be proveable, particularly if the witness is an inexperienced or ignorant and weak man, woman or youth.

Down in Alabama where Hobbs comes from, the police are so ignorant and have such a lack of knowledge of scientific police methods of crime detection, that the only way they can obtain a conviction is by extorting confessions. And in the case of Negroes, they don't even wait to extort confessions, but simply turn them over to white mobs for a lynching.

We hope that other Negroes and Negro organizations, will see the danger in this bill, and will make their objections known.

This bill can be defeated, but it will take a strong lobby, both on the part of labor groups as well as the Negro people, for it is these two groups who will suffer most if this piece of legislation is enacted into law.

Guest Editorial

New York, N. Y. Amsterdam [illegible]-News

Negroes and Whites

From the Danbury (Conn.) Times, August 12, 1943

Great heat has been added to the always vital problem of race relations here in the United States by the recent riots all over the country in which whites and Negroes have battled each other, but they have increased the troubles, not lessened them. They have, moreover, pointed up the need for all thoughtful Americans of both races to make some contribution to a solution of the difficulty. They have, as well, shown that the colored men and women of this country, who constitute something like one-tenth of the whole population, have real grievances.

That there are Negro trouble-makers as well as white trouble-makers does not lift any of the burden from the shoulders of the white people. That there are Negroes who hate the whites as bitterly as some whites hate Negroes goes without saying. Not all Negroes are long-suffering, patient or tactful. But, by and large, the colored race is one of admirable qualities, is loyal and cheerful, and has a very real affection for its home, the United States of America. For the most part the Negro population is rooted and grounded in this country. The colored men and women we meet on the streets, the colored boys we see in uniform, are descendants of ancestors who were brought here two or even three hundred years ago. America is their home; the home of their ancestors. Most Negroes are more truly "American" than most whites.

The two races must live side by side, now and in the future. The without feeling that he is looked down upon as an inferior by his white Negro must have a real opportunity to live in decency, in comfort and neighbors. He must be given a chance to make a good living for himself and his family; he must have opportunity to gain an education, to enter the professions, to be a real part of American life. He must, above all, not be forced to live in squalor and in crowded, unsanitary tenements. It is to his own good, as well as for the good of the whole country, he must be allowed to bring up his family where they may see trees, where his children may play on grass, where he and they may have a little garden, where, in short, they can exist as human beings and not as sub-human beings.

It will take time, patience, [illegible] and determination on the part of both blacks and whites to work out these [illegible] problems. But we cannot and we should not ask the Negro to bear too many burdens too long. We have taken the bulk of the Negro youth and put them into uniform. They are fighting for their country, our country. When they come back are we going to jimcrow them, going to shove them around, going to shove them around, going to force them back into slums and going to close all avenues of employment to them? Are we going to say to the Negro youth who has fought Japs or Nazis for us: "The only job for you is running an elevator, or cleaning out spittoons in a saloon?" Or are we going to see to it that that black veteran has a decent chance at a self-respecting job at good wages?

Now is the time for us to make post-war plans for the Negro. One-tenth of the attention we are now giving to the post-war problems of the people in Europe and in Asia might properly and intelligently be given to our own American Negro. Mixed commissions of white and black Americans could work out a policy that would result in much good. And it isn't a bit too early to begin right now.

CIO ASKS PRESIDENT ACT IN 'ZOOT' CASES

New York, N. Y.

Murray Lays the Riots in Los Angeles to an Enemy Plot to Foment Racial Outbreaks

New York Times

LOOKS TO LATIN AMERICA

And There, He Says, the Axis Pushes Its Claim We Are Not Sincere in Equality Talk

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, June 19—Since not antipathy to zoot suits but a plot of the enemy to foment racial disunity in the United States was the real cause of the recent riots in Los Angeles, President Roosevelt should direct the government to exterminate such campaigns to show the United Nations that it was "sincere" in its protestations of democracy, Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, wrote him today.

In his letter to Mr. Roosevelt, the CIO president said:

"The agents of our enemies in this country and in our allied nations of Latin America are already making full use of these shameful outbreaks in their propaganda against us and against the cause of the United Nations. They are pointing to the treatment of citizens of Latin-American extraction and of Negroes to bolster their claim that the United States is not sincere in its war aims or in its professions of equality among nations.

"Mr. President, the situation is more than a problem either of mob prejudice or juvenile delinquency. It is a grave question on our relations with our Allies and test of our ability to present a truly united front to the Axis."

Mr. Murray said that the situation in Los Angeles warranted the President's "personal attention," and added that it was spreading. Counter-propaganda should be disseminated by the War and Navy Departments, "members of which have been the unconscious tools of this conspiracy"; by the Office of War Information and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Mr. Murray wrote. He urged that the Department of Justice be ordered to investigate the riot and to search for their instigators "with a view to severe punishment of those found guilty."

56k-1943



Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

JUN 10 1943

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AP Wirephoto.

A 16-INCH RAZOR SHARP BUTCHER KNIFE was found on Lewis D. English, right, 23-year-old Negro zoot suit wearer, police charged. The zoot suit is the conspicuous badge of young hoodlums "warring" with servicemen in Los Angeles.

ZOOT-SUIT FIGHTING SPREADS ON COAST

Sailors Chase Youth to Long Beach Theatre Stage, Let Audience See 'Pants' Removed

New York Times
New York, N. Y.

LOS ANGELES BARS GARB

Passes Ordinance Calling for 30 Days in Jail—Governor Orders Investigation

JUN 10 1943

LOS ANGELES, June 9 (U.P.)—The City Council late today prohibited the wearing of the zoot suit in Los Angeles, in an attempt to stop open warfare between service men and teen-age hoodlums which had made the reat pleat and stuff cuff the mark of the outlaw.

The action came as the rioting spread to Los Angeles suburbs and a Vernon policeman suffered a severe back injury when he was deliberately run over by an automobile filled with zoot-suited ruffians.

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After hours of debate, in which one Councilman insisted that the action was unconstitutional, the City Council passed an ordinance instructing city judges to send any one caught in ankle choker pants and knee-length coats to jail for thirty days.

The Councidl argued that by removing the identifying garb the attacks by sailors on the zoot-suited hoodlums would be halted. However, the Council did not say whether such action would stop the gangs from beating and stabbing service men.

Governor Orders Inquiry

Governor Earl Warren conferred with Attorney General Robert W. Kenny at Sacramento and issued a general appeal asking the service men and zoot-suiters to end their fighting. Governor Warren ordered Mr. Kenny and a citizens' committee of five to investigate the disturbances.

JUN 10 1943

The fighting in the first five days of the undeclared war between the servicemen and the youths—mostly Mexicans and Negroes whose uniform is the drape shape coat with the reat pleat—had been confined to the skidrow of Los Angeles. But early today the action spread to Vernon, where Patrolman C. D. Medley was seriously injured when he fell into a trap he said the hoodlums had set for a serviceman.

Patrolman Medley saw a man prostrate in the street. When he went to help him a parked car shifted into gear and ran him down. The man in the street jumped up and ran and the youths in the car sped away.

"They were all Mexicans," he said. "Even the decoy in the street."

400 Sailors Hunt Hoodlums

A crowd of nearly 400 sailors roamed the Pike, amusement zone in Long Beach, in search for Mexican and Negro youths sporting reat pleats. They rane one into a theatre and stripped him of his pants.

In Watts, an interurban electric street car bound for the Los Angeles Harbor and loaded largely with sailors, was stoned by a group of youths whom police described as "pachucos," Mexican wearers of the pancake hat and other fancy clothing.

San Diego police were ordered to keep a close watch for carloads and truckloads of zoot-suited youngsters after receiving reports that they planned to "clean up" on sailors and marines stationed at the naval and marine bases there.

In El Monte, South Gate, Compton and Lynwood crowds of sailors and soldiers raided pool halls, dance halls and other places frequented by the zoot-suit wearers, but found that they had gone into hiding.

Police in Colton summoned emergency reinforcements from San ernardino and Redlands to cope with taxicab-loads of soldiers from March Field and Camp Haan seeking revenge for the beating of a soldier in Colton on Monday night. Police broke up crowds of fighting men.

Mexican Consulate Reports

Meanwhile, the Mexican consulate made an official report on the disturbances to the Washington embassy and the foreign office at Mexico City.

Attorney General Robert Kenny planned to confer later in the day with Governor Earl Warren at the capitol at Sacramento about the violence.

The Mexican consul, Alfredo Calles, son of the former Mexican president, distributed circulars throughout the Mexican district last night advising all Mexican nationals to stay indoors after dark.

"Remain at home after dark to avoid unpleasant happenings," said the circulars, printed in Spanish. "Stay at home during these days of unrest. We are confident that civil and military authorities will soon remedy this unpleasant situation."

JUN 10 1943

County supervisors officially deplored the outbreaks, unanimously adopting a resolution stating that "a general cordial relation exists between residents of Anglo and Latin ancestry, many of whom have lived side by side for years." They said the situation "calls for both a sympathetic understanding and a firm insistence on an impartial administration of justice," he added:

"We deplore the instances of lawlessness and racial discrimination and of efforts of various groups to take the law into their own hands."

Open Drive on Coast Violence Against Mexicans

The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

SAN DIEGO, Calif., June 14. — Anti-lynch forces swung into action as mob violence seemed about to develop against the Mexican people here.

JUN 15 1943

While local newspapers were inciting their readers with stories that "zoot-suit gangsters" were coming to San Diego the Citizens Committee Against Discrimination and the CIO got busy.

The CIO, acting first, urged Mayor Kelly to crack down on fifth columnists, who were organizing the mobs and asked him to intervene with the Naval authorities to weed out certain elements in the armed forces, who were responding to the incitements.

The Mayor ordered all police reserves into action. Patrol cars broke up the groups and disarmed Naval personnel. Some 175 Navy sailors and Marines were picked up.

The CIO meanwhile had also asked the Naval district command to issue a statement to the men about the anti-American implications of the attacks.

The FBI was urged to uncover the Axis agents responsible.

JUN 15 1943

Citizens Committee spokesmen organized visits to city officials, explaining that theer had been no previous trouble in the area and blaming the press for organizing incitements.

The local press, like Westbrook Pegler, syndicated columnist, alleged that "zoot-suited" Mexicans were planning attacks on Americans.

Warning To Zoot Suiters

Chicago Defender (An Editorial)
Chicago, Illinois

ZOOT SUITS today have become synonymous with bad conduct, loud talking, violence and crime.

Zoot suits no more represent the Negro than watermelon, dice, switch blades or muggings.

The wave of violence against zoot suiters on the West Coast has a lesson for Negro communities. Unjustified as the attacks are, they still strike at the immediate need for drastic action to curb the unbridled minority of our race that is giving us a bad name. They show that zoot suits are a community, rather than an individual affair.

So put the zoot suits in moth balls, fellows—at least for the duration.

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Zoot Suits Become A Nat'l Menace; Put Them Away

Kansas City, Kan.

(An Editorial)

Zoot Suits have become a national menace and a reflection on the character of the Negro race. Recent waves of violence against those who wear the funny clothes that make them look like strange people from Mars, Jupiter or some unknown land of human existance has caused the public to look upon the Zoot Suiters as being synonymous with crime and low intelligence.

The Plaindealer

The Negro race is ridiculed enough when they live up to the best American standards . . . and to invite more ridicule might justify the other fellow's stand. . . . There is nothing more provoking than to attend a public dance, picture show ball game or some other event and see a gang of 14, 15, 16 and 17 year old Negro youths dressed to kill in Zoot fashion and displaying the worst type of conduct, disrespecting our women, cursing, wearing hats in all public places, smoking reefers and drinking sweet lucy. . . . Such conduct justifies the other races when they associate our race group with violence, dice shooting, razors and bad conduct. If a certain element invites it, then the race must face the music. . . . Let us not forget that one Negro's conduct sets the standard of the Negro race in the eyes of the white man. If one Negro steals watermelons or shoots dice, the entire race is looked upon as dice shooters and watermelon lovers.

Of course we don't like to hear the truth about our race, but it is only the truth that will set us free. . . . Now let us get busy and get our coming generation out of those zoot suits and kill the idea that our youths won't amount to anything in the world. After all, the present generation is a product of the past. Any error the present day youths make must be laid at the doors of the parents and leaders of today. The Zoot Suiters are giving our race a bad name. We don't want that bad name, so it is left to the community to do something about it. White people can get away with a lot of things . . . when a white man eats watermelon, it becomes a high priced enjoyment and refreshment, but when a Negro cuts open a watermelon on his lawn with his friends, its a typical Negro joke. The same is true of dice shooting.

Zoot Suiters have a chance to dress up right and it might be the safe thing to do, because it looks like open season has been declared.

Probes Begin In Coast Riots

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

(Special to the Daily Worker)

LOS ANGELES, June 11.—Only sporadic and isolated instances of violence are still occurring as Army and police authorities announced that the Hearst and Axis inspired "zoot suit" riots are now under control.

While the two Hearst papers here still continued their race incitement, the Los Angeles Times and the Daily News appear to be recovering from the Hearst-inspired drunken spree.

The influential L. A. Times, in a front page editorial headed "Time for Sanity" remembers that "zoot suiters were limited to no specific race; they were Anglo-Saxon, Latin and Negro."

"To prevent the disastrous consequences of further exaggerated and distorted reports being hurried to Latin America for purposes of creating disunity, it is absolutely essential that every pressure and aim be subordinated to the sole objective of halting disturbances and endeavoring to apply needed remedies at the source," says the Times.

Similarly the Daily News writes of the deep affection of the citizens for the Mexican people and the need for doing away with discrimination.

Deputy Chief of Police Ervis W. Lester in a radio address blamed "society as a whole," rather than specific instigators of the riots. He talked much of juvenile delinquency and "colorless homes that offer no opportunities for leisure time activities," implying the accusation that the attacked Mexican youths are lawless vagrants. He also blamed the state for inadequate provision of means to deal with delinquents.

On the meantime, States Attorney General Robert Kenney held formal meetings with the military and the governor's appointed committees on investigating the situation.

The County grand jury has also been instructed by Dist. Attorney Fred Howser to determine responsibility for the occurrence which incited mobs of misguided servicemen to attacks in the Mexican and Negro communities.

ASSAILS HEARST

The Peoples World, progressive daily of San Francisco declared in an editorial today that the continued Hearst policy of race hatred and preaching that this is a "race" war was responsible for the outbreaks.

Signs of Axis provocation of the events are becoming clearer. It has been ascertained that police officers guided mobs to hangouts of Mexican youths and were conspicuously absent when violence could have been nipped.

Private homes have been invaded, theatres and places of business entered and ransacked for so-called "zoot-suiters."

The Mexican community, some 60,000 strong, has been aroused to organizational efforts by these events. The Latin-American Youth Coordinating Council comprised of some 70 small social clubs and fraternal organizations, is now moving to tie in the organized labor movement and particularly the organized strength of some 30,000 Mexican trade unionists.

Negro and Mexican leaders are meeting with trade union and professional representatives to work out the problem of the organization of the Mexican community back of the war effort and all war activites.

Chicago Tribune

Chicago, Illinois

MRS. ROOSEVELT LINKS ZOOT WAR TO RACE UNREST

Washington, D. C., June 16 (AP).—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt said today she thought the zoot suit fights which have flared in Los Angeles could be traced to what she called long standing discrimination against Mexicans in that part of the country.

The President's wife told her press conference that race problems are growing in the United States and all over the world, and "we must just begin to face it."

"For a long time I've worried about the attitude toward Mexicans in California and the states along the border," she said.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull told his press conference the zoot suit situation in Los Angeles is well in hand, thanks to effective cooperation between the army, navy, and municipal authorities. In reply to questions about Mexican government representations, Hull said the ambassador had called yesterday to express his government's concern.

Hull Promises Action on Any Zoot Claims

Washington Post

Washington, D. C.

The State Department announced yesterday that investigation so far had revealed no cases where Mexican citizens were involved in recent fights in Los Angeles between servicemen and zoot suit clad youths, but promised speedy action on claims resulting from such cases, if there are any.

The announcement followed a visit to Secretary Hull yesterday by Mexican Ambassador Francisco Castillo Najera, who expressed his government's concern over the disturbances.

Text of Statement

The State Department announcement:

"The Mexican Ambassador called upon the Secretary of State on June 15 in order to express the concern of his government at the recent disturbances in Los Angeles and vicinity.

"The Secretary assured the Ambassador that the Department of State had been closely following the situation as it has developed since these disturbances first began. He assured the Ambassador that the local authorities, in cooperation with the military and naval authorities, have been doing everything possible to ameliorate the situation. He also stated that full investigation of these incidents is being conducted by Federal and local authorities.

No Cases Yet Found

"If as a result of those investigations it is found that there are cases involving Mexican citizens (and none have yet been found) the resulting claims will be expeditiously handled by this Government in accordance with principles of international law and the principles of justice and equity which the two governments jointly uphold."

First Lady Blames Bias

Long-standing discrimination against Mexicans in Los Angeles was given as the reason for the recent conflicts between members of the armed services and zoot suitists by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt at her press conference yesterday.

She said further that she had been worried for some time about the attitude toward Mexicans in California and along the Border. The recent fights in Los Angeles have their roots in things which have happened long before, she said.

She said further the race problem was growing in the United States and all over the world and that "we must face it."

Soldier's Analysis

Sirs: Chicago, Illinois

On leave in Los Angeles, I had opportunity to investigate the zoot suit feud [TIME, June 21]. . . . I could find nothing to distinguish the behavior of our soldiers from the behavior of Nazi storm troop thugs that roved Berlin in mobs bent on beating up outnumbered non-Aryans. . . .

Time

Los Angeles papers carried this typical headline: "Zoot Suit Hoodlum Mobs Attack Service Men." I saw nothing to justify this headline except circulation. I found the situation to be entirely the reverse. I found the zooter on most occasions outnumbered 200 to one, except in their enforced segregated districts. . . .

In my opinion the type of soldier (a very tiny proportion of the Army) who drifted in the Los Angeles terror mobs suffers from an inferiority complex. Regimented, and in his drab same uniform, he resents the attention the zooter is paid when garbed in his non-military, free-choice, albeit outlandish, get-up. . . . This type of soldier has a subconscious bitterness towards all civilians, fostered by labor strikes which are played up by the press, and against capital which they imagine is making millions while they, poor souls, are the "goats."

He cannot take his frustrated bitterness out on "any civilian." That would be civil war which he knows to be very wrong; but he can take it out on the outcasts of society. This is a form of class war which is not frowned upon in most sections of America when directed against the Negroes, and in Los Angeles against both the Mexican and the Negro. . . .

Why does Los Angeles have these silly problem children rushing about in their ridiculous suits? Los Angeles has pressed the Negro and the Mexican into squalid ghettoes. Is it then so miraculous and amazing that this sordid environment does not produce model young Americans?

(S/SGT.) WILLIAM D. EASTLAKE

Camp White, Ore.

56k-1943

The Question of the Week.

MAY 1 1943

MAY 1 1943

Are Negroes Responsible For Some of the Prejudice Against Them?

YEA

That Negroes do incur prejudices is seen in acts like a happening at a local war plant. A worker violated the smoking rule. When told by an official that he would receive demerits for smoking he asked, "How many demerits will it take to fire me?" The official told him five. He smoked five cigarettes, one after another, and was dismissed. This sort of behavior breeds prejudice.

M. M. McGaughey,
Gibraltar Standard Insurance Co.,
Dallas.

—★—

It galls me to say yes, but those of us who are sloven, unkempt and untidy are as repulsive to members of our own group as they are to white people. I do not mean that every Negro should dress up like a dandy, and beyond his means, but most anybody can keep his body and clothes clean. It is hard to be kindly disposed toward a filthy person.

Gladys Ward.

—★— MAY 1 1943

Some of us are so compromising, and have so little race pride that we have really encouraged prejudice where ordinarily there might not have been any. People who go back to buy gas at filling stations where they have been called "boy", women who buy clothes where you have to hide to be served, Negrces who patronize stores where they are not waited on in their turn are encouraging a certain type of prejudice. They crystallize the belief that some whites have that Negroes will take insults and like them.

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The bowing and scraping "yassir, Mr. Charlie", Negro, the Negro who elects himself to accept rank inequality in the name of his group, the loud mouthed Negro who prattles in public places, and above all the pimping Negro are types which I should like to exterminate. Each has cooked up more prejudice for the group as a whole than generations will ever succeed in eradicating.

MAY 1 1943

T. Duncan.

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The Negro is not altogether responsible for some of the prejudices against him. There is a middle ground. He feels inferior because of lack of opportunity and extensive training; therefore, he is afraid to stand as an equal with others. As he often does not cooperate with his own group, this spirit of non-cooperation colors his actions. His love of retaliation makes him an easy mark for prejudice.

Rev. F. W. Grant,
Pastor Metropolitan AME Church,
Dallas.

—★—

No. Most prejudice is preconceived. If you can reason to say that we have not worked hard to educate other racial groups away from their prejudice toward us, I should say "yes." There are people who are prejudiced against us for no earthly reason excepting that we are colored. I can't think of any way of blaming Negroes for this state of affairs.

A. Neely.

—★—

Prejudice when analyzed really means prejudgment of a person or thing. Most prejudgment is not sound judgment. In light of these facts, I fail to see how the Negro might be said to be responsible for prejudice against him. I have had nothing to do with most of the prejudice that has been exercised against me, and I imagine the same is true of most Negroes.

MAY 1 1943

O. Christopher.

Charleston S. C. News & Courier
March 15, 1943

Advice and Warning

The white people of South Carolina are resolved that social and political separation of the white and negro races shall be maintained. Necessary to the maintenance is fair and just treatment of the negroes by the white people.

Disregarding, for the present, discussion of morality, of right, confining the discussion to expediency, The News and Courier, however it believes in justice for its own sake, tells the white people of South Carolina that to preserve racial separation, they must, in the courts, in the taxing agencies, in all governmental affairs, not discriminate between races.

They must have separate racial schools, but in order that they may have them they must give the negroes good schools and pay negro teachers what they are worth. The basic principal of free public schools is that all children shall enjoy their advantages. Free schools are provided mainly for the benefit of the poor. The rich can and often do send their children to private schools.

No rational argument can be set up that white children be hauled to public schools in buses at taxpayers' cost and negro children be compelled to walk.

Common carriers may and should separate the races, in buses and railroad cars, but they must give to each race what it pays for, extending to the races equal courtesies and protection.

The employer has the right to employ whom he wishes. A law or command that a company, (The News and Courier for example), a Greenville cotton mill or Smith shall employ negro reporters and printers, negro spinners, a white chauffeur or cook, would be and should be resisted. There should be no bowing to it whether it come from courts, presidents or congress.

South Carolina's right is to define and fix qualifications for voting, and all persons, white and black, qualifying should be allowed, in the elections ordered by law, to vote without intimidation or hindrance.

The right of fifty negroes to hold a caucus in a private house and, excluding white persons, to nominate candidates for the legislature is beyond question. They have a similar and equal right to hold primary elections and to exclude white people from voting in them. That same right is inherent in white people. That the negroes should have justice in courts one need not say, the fact being that they have it and that white judges and juries are habitually lenient to them, showing them indulgence and mercy.

Failing to recognize this truth and to practice its implication, they will raise feelings capable of filling, there should be no barriers. He does not want to associate socially with the white man, rather he would be treated as a human being. There are some white people who would like to see the Negro progress and get a square deal and there are some who are not very prejudiced. The white man did not shed blood to free the Negro. In the South there were thousands of Negro slaves because they were most needed on the plantations to till the soil. It took several slaves to equal one white man for representation; therefore the South was stronger than the North. This brought about dissatisfaction. Lincoln himself said he did not feel that he had a right to free the slaves, but in order to save the Union the Negro had to be freed.

It is nonsense to say that white people who build hotels and restaurants should be forced to entertain the negroes in them, and it would be the same nonsense to deny negroes the right to conduct hotels and restaurants exclusively for themselves.

The purpose of this article is to advise and to warn the white South Carolinian that, in order to maintain racial separation, they have got to deal justly with both races in the conduct of government and its agencies. All the Negro wants is a fair deal.

It seems that whenever the Negro asks for his rights, the white man thinks he wants social equality. We would rather count it a liability.

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

Not Social Equality

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal.

I read with much interest in Sunday's Point of View O. C. Seevers' letter headed "Racial Development."

My dear Mr. O. C. Seevers, you must remember the Negro tilled the soil and helped to make this country what it is and putting handicaps in his way those whose whites who are giving their millions to call upon you men to help expel them. . . . He said, "segregation was the only way to handle the race question. "For generations we have lived here in South Carolina without trouble. We have treated the Negro race fairly. We have given him educational advantages far beyond his ability. But we cannot and will not tolerate the mixing of the races in our schools, churches and dwelling places. . . ." He asserted that John L. Lewis, a labor

From The State of July 17.

Governor Olin D. Johnston, in an address at Fort Jackson to the South Carolina Defense force (State Guard) said that "should any outsiders come into our statewe and agitate social equality among the races, I shall deem it my duty

Columbia, S. C., State
July 19, 1943

Sunday

APR 30 1943

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Dallas.

—★—

No. Most prejudice is preconceived. If you can reason to say that we have not worked hard to educate other racial groups away from their prejudice toward us, I should say "yes." There are people who are prejudiced against us for no earthly reason excepting that we are colored. I can't think of any way of blaming Negroes for this state of affairs.

A. Neely.

—★—

Prejudice when analyzed really means prejudgment of a person or thing. Most prejudgment is not sound judgment. In light of these facts, I fail to see how the Negro might be said to be responsible for prejudice against him. I have had nothing to do with most of the prejudice that has been exercised against me, and I imagine the same is true of most Negroes.

O. Christopher.

MAY 1 1943

Charleston S. C. News & Courier
March 16, 1943

Advice and Warning

The white people of South Carolina are resolved that social and political separation of the white and negro races shall be maintained. Necessary to the maintenance is fair and just treatment of the negroes by the white people.

Disregarding, for the present, discussion of morality, of right, confining the discussion to expediency, The News and Courier, however it believes in justice for its own sake, tells the white people of South Carolina that to preserve racial separation, they must, in the courts, in the taxing agencies, in all governmental affairs, not discriminate between races.

They must have separate racial schools, but in order that they may have them they must give the negroes good schools and pay negro teachers what they are worth. The basic principal of free public schools is that all children shall enjoy their advantages. Free schools are provided mainly for the benefit of the poor. The rich can and often do send their children to private schools.

No rational argument can be set up that white children be hauled to public schools in buses at taxpayers' cost and negro children be compelled to walk.

Common carriers may and should separate the races, in buses and railroad cars, but they must give to each race what it pays for, extending to the races equal courtesies and protection.

The employer has the right to employ whom he wishes. A law or command that is there no better reason, than that it pays. There are some white people who would like to see the Negro progress and get a gov-square deal and there are some who are both very prejudiced. The white man did not free the Negro. In the South the Negro slaves be- cause they were most needed on the planta- tions to till the soil. It took several slaves to equal one white man for representation; therefore the South was stronger than the North. This brought about dissatisfaction. Lincoln himself said he did not feel that he had a right to free the slaves, but in order to save the Union the Negro had to be freed.

God works in a mysterious way His wonders to perform. He always answers prayers. The slaves prayed for freedom and, through the saving of the Union, the Negro was freed.

Why should millions of white people be living in desperate poverty? They have been free all their lives and can be whatever they want to be from a ditcher to the President of these United States. There are no barriers to them if they have a desire and the will. If one works side by side with a Negro, he will get a better salary, stand a chance of promotion.

Yes, it is true the Negro has a vast field upon which to use every power he possesses, and he will use it and make the most wonderful strides if the opposite race will stop putting handicaps in his way. My dear Mr. O. C. Seevers, you must remember the Negro tilled the soil and helped to make this country what it is and are those whites who are giving their millions have not forgotten this. The Negro has earned it. He wants to be an asset to his country, not a liability.

It was in the city of Louisville, Ky., where the Negro was the first man to shed blood for

APR 30 1943

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

Not Social Equality

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal.

I read with much interest in Sunday's Courier-Journal Governor Olin D. Johnston, in an address at Fort Jackson to the South Carolina Defense force (State Guard) said that "should to pay. . . . But we cannot and will not tolerate the mixing of the races in our schools, churches and dwelling places. . . ." He asserted that John L. Lewis, a labor

Saturday
July 19, 1943
Columbia, S. C. State
from the State of July 17.

to call upon you men to help ex- pel them. . . . He said "segrega- tion" was the only way to handle the race question. "For generations we have lived here in South Carolina without trouble. We have treated the Negro race fair- ly: no time for loafing; they are not loafing in the trenches with any other man. . . . This is no time for loafing; there should be no barriers. They will raise capable of filling, there should be no barriers. He does not want to associate socially with the white man; rather he would be treated as a human being

independence, and he is still willing to shed his blood and give his all to keep these United States a free country.

We cannot hope to have a united nation until hatred and prejudice have been abolished.

MRS. BLOSSIE WILLIAMS.

Louisville.

Free India or Quit Fine Talk, About Democracy, Say Leaders

The marking of India's Independence Day, whenever it may come, is a major item to be considered by the American Negro. As a result outstanding Negro leaders have given voice to their individual sentiments, but sentiments which are really a collective picture of the feeling of 13,000,000 of their race here in America.

Paul Robeson states: "I know what it will take to whip Hitler! It will take all of America, all of Asia, all of the American people. These are all anti-Fascist people." Walter White of the NAACP: "The future of civilization and the winner of the war will be determined in a large measure by the answers to the question of why it is heroic and noble for the British to fight for their freedom, but criminal for the Indians to fight for theirs."

Dr. Max Yergan, executive director of the Council On African Affairs: "This is the Negro people's war because it is the war of hundreds of millions of other peoples whose needs are exactly the needs of the Negro people." Channing H. Tobias, National Council of YMCA: ". . . I can see no reason why the British Empire should not put through Parliament at an early date, a declaration of Indian freedom, naming a date in the not-distant future when such an act would go into effect."

Author-Editor W. E. B. DuBois sees it: "There is no justification for this horrible war, if it does not mean autonomy for India now." Author Countee Cullen: "England's refusal to give India her freedom now is a mockery of the freedoms which the Allied Nations claim they are fighting to make assured for all peoples."

April 26, 1943

Racial Viewpoint

BY ROBERT QUILLEN

Many newspapers have recently complimented the intelligence of our American-born Japanese. In the Seattle high schools and in the University of Washington, Japanese students have consistently won honors out of all proportion to their numbers.

This is taken to mean that our Japanese citizens are smarter than white youngsters, but it indicates nothing of the kind.

It is obvious that the Japs are smart. They learn quickly. Their minds easily absorb facts. This is true of nearly all races.

But the Japs lack some quality which our race possesses. Though their land was "awakened" almost ninety years ago, and they were forced to do business with the white man's civilization, and since that time have made phenomenal progress, there is nothing to indicate that they could have developed by natural processes as white men did.

Take away everything they copied from white men and they would be right back where Perry found them. Their original contribution to the development of civilization is almost zero.

Like other laggard races, they are good mimics and imitators, but they seem unable to originate. Even their weapons and tools of war are copies of American, British or German models. They absorb much, but create little.

Why do they surpass white boys and girls in winning school honors? The answer is found in a score of ancient fables.

A few years ago a great old university limited the number of its Jewish students because they were winning most of the honors. Until some medical schools took a similar step—perhaps without admitting it, the number of Jewish graduates was far beyond the proportion of their race in our population. So in Washington today—especially in departments devoted to social benefits—Jews have far more than their share of offices.

Why? Why do the children of immigrants speak more correct English than our kids? Why does the poor boy climb above the rich one?

There is one answer to all. They try harder. Those who feel too secure and too sure of themselves take it easy. Those who are aware of any kind of handicap—who have some special incentive—study hard and work hard and surpass those who make little effort. The tortoise still beats the hare that pauses for a nap.

Courier

Raps Federal Interference

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Aug. 5—(ANP)—Declaring that he would not stand for "some inexperienced politicians in Washington interfering in our local problems," Gov. Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina last week asserted in a public address that each state is capable of solving its own race problem.

Speaking at a state chamber of commerce dinner the chief executive said: "I believe in 48 sovereign states united together to fight against the common enemy, and to fight for the common good, but I do not and will not stand for some inexperienced politicians in Washington interfering in our local problems."

"After the war," continued the governor, "we will have to battle against as great, if not greater, enemy than the Germans or the Japanese." This battle he said would involve racial problems, unemployment, restiveness among returning soldiers, immigration, preparedness, the bureaucratic system and "the fight to restore individualism."

EDITORIAL

Weekly Review
Birmingham, Ala

Our One Big Problem

Night is kind to Birmingham's Harlem, and to all the other Harlems in the great cities of our country. For when night comes down it draws a curtain over the ugliness which so depressing during daylight hours Nights hides the dilapidated, unpainted, shabby buildings, the dwelling places so often bearng the tell-tale signs of poverty, and decay; the broken windows; the littered hallways and areaways, the defaced bricks In the Negro districts of our cities Poverty speaks louder than the most sincere cocial worker the most competent educator.

The one cold, brutal, inescapable fact is that we are pitifully We don't earn enough money to live in decent houses, to give our children the proper food, and the best medical care and to allow them to complete their education. Our earning power is low, so low that when we pay our rent for a shelter over our heads, buy a little food, pay he insurance man so that we can have arespectable burial, get clothes for Sundays and holi days, we don't have anythingometis ee some clothes for Sundays and holidays, we just don't have anything left, hardly enough to buy our weekly paper.

Our problem then is the problem of Work and Wages more tha anything else. And the tragedy of the Negro is the tragedy of low and insufficient income.

It affects all of us. It curta ls and limits the earning of our ow physicians, most of whom are highly capable and efficient; it limits the income of our lawyers who must render service to us for disgracefully low fees. It denies our businessmen the chance to keep their stores in good repair and prevent them from being able to purchase in sufficient quanities to meet the competition of their white rivals. It is responsible for the ugliness in the black belt which is an eyesore to us all.

There are four million colored men who are able to do good porter or janitor work and less than a thousand who can fashion and make machine tools. The average wage for porters is about $22.50 per week, the arevage wage for machine tool and die makers is about $70.00 per week and naow runs claose to $100.000 per week.

Eighty per cent or more of us are engaged in the work that at best pays not more than $30.00 a week even in war times. And these jobs are blind alley jobs Millions of men white and black can perform them with half an hours instruction

vertising experts are asked to place ads in Negro neighborhoods

These jobs lead no where and mean nothing. When national advertising experts are asked to place ads in our weekly papers, they turn to their reports of the income in Negro neighborhoods, and find that

So we [illegible] unmistakabl [illegible] to give colo [illegible] this means [illegible] to use them

Old stuf [illegible] Movement, t [illegible] dreds of indi [illegible] plish this. [illegible] alley jobs, w [illegible] largely to th [illegible]

But what [illegible] us all, in ou [illegible] a struggle fo [illegible] in industry t [illegible] chance to su [illegible] some technic [illegible]

Time is [illegible] work fast. W [illegible] petty jealous [illegible] century for [illegible] And the que [illegible] ration will b [illegible]

A WORD OF WARNING TO COLORED PEOPLE

Now, as [illegible] behaved as [illegible] best foot fo [illegible] personal co [illegible]

It is the [illegible] ed people [illegible] the public [illegible] and vulga [illegible] It should [illegible] ready com [illegible] white peo [illegible] udices, to [illegible] colored p [illegible] entire col [illegible]

In the [illegible] proper enfo [illegible] groups have [illegible] the part of [illegible] jaw of the [illegible]

Pittsburgh, Pa.

The People's Voice New York N.Y.

JAN 30 1943

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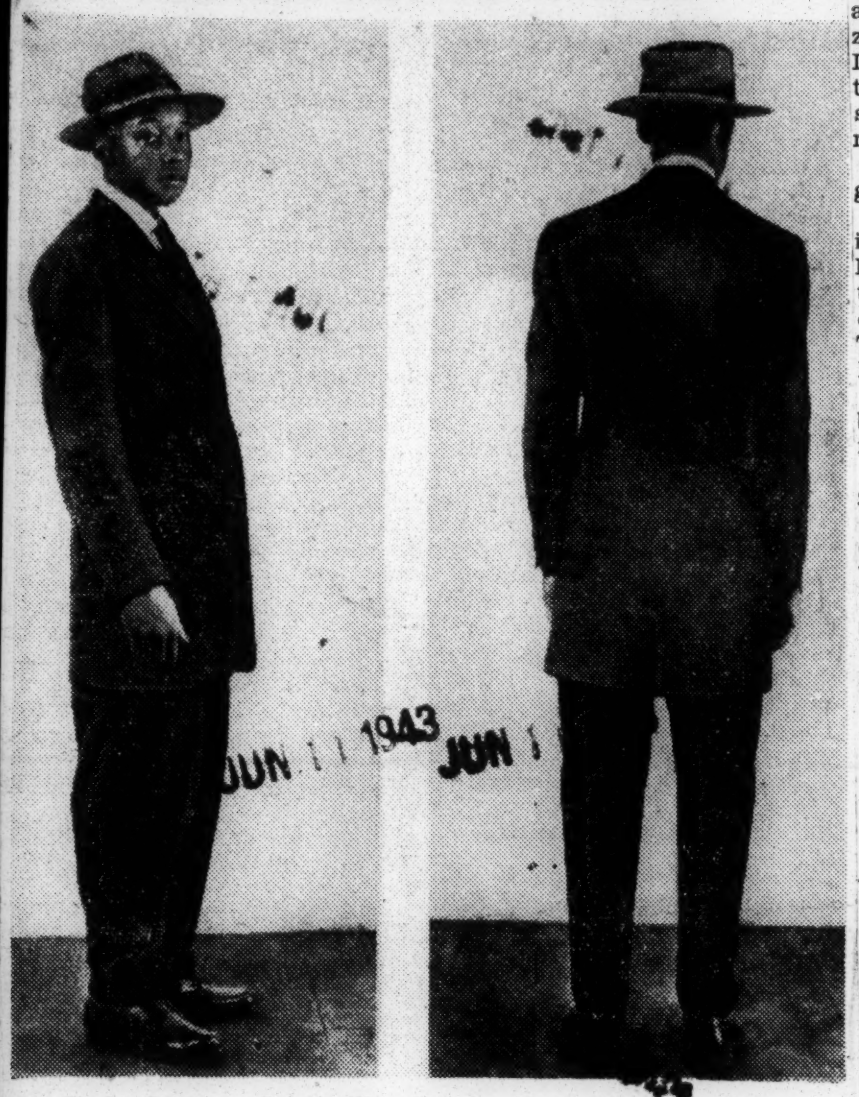
Philadelphia, Pa.

Tribune

March 27, 1943

56k-1943

THE FIRST ZOOT SUIT ON RECORD



Clyde Duncan, Gainesville, Ga., bus boy, pictured wearing this outfit in early 1940.

New York Times
New York, N. Y.

Zoot Suit Originated in Georgia; Bus Boy Ordered First One in '40

Known as 'Killer Diller' It Started as Joke in Trade—Tailors Surprised as Demand for It Spreads From South to Harlem

Later historians may argue the point, but J. V. D. Carlyle, fashion editor for Men's Apparel Reporter, the trade's authority, seemed convinced yesterday that the first zoot suit on record was ordered early in February, 1940, at Frierson-McEver's in Gainesville, Ga.

The garment so startled A. C. McEver, conservative half of Frierson-McEver, that when the zoot suit was ready he photographed the purchaser, who was Clyde Duncan, a busboy in Gainesville, and sent the pictures to Men's Apparel Reporter. It was published in the February, 1941, issue.

"Exclusive Style Flash" said the caption under it. "The newest model, known in South Georgia as the Killer Diller . . . coat length 37 inches, button top two . . . 26-inch knees . . . 14-inch bottom, requiring shoehorn to get your foot through."

The trade was amused. It assumed that Clyde Duncan was one of those whimsical people who turn up at a tailor's occasionally with extraordinary ideas, and let it go at that. They were astonished when the "killer diller" caught on in Mississippi, New Orleans and Alabama and leap-frogged to Harlem.

Originator a Stubborn Youth

Mr. McEver said yesterday that as far as he knew the idea for the zoot suit was original with Clyde Duncan. Mr. McEver tried to talk the youth out of it, but Duncan was stubborn. Mr. McEver sent the measurements to the Globe Tailoring Company in Chicago and the garment was made.

Mr. McEver disclaimed any credit for the creation at the time. He made it clear in the order that the specifications were the customer's and washed his hands of it. The suit came to $33.50. Mr. McEver said yesterday:

"I thought it was crazy as could be and I told Globe Tailoring so in my letter."

There have been reports that the zoot suit was inspired by authentic Civil War garb worn by Clark Gable as Rhett Butler in "Gone With the Wind." In several scenes he appeared in a long coat and peg trousers. The report may be true. "Gone With the Wind" opened in Georgia in December, 1939, a few months before Clyde Duncan upset the Gainesville tailors with his order.

Mr. Carlyle made much of the point that the zoot suit originated among financially poor people. He said that this occurs only rarely in men's fashions. Most men's styles are copied from high-priced models made by top-drawer designers for men.

Spread of Polo Coat Traced

Mrs. Cora Carlyle, an expert in women's fashions, traced, for example, the spread of the polo coat. Polo players wore such coats for years as they rested between chukkers. Then Winston Guest took one back to Yale with him. The next day New Haven tailors had fifty orders and eventually polo coats covered the land.

About a year to eighteen months ago, when the garment trades realized that the zoot suit had caught on with "sharpies"—the hep cats, or swing-mad kids—they began turning them out. The suits were listed under the trade term, "extremes," but in April, 1942, when the WPB cloth conservation order banned pleats, cuffs and long jackets, all legal manufacturers dropped the zoot.

Bootleg tailors then took them up, and still put them out. In New York City Harmlem is the zoot suit center. High schol age children from all parts of the city go to Harlem for them. Prices range from $18 to $75. Poorer customers buy suits four to five sizes too large for them and have them draped to form by the bootleg shops.

Hep-cat terms for the zoot suit are actually meaningless. A "reat pleat" is merely an exaggerated pleat. It had its origin in assonance which colors all hep-cat slang. "Zoot suit" is another example. The "V-knot" tie, the zoot chain, the shirt collar, the tight "stuff cuff," the wide, flat hat and the Dutch-toe shoes of the zoot-suiter, Mr. Caryle said, simply display the hep-cat's tendency toward exaggeration in all things.

SEEK BASIC CAUSES OF ZOOT SUIT FRAY

Los Angeles, State Officials and Civic Groups Join in Searching Study

KENNY DEFENDS YOUTHS

Wearers of Strange Garb Are 'Not Gangsters, but Kids Bent on Devilment,' He Says

By LAWRENCE E. DAVIES

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LOS ANGELES, June 10—Service men and young zoot suit wearers engaged in new outbreaks today as State investigators, under orders from Governor Earl Warren, began probing for the basic causes of a week-long series of disorders which have placed Los Angeles "out of bounds" for most Navy personnel.

Community leaders held meetings in an effort to get the city "back to normal" and to present evidence that the street battles represented a symptom not of racial discrimination but of an increasingly serious State-wide juvenile delinquency problem.

A legislative committee sought evidence that might link subversive agents with the gang activities.

Robert Kenny, State Attorney General, with the aid of a dozen State investigators and a citizens' committee appointed by Governor Warren, began the task assigned by the Governor of "ascertaining all of the facts and then applying the appropriate remedy."

Meanwhile, there was no indication that Rear Admiral D. W. Bagley, commandant of the Eleventh Naval District, would countermand his order restricting liberty in this city for Navy personnel. He took this action on Tuesday afternoon as a result of dozens of retaliatory clashes between "zoot suit" hoodlums and Navy enlisted men.

C. B. Horrall, chief of police, declared that the situation was well in hand but about that time two "zoot suit" wearers at the Plaza had their pants stripped off by a group of sailors "just traveling through." Several other minor incidents marked the day.

Rise of Disorders Traced

The series of disorders actually began in December in San Pedro, according to Navy sources, when lone sailors were waylaid in dimout areas, beaten and robbed. According to police records, there have been twenty-six attacks on service men since March; Navy officers believe that the number has exceeded fifty since Jan. 1.

The retaliatory action began about a week ago. According to one version, a small group of sailors was chatting with a group of young women of Mexican descent when zoot-suited friends of the girls intervened, brought reinforcements and routed the sailors. The sailors went after reinforcements and beat up the zooters. A series of retaliations foliowed. In some versions women did not figure.

By Monday night taxicab fleets of sailors were hunting for zoot-suit wearers.

Navy men emphasize, and police agree, that in most instances the sailors, aided in a few cases by soldiers and sometimes by taxicab drivers, showed a spirit as of a college fraternity initiation. Petty officers were almost wholly missing. The uniformed participants were seamen who, for the most part, had been in the Navy from one to six months.

As for the zoot suit wearers, according to some observers, hundreds had in recent years roved in organized bands. These gangs engaged in thievery, petty crimes and now and then knifings. For the most part bands were content to war with one another. Members ranged in age from 16 to 20 years.

Police Chief Offers Explanation

Police, according to one informant, made no serious effort to break up these bands. The gangsters, it was stated, come from a good-sized reservoir of votes. Chief of Police Horrall asserted, however, that there were "inadequate facilities for handling juveniles after their arrest."

"We can trace this whole thing to the fact that most of the young people are second-generation Mexicans whose parents could not speak English," he said. "The children got some schooling and lost respect for their parents. This lack of parental control is the underlying cause of the whole thing.

"But we had no difficulty until the zoot suit gangs were given recognition by the press, following

Color Proves 'Bomb to
Afro-American (Baltimore, Md.
Two Happy Playmates
By LILLIAN E. SMITH
in the colored section of our sma
town, living with a colored fam
ily. This family had recently
girl was found moved to our to
and little wh
said. "Most of
in the Army."
them have brothers in th
them, but we haven't among
outbreaks among themselves in on these gangs
which one or two were killed. Pub- broken them up."
licity is what they were seeking. Attorney General Kenny, who is
If one gets his picture in the paper also president of the National
he becomes a shining example to the Lawyers Guild, preferred to classi-
others. fy "the zoot suiters" as "not gang-
"But troubles like this are not sters but as kids running together,
confined to Los Angeles. You bent on devilment, something like
ought to look around New York, the old Clancy Street gang going
San Francisco has them, too, and up against the guys over on Vesey
many other cities. We've worked Street."
"There are lots of good kids A little white girl

known of the [illegible]

The white clubwomen busied themselves in an attempt to do something about this child, and the colored family were interviewed somewhat persistently for several days, until they grew frightened and, finally, evasive and silent. This only served to increase the suspicion of the white group, and at last the child was forcibly taken from her adopted family despite their tears and protests.

Dazed by Comforts

She was brought to our home, mother having consented to look after the child temporarily, since one more could so conveniently fit into out ample family pattern. Julie roomed with me, shared my bed, sat next to me at our table, wore my clothes, played with my dolls, and followed me around from morning to night, happily dazed by so many comforts and conveniences and pleasures.

She was an affectionate little thing, and I was pleased by her adoration, and quickly a warm personal relationship grew up between us.

Julie Is Colored

Then one day things changed. Word came from an orphanage. There were meetings and whispered conversations with my parents. Julie was quickly whisked away. There were no explanations.

I questioned my mother. "Why did Julie have to go back when we have plenty of room? She likes us—she hardly knows them." "Because," Mother said gently, "Julie is a little colored girl. She has to live in colored town." "But why? She lived here three weeks." "She is a little colored girl," Mother repeated. "She's the same little girl she was yesterday," I remember saying to my mother "and you said yourself Julie has nice manners.

Couldn't Live There

"You said that," I persisted. "Yes," my mother said, "Julie is a nice child but she is colored. A colored child cannot live in our home." "She did live with us," I said, "and she is the same little girl she was yesterday. Can she come to see me? Spend the day?" "No." "I don't understand." "You're too young to understand," Mother said and turned away.

Yes, I was too young to understand. But I was not too young to feel the pain of separation from a little friend whom I never saw again, nor too young to make an identification with her shame and bewilderment, nor too young to begin to doubt my parents and the sincerity of their religion.

Lost Faith in Family

I knew they had done something which did not fit in with their teachings, with what they said they held dear. I could not put this into words. I was too young, too inexperienced with the vocabulary of economic necessities, with that jargon of folkways, mores, slow change, which can dull the imagination so successfully.

I only felt a profound reluctance ever again to accept something simply because it was told me by my elders. But though I felt burdened by doubts, by a loss of faith in my family's integrity, I practiced the customs of my people just as I had always done. I had not the strength as a child to do otherwise.

The doubt remained, and the hurt. When people talked of love and Christianity, I knew they did not mean it. That is a hard thing for a child to learn. And as I grew older, as more experiences collected around this faithless day, tying on no doubt to far earlier and more profound (though forgotten) experiences, I began to see myself and others like me as crippled people. I began to see that in trying to shut the colored race away from us, we have shut ourselves away from the good, the creative, the human in life.

(From COMMON GROUND)

Arrested During Picketing of Two Jim Crow Theaters

Call
Kansas City, Mo.
AUG 13 1943

Officers Testify That 'Non-Violence' Policy of Group Was Practiced; Youths Seek Equality Under the Law

By DOROTHY H. DAV AUG 13 1943

DENVER, Colo. — (Special to the Call) — Eight white youths and a Negro were cleared of charges of "inciting a riot" here Tuesday afternoon following a special hearing in the police building before Robert Kirschwing, Manager of Safety for the City of Denver.

Arrested Saturday, Aug. 7, as they picketed two downtown theaters which seat Negroes in the balcony only, the nine youths were taken to the police station in a patrol wagon and booked for investigation charged with "inciting a riot."

They remained about two hours while their attorneys, Samuel E. Cary, Negro; Samuel Menin, Jew, (N.A.A.C.P. attorney) and Carl Whitehead, white, obtained bonds for each.

Did Not

The young men and women were participants in a week-end Workshop on Non-Violent Action, sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

At the hearing Tuesday the arresting officers admitted that the picketers did not resist arrest and stated that they acted only because they feared a riot would insue the picketing lasted much longer. They also admitted that at the time of the arrest no disturbance had been caused.

The picketers, through their attorneys, argued that no law had been broken by their picketing and that the theaters which promoted the "jim-crow" seating policy were violaters of the civil rights law and produced copies of this law as evidence.

Complainers Not There

The theater managers were not present to testify although it was their complaints that caused the arrest of the picketers.

Prominent Denver citizens representing property owners, taxpayers, bond buyers stated clearly that local citizens hated riots and wanted peace but still contended for the first-class rights of all citizens regardless of [illegible] or creed.

Among those citizens speaking at the hearing were Dr. Clarence J. Holmes, Walter Vernell, J. W. Holcomb, Editors Dorsey and George Ross, L. H. Walton, Rev. L. T. Lewis, Macedonia Baptist church; Rev. W. T. Liggins, Zion Baptist church; W. F. Turner, president of the local branch of the N.A.A.C.P.; Mrs. Kathryn Northcross, Dorothy H. Davis, of The Kansas City Call, here on vacation, and C. P. Garman, white.

Attorneys for the picketers were able to extract a promise from Kirschwing that he would put the entire matter before the district attorney and to talk with the theater owners but cleared himself of the responsibility of obtaining results by stating that it was not his job to make the theater owners obey the civil rights law.

Will Stick to Guns

Kirschwing in turn tried to get promise from the picketers that there would be no more picketing but was told flatly that the members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation would stick to their "non-violence" campaign until rights were equalized.

Those arrested were Elaine Brazier of Washington, a student of Howard university, only Negro in the group; Margaret Rohrer of the local FOR (Fellowship of Reconciliation) organization; Neil Chiamori of Ithaca, N. Y., a Japanese-American citizen born in Hawaii; Helen Martin of Woodbury, Conn., Dr. Helen Ford, Homer Jernagin, Paul Kermier, Bill Little and Oliver Hurstt of North Dakota.

The out-of-town persons for the most part are Lisle Fellowship students encamped on Lookout Mountain. Many of them came to Denver for the week-end to attend the conference.

One of the workshops of the conference was an experiment in using "creative non-violence" to test and attempt to break down some of the [illegible] Jim Crow practices which exist in [illegible]

AUG 13 1943

Seated on First Floor

Miss Brazier purchased a first floor ticket at the Denham theater and was seated. Since the Denham theater usually sends Negroes to the balcony it was decided to make a further test. Miss Brazier is of light-brown complexion and it was thought that her racial identity might not have been known. So three Negro boys, selected at random, were asked to attempt to purchase tickets for lower floor seats. They were refused.

AUG 13 1943

Chiamori, Misses Brazier, Martin and Rohrer sought the management. After waiting over half an hour, the assistant manager came to the lobby. There the group tried to persuade him to change the policy, but he was adamant.

Then the picket line was started. Miss Rohrer, Miss Brazier, Little, Husett and Jernagin walked in front of the Denham; while Kermiet and Dr. Ford walked in front of the Broadway theater, six blocks away.

AUG 13 1943

Carry Colorful Signs

They carride signs reading: "Jim Crow Like Hitler Must Go," "Sgt. Joe Louis Couldn't Fight His Way in Here to a First Row Seat," "This Theater Would Seat Dorie Miller, Pearl Harber Hero, in the Jim Crow Balcony," "Paul Robeson Could Not Buy a First-Class Ticket in This Theater." (Robeson had thrilled a record-breaking crowd in a concert at Denver U. stadium on July 22).

Bill Little, who is crippled, carried a sign on each crutch which read, "Jim Crow Cripples Democracy."

AUG 13 1943

The group passed out copies of the Colorado civil rights law to persons entering the theater. Many soldiers on the street at the time expressed sympathy with the picketeers, saying "We'd be in it, too, if we were out of uniform. We might get in trouble at camp."

One of the police officers, angered at the party played by white youths on behalf of Negro rights, called one of the young men who was arrested a "n———loving bastard." Officers did not use abusive language to women in the group, but seemed most interested in whisking the picketers out of the way.

AUG 13 1943

Part of Campaign

The workshop was a step in an organized campaign on the part of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Colorado Committee of Racial Equality to open up all public facilities to all races.

They have been successful in breaking down barriers in a number of local theaters and restaurants by entering, usually in inter-racial groups, and asking for service. They have insisted on their rights, taking with them copies of the civil rights law.

It is said that the Restaurant Managers association of Denver will not serve all citizens. Several theaters which formerly would seat Negroes in segregated sections now have no such restrictions. However, many of the theaters continue racial discrimination.

At the Sunday mass meeting [illegible] over $75 was taken up for the cause. Dr. Clarence J. Holmes and the Rev. Mr. Liggins, Rev. A. J. Muste [illegible]

56k-1943

POLL TAX "DIXIE DEBATE" NOW WORLD-WIDE INTEREST

MALICE AGAINST JEWS, CATHOLICS, TO BE CONDEMNED BY RACE

Guardian
Boston, Mass.

By MABE KOUNTZ

NOV 27 1943

While various alleged "super-patriots" are today preaching post-war equalities for the Balkans, Spain, Italy and Germany, it seems quite unbelievable that any section of the U. S. A. could at this time harbor an un-American political bloc dedicated to withholding voting privileges from ten million and more white and colored citizens.

NOV 27 1943

EIGHT "POLL-TAX" STATES

The Poll Tax fight is not simply a "Colored" political issue. It involves millions of poor whites and embraces eight southern states of our "post-war planning" Democracy. This is an embarrassing position for our Democracy before the world. It is a huge joke to Tojo and Hitler. How can America reform the world while denying the ballot to well over ten million citizens? How can the south explain to the Philippines that over 75 years ago, in 1865 during the Reconstruction Period, all races, including the poor whites, were allowed to vote in the south while the same equal privileges are denied today? Who has kept the white south down in ignorance and poverty, away "behind the times" in economic, social and political development? What grossly ignorant and selfishly inspired group of "unreconstructed rebels" have siezed hold of the south (and the entire nation) instilling old time, Old World facist doctrines that hinder even the President? This is the shameful position of the south today, a south victim of evils that she could have cured over 75 years ago! Why did the south refuse?

NOV 27 1943

"STATE'S RIGHTS" EXCUSE

This nation, as a whole, is losing sympathy with the south in its failure to emerge from Old World dreams of European royalty bedecked with sepia slaves serving luxuries, huge white mansions, and vast plantations of land-chained flunkies. If I were a white southerner I too, might harbor forbidden yearnings for the days of workless luxury, idle gambling, lazy romancing amid the "gay, carefree servants" who would do all my work, wash and press my clothes, serve my meals, drive my car and amuse me to my hearts content. If I were a white southerner I, too, might object to a lot of things until I learned better. But that is not the way of the Poll Tax Senators. They are supposed to be well versed in politics. They are supposed to know that this is now a Democracy, not a royal monarchy. They are supposed to know that their emphasized "states rights" has no justifiable "right" to include bourbon king privileges for the few. The Poll Tax Senators do know all these facts. They just don't give a hoot. Nevertheless, there are indications that other, more intelligent, southerners do care and are waking up. For last March saw the lower House pass the anti-poll tax bill by a sizeable vote of 265-110.

NOV 27 1943

SOUTH IN SPOT-LIGHT

There never can be a genuine post-war peace until this nation straightens out her own democratic destinies at home. Until the time comes when America can tell other nations how to rule, the south, ("the Number One Problem" of America) must of a necessity remain in the spot-light under the watchful eyes of the rest of the world. And there are many "cases for democracy" to be tried in the south inside the next ten years. The anti-poll tax bill is only one of many. The anti-lynching bill which grows in added significance (with reaccuring waves of intolerance), is another. Cases against discrimination on railroads, buses, and other transportation mediums; in stores, theatres and restaurants, and the like, are going to be thrashed out. Every citizen by liberal donations to the NAACP can help in this American crusade. And every wage earner should help.

JEWS NOT ENEMIES NOV 27 1943

Perhaps there is no more vivid testimony to the fight we have before us than the increasing wave of intolerance against the Jewish race. This intolerance, unless it is curbed, will rocket right along at top speed to smash headlong into the Catholic faith. Please do not forget for a moment that the Nazis Party and the K. K. K. are against Catholic, Colored and Jew alike. The Jew and the Catholic own basic rich properties which their enemies covet and hope to sieze or destroy. The Colored man, (owning practically nothing) is therefore being placed last on the list of certain cities or towns. Moreover, some people figure they can get at the Colored man easily and whenever they please. But today it is the Jew; tomorrow the Catholic because Hitler in "Mien Kampf" said he would create disunity among us. Meanwhile, for any Colored person to support either enemy of Jew or Catholic is ignorance of the most criminal degree.

To those few Colored persons who don't like sometells you to hate the Jew and ask whether that man Jews (usually because the Jew asked for money that wasmires Hitler. He will! Nufsed. justifiably due him) let us remind them that some white people dislike some Colored who happen to be irresponsible, loud-mouthed, lazy, and good for nothing. We insist that the white man must not judge the Colored race by the antics of one Colored man and we should have brains enough not to judge any other race by the same set standard. There are some objectional "characteristics" which are branded unfairly upon many entire races because of objectional acts by a few we may notice. Suffice it to say that any Colored man indulging in anti-Semitism is merely placing a noose around his own neck. The Jew is not our enemy. Jews do not compose the lynch mobs in the south (think that over), and they do not bar Colored from their business whether stage, screen, radio, orchestras or other enterprise half as much as we are barred by other nationalities. Study the man who

DISLIKE SOME COLORED NOV 27 194

Georgia's Young Governor Is a Man Worth Watching

AUG

11.—Having guided his own state through its greatest political revolution since the carpetbaggers were sent scurrying northward, Georgia's young governor, Ellis Arnall, is looking for bigger game

Another in a series of articles on leading up to the

Arnall Has Ambitious Program to Remake the South

By VANCE JOHNSON

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New York, N. Y.

He is perfectly willing to take on his strong, well-fleshed shoulders the task of leading the South out of its position as the Nation's "No. 1 economic problem" into a glorious era of development he sees just

over the horizon. As he has stumped Georgia for two solid years, he has begun stumping the South drumming up enthusiasm for the crusade.

Like most other governors, Arnall's first foe is the freight-rate structure, which he finds the primary factor in keeping the South a "colonial possession."

Federal Funds

After having eliminated freight-rate differentials, he would abolish the present system of matching Federal and State funds for old age benefits; he would pay out of the Federal till according to the needs of States. Then he would use Federal money to develop the South's numerous ports to care for the vastly expanded trade that would come its way.

But Ellis Arnall doesn't expect the millennium to be delivered from Washington. He doesn't want it that way. The States, he believes, must take the initiative. A good place to start is the "antiquated" tax structure of the Southern states—a system he considers ample in itself to keep investors above the Mason and Dixon line.

Arnall's speeches often are critical of the steady expansion of the federal government, but he is no othodox states' righter.

"We have prattled about Federal encroachment ever since the first grants to the transcontinental railway lines eight decades ago," he says. "We have talked very little about the resumption by the states of their obligations."

Arnall's Reforms

"The people gave their state governments many rights, but the people never gave their state governments the right to be static."

Georgia under Ellis Arnall certainly hasn't been static. He started churning up the electorate a full year before he was swept into office over the Cracker State's hard, noisy old tyrant, Gov. Gene Talmadge.

His election was considered something of a miracle in itself, but he capped that off by securing passage—by unanimous vote — of every piece of legislation he promised within 23 days after the legislature convened. Half a dozen constitutional amendments submitted to make his reforms stick were approved in a state-wide election Aug. 3.

Under Gene Talmadge, who accused college professors of preaching social equality for Negroes in Georgia, the state's colleges were dropped from the accredited rating by the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges. One Arnall amendment took the governor off the board of regents, making it a self-perpetuating body, independent of the politicians. Another amendment provided the same set-up for the state board of education, which runs the grammar and high schools.

Other amendments stripped the governor's powers over the pardon and parole system and its wildlife conservation department, establishing independent boards in each case. Another established a teacher retirement system, and another lowered the voting age from 21 to 18.

Rotund, amiable and 36, Arnall can be hard-boiled if pressed. He has created something of a sensation by sending delegations seeking special handouts, straightening new roads in front of some commissioner's farm, back some empty handed. Highway systems are tried and true political footballs in most states. Arnall approves only road improvements necessary to maintain military transportation.

Convention Plan

The time has come for the South to clean its own house, and to force the Federal government—and the Democratic Party in particular—to talk turkey, he says. If the South plays its cards right, he adds, it need no longer be "the shank of the nation." After the war it can become the "heart of the Western Hemisphere."

Just how he expects to get these things done Arnall doesn't say. Some say he doesn't know himself. Some suggest he has not decided whether he really is anti- or pro-New Deal.

Arnall talks of making the Georgia delegations—and others of the South as well—"nuisances" at next year's Democratic convention until the party comes to terms on some Southern problems, including freight rates.

He seems very sure of his ground, hints he is being vague purposely. At any rate, he is going to be a man to watch.

Daily Worker

Negro People Seek Full Equality as Part of Nation

New York, N. Y.

By James W. Ford

It seems to me that the New York Herald Tribune completely misses the point of the "Negro problem." it is barking up the wrong tree. If the Tribune really wants to understand the Negro problem and contribute towards its solution why doesn't it consult the Negro people and draw from their experiences?



James W. Ford

A recent political document issued by Negro leaders of 20 organizations, which included the signatures of Mr. Walter White and Mr. A. Philip Randolph, was highly representative of the feelings and the outlook of the Negro people. That document declared: "It is highly significant that in the 1943 elections the Negro voter played an important part in the election of a Negro Communist to the New York City Council, a Negro Republican as a judge in the same community, a Republican Governor in Kentucky with phenomenal manifestations of independent voting in many urban centers attached to the experiences of the Negro people during the recent elections."

This is an accurate statement and it reflects a high degree of political intelligence, the lessons of which the Tribune itself can profitably draw upon in so far as national unity is concerned. Moreover, last summer a series of provocative and violent attacks were made against the Negro people, at Beaumont, Mobile, Newark, Detroit culimating in an outbreak here in New York in August.

Just suppose the logic of what the enemies of the nation and national unity desired had resulted from these anti-Negro provocations. The enemies of the nation, the fifth columnists and defeatists hoped that these provocations would stir up senseless and suicidal counter provocations. No, that did not happen and it did not happen in the first place because of the intelligence of the Negro people and their loyalty to the nation, and in the second place because of numerous friends of the Negro people among the progressives and labor forces, who also like the Negro people are out to win the war and to achieve those demands and rights for Negro citizens so essential to winning the war.

It seems inconceivable, to say the least, that some of those who correctly reflect the sentiments of the Negro people, as for example in the political document of Negro voters, have in recent statements so contradicted their accurate estimate of the great desire of Negro people for unity irrespective of the political views of component parts of Negro leadership, so long as those leaders are united to win the war and win Negro rights.

CRUCIAL TEST

This indeed is a crucial test of leadership among Negro citizens and their organizations. The great masses of the Negro have learned through bitter experiences that red-baiting not only contributes to disunity but it leads to the grave for them.

Further, so far as the Herald Tribune is concerned, the Negro people have been loyal bearers of the banner of democracy from the foundation of this nation down to the present moment. They have always wanted to be full-fledged Americans. They have sought to be fully integrated into the American way of life and have fought in all of the country's wars to protect and defend American democracy.

Crispus Attucks was first to fall in the American Revolution. In the war of 1812 Negroes were first and foremost in the fight to defend America. In the Civil War, around which Negro slavery was the crucial issue, they fought above all for what every American now sees was best for the nation and its progress, namely, a United nation, rather than a nation divide against itself. In the last World War Negroes fought for what they conceived to be the best interest of America. In the present war a Negro was the first American to give up his life in defense of this nation.

In the economic development of the country Negro Americans have given fully of their labor in industry and agriculture to make this nation great. In social advancement Negroes together with white workers and farmers of the South following the Civil War brought into existence the first universal free educational system beneficial to Negro and White Americans alike. One of the most amazing phenomenons of American life today is the role the Negro workers have played in helping to build the great trade union movement in the country and especially the CIO which is the backbone of national unity to win the war. And if they are strongly voicing their demands for equal treatment with other Americans, it is because they want to be fully a part of America and not second rate citizens. The task now is to facilitate the full integration of the Negro people into the American nation.

FULL INTEGRATION

A great section of the American people are joining this fight with the Negro people. In this fight the Communist Party takes second place to none. But the Communists are glad that greater numbers are taking up this fight. That is the road to the democratic solution of the Negro problem. This war has produced lessons and experiences from which not only the Communists are drawing upon, but from which the majority of Americans are learning.

I stated in an article in the Daily Worker on the same day that the Herald Tribune in its columns was maligning the Communists, that: ". . . one can say without hesitation that America is approximating the solution of the Negro question as never before achieved in this country. Solution is within our reach."

This deduction was drawn from recent experiences in our country, growing out of the war, which show that the Negro people are taking the path of integration into the nation, and not separation. The Communists have not only been the first to recognize this fact but have greatly helped to contribute towards its realization.

Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, in a speech to a class organized by the Workers School "On the Negro People and the War," on Nov. 19, declared: "The crisis of history has taken a turn of such character that the Negro people of the United States have found it possible to make their decision once and for all. Their decision is for their integration into the American nation as a whole, and not for separation."

It is for the Tribune now to draw lessons so that the betrayal of the Negro people such as that by the Republican Party in 1877 will not be repeated which alone can change the present orientation of the Negro people.

56-k 1943

JIM CROW EAT CROW

By ELSA MAXWELL

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

[Reprint of her Tuesday's Column]

The glamorous and great artists of the Negro race are gradually turning the whole race "problem"—which is not, and never was a problem—into a glorious absurdity. When stiff-necked whites are faced with the beauty and charm of a Katherine Dunham or a Lena Horne, or netted by the magnificent talent and intellect of Paul Robeson, the idea of "prejudice" seems a matter for concern only in lunatic asylums.

A short while ago, in New York, Katherine Dunham, who is a fine anthropologist, as well as a great beauty and a startling dancer, was to be guest of honor at a dinner arranged by Tim Durant—the producer.

A friend of mine, who is exceptionally wealthy and very sweet, where sweetness is of no matter, was invited. "Would you mind," said Tim, "stopping by in your car and picking up Miss Dunham."

No, this friend of mine doesn't get around much—in the places where getting around counts. She had never heard of Katherine Dunham. She was aware neither of the fact that Miss Dunham was a celebrity, nor that her skin has a little more pigmentation to it than, say the skin of a run-of-the-mill starlet.

* * *

When her car stopped at the Dunham hotel, and when Katherine stepped in, as gay, delightful, and poised as a wood nymph, my friend was flabbergasted. She made what little conversation she could, then relapsed in stony silence.

My friend sat through the dinner like a frozen statue. Everyone there was uninhibited and relaxed—everyone but the pure little Nordic.

As soon as the coffee was served, she ran for her wraps, calling her car, and bolted into the Stygian night. And, I can assure, she was never missed.

The next day, she called Tim Durant. "What do you mean," she demanded, "inflicting this on me?"

"You should have been honored," said Tim, "Katherine Dunham is one of the greatest dancers of our time—and you, my dear, can't even rhumba."

"Well," said the society lamb, petulantly, "she didn't dance in the car."

For myself, I can say sincerely that I would feel highly flattered if Miss Dunham even honored me with an invitation to lunch—and this can be taken as a broad hint.

* * *

Now let's look this matter of prejudice straight in the eye. I'm sick and tired of all the pussy-footing that's been going on about Jim Crow. We're believers in the principles of democracy—as we piously declare, three times a day, or we are a collection of the greatest frauds the world has seen.

For generations, the conventional and learned citizens of this republic have stood stolidly silent while the American Negro has been villified, libeled, and denied almost all access to the privileged places of sweetness and light.

The Solid South has stood as dumbly solid as a block of granite.

Prejudice at Home Aids Enemy

Duplication necessitates extra expense. Missouri, when brought to book for failure to give its Negro citizens the same schooling it provides for whites, passed the Taylor act. But that law if inadequately financed, could be only a gesture of compliance with the Supreme Court's order. And a gesture it is, because already the state legislature has denied the schools established under the act, enough money to carry on. It is a shameful page in our state's history. We do not agree that the races should be kept separate. But if the majority wants segregation, it should have the straightforwardness to pay whatever it costs.

Call Kansas City, Mo

Missouri's attitude toward Negroes' education illustrates America's custom toward our minority. The basic law calling for equality is the motto on the wall, but race prejudice dictates the habit of the people. It dictates though we all realize that our present emergency calls for a united nation, with even our most prejudiced admitting that Negroes are fully assimilable, with loyalty and service for our common country.

Were conditions normal, patience would effect a remedy. Social changes take place in time. But conditions are not normal. While acts like Missouri's destroy interracial cooperation here, on the other side of the world cooperation among Asiatics can be effected which under Japanese leadership will challenge our religion, our industrial system and our freedom. Japan's "Co-Prosperity Sphere" is not a dream, not a scheme on paper, but an "Asia for Asiatics" appeal that has already enrolled 300,000 Koreans in the Japanese armies with other contingents coming from Burma and the Phillipines.

We Negroes in America are white people in all but color. The Japanese are different. Even when they live in this country, their outbreaks in the camps show that they have contempt for white civilization. If a single generation of Nazi and Fascist training makes of the youth of Germany and Italy a problem for the post-war period, how much more have thousands of years made Japanese unassimilable. We cannot exterminate all who are different. We have only the choice of living with them. At present we are not consistent in either course. If we fight, as we must, because Japanese started a war, then we should not cut down whatever aid Negroes can be. It does not make sense for us to be rejecting allies while our enemy gathers in all the aid he can.

Up until Pearl Harbor, generally speaking white Americans spoke well of the Japanese. They took them into their schools, hotels, homes, though then as now the two civilizations had little in common. The brotherhood which they denied to people of color who are like them, they gave lavishly to a people that even then were planning America's downfall and enslavement.

It is easy to say one is entitled to his likes and his dislikes. True, but not at the price. This world order cannot withstand the attack of the teeming millions of the East, once they are convinced that there is no other way for them to better themselves. Japan says it is ready to fight a hundred years. Our military experts count it our stronger foe. We have been realistic enough to abandon our hope of victory over the Nipponese "before breakfast". But we have not taken the one constructive step of divesting ourselves of race prejudice, the underlying reason why Japan can rally Orientals in a war against us.

Democracy is not being given a chance here at home. The school situation in Missouri proves how little it is practiced. The authorities as well the people do not give a whoop about the law, and make a parade of their indifference to it. Only honest governments endure. Even they make mistakes. Race hatred here in America is neither reasonable nor profitable. Inter-ist he is an argument for the Nipponese nationally speaking, it is dynamite in attracting the billion and a half col- all men of all races is a prerequisite because it is notice to all beholders of to their aid. of peace, the segregationist might as well declare that he wants no peace.

It is as true today as when He said it that the man is a liar who says he loves someone afar off but hates the yellow, the brown and the black who have felt the bitterness of exploitation of the past. Every American who defends the segregation of the races in this country, endorses the new order of Japan with its "Asia for Asiatics." He may brother by his side. So long as the separation will be hard to make believe it is a thing of the past.

Human Rights

Dear Editor:

PM

Although I want so much to believe that the war is truly being fought to free the peoples of the world, I become uneasy when I think of the years that Britain and the U. S. A. dispassionately watched the persecution of liberals, Catholics, Jews, Negroes, Orientals, etc., in various countries of the world. More specifically none of the so-called democracies were moved to any action by the six years of Nazi terror within Germany or the 17 years of Fascist persecutions in Italy. It was only the aggressive foreign policy on the part of the dictatorships, threatening the life of the democracies, which finally forced us into war.

New York, N. Y.

If we are to believe that we are fighting for the liberation of the people of the world, the problem of safeguarding the human rights of minorities in all countries—including our own—must be solved.

Brooklyn B. G.

We beg no man's goodwill. If he gives it, it must be on the basis of mutuality, with service and regard exchanged fairly, as much a joy and a responsibility of ours as it is his. But as a citizen of a nation with a mission, and a partner in world progress, we cannot let him go on with his sabotage of peace. Whether he acts blindly or deliberately, he must not be allowed to destroy all. Hatred of black Americans must not add new armies to our Japanese enemies.

It is not what the poor victims of race prejudice in this country think that we have in mind, though sharing their suffering makes us mindful of the injustice of caste. It is the price which they make us pay. Take the present situation: As Wendell Willkie says in his book "One World", America has a great reservoir of goodwill. In many lands men believe that we are one nation that does not seek to take advantage of them.

In the fighting in the East Indies, that favoring sentiment has meant many lives and much material saved. Suppose it were the other way 'round! Our enemies can make the natives understand that America has a dual civilization in which anyone white is favored, and anyone colored is handicapped and despised.

It is our solemn belief that race prejudice is more habit than any considered conviction. No man can hate another with whom he has never had dealings. He can mistreat the other, but it will be a concession to custom, not the expression of personal feeling. The many exceptions to the rule of segregation are proof enough that it is more talked of than believed in.

Right is a better defense than might. America, engaged in a struggle that calls for its all, will be twice armed when it alligns its practice with its principles.

Race Relations: Debits and Credits

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

SHOULD one attempt to weigh the debits and credits of any one week of action and reaction in America, he would have had reason to see an encouraging balance last week during which there were the Harlem riot and the creation of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta. The riot, while it was characterized generally as NOT a race riot, did have its causative forces grounded in the same tensions, repressions, proscriptions, denials, prejudices, and emotionalism as those in Beaumont, Mobile, Detroit, Los Angeles, Camp Wheeler, El Paso, and other trouble centers.

The importance of the climactic action at Atlanta last week, marked by the formation of a permanent regional organization, and the proposal for a national committee, designed to seek peace through justice, harmony through opportunity, and progress through the measures of a good society, is that it aims to eliminate the frictions and outbreaks by removing the reasons for them.

The council's significance lies in its freshness of approach, its enlightened refusal to stick to the patterns of failure, its sound specification of the meaning of its new declaration of principles, its down-to-brass-tacks platform of "here and now" action, its own demonstration of the fact and value of interracial cooperation, its striking refusal to see its problem as peculiar to itself but as affecting all races and regions, and its willingness to aid other regions when it can and to accept the assistance of other regions when they can help.

The creation of the council is no open sesame to the end of frictions and proscriptions. Neither is a do-nothing policy the answer. The men and women, black and white, who met in Atlanta last week are trying in good faith and with faith and perseverence to face and defeat calamity. It will not be avoided by inaction and blindness.

When, recognizing "the increase of racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South," colored leaders met at Durham last October they declared further that "We have the courage and faith to believe, however, that it is possible to evolve in the South a way of life consistent with the principles for which we as a nation are fighting throughout the world, that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want and from throttling fears." That faith and courage are being justified, first in the following Atlanta Conference of white leaders, then in the joint meetings in Richmond and Atlanta. From each of these subsequent meetings also came declarations of faith and principles giving impetus to the movement launched at Durham. Put into action, they offer the best guarantee against disaster, the best hope of a better day—not alone for the South and the Negro, but for all regions and all races.

Negroes Are Not Anti-Semitic.

Chicago, Ill.
Bee (Magazine Section)

OF late much virulent irresponsible prating has been done regarding widespread anti-semitism among Negroes. What is the basis for this venal poison What is the result desired?

Our first inclination was to disregard these rumors because we know them to be untrue. But on second thought, we feel it advisable to put Negroes on guard against the efforts of those who would instigate hate, one minority for the other.

Negroes abhor exploiters whether they be Jews, Gentiles or other Negroes. That there have been evidences of exploitation by all of these groups, there is no gainsaying. That denunciations are made in turn against each of these groups, there is no gainsaying.

We do, however, say emphatically that there is no organization in our community committed to the espousal of anti-semitism. Among the majority of both races there is a common feeling of something simulating a "persecution complex." Our humiliation is shared.

It would be the height of stupidity for Negroes and Jews to permit mutual campaigns of anti-semitism and anti-Negroism However, in the interest of forthright earnestness, many minor misunderstandings and bitterness could be averted by an expression of more scrupulous practices among a minority of the Jewish merchants in our community. Jewish leaders themselves have made the corrective observation that these are people who allow ripples of complaints to become intensified and lashed into waves of misunderstanding and are undesirable.

RETHINKING OUR POLICY

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

American Negroes immersed in an ocean of local and national discomfitures, humiliations and repressions, the inevitable result of daily contact with whites whose blown-up ego gives them a warped feeling of superiority, are prone to forget that their problem is part of an over-all international pattern.

While racism here in America keeps poor whites and Negroes divided and thereby serves to stifle and strangle the forward progress of both, the same result is achieved in other world areas through colonialism, the caste system and the mandate system. Regardless of label, all of these infamous, ingenious devices are instruments whereby imperialists exploit the underprivileged.

To understand our problem in relation to world patterns is the first step in effecting a solution. Present day pressures won't let us withdraw into a shell to nurse our hurts. For a blow which looks as if it were aimed at the peoples of India, China, Africa or even at the citizens of the little American possession of Puerto Rico, may crush our protective covering, injuring us more deeply.

Intelligent fighting of our own problem, therefore, requires that at times we fight the battle of others. And to do this the Negro people must be fully informed on the issues.

It is for this reason that the Chicago Defender has taken the lead in bringing its readers accurate international news. It was this thought which prompted us to send an editor 2500 miles to the American possession of Puerto Rico, where with first hand information he has shown how certain anticipated repressive measures in that island are in part aimed at keeping us down. It is the idea behind our fall symposium, "Should Negroes Sit At the Peace Conference," in which ace political writers and students of government will frankly discuss the relation of our race to world peace.

The times demand new techniques for action. And the Chicago Defender, ever sensitive to this need, intends to shape its editorial policy accordingly. If as a result our people come nearer to winning their bitter struggle for full-fledged citizenship in this great country, we will feel that the present Defender organization has maintained the ideal for which the institution was originally founded—to blaze a pathway along which the Negro people can travel to a better and fuller life.

56k-1943

Barbour Really Wants to Help

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

By MICHAEL CARTER

WASHINGTON

"Colored people don't show sufficient interest in current events. They are quick to denounce their avowed enemies, but pay little attention to their friends."

Senator Barbour, Republican, New Jersey, made this criticism that he had not once received a note of thanks or a word of encouragement from colored people despite the many bills he has introduced in our behalf.

"Other minorities show appreciation in letters, phone calls and wires when I am capable of gaining them their just rights. I don't expect praise, or abject thanks. I'm simply doing my duty and want to know that colored people really want the things I think they want.

"I know they want them only from the reverence I see that colored people, in their press, denounce certain obnoxious institutions. By that I get the idea of what they don't want. But no one has ever thanked me or offered me a word of encouragement."

Interested in Tolerance

The Senator is interested in the race problem. "I am interested in tolerance and the rights of all Americans. The colored citizen is an American and that's enough for me. Rights which can be taken away from him because he's colored can be taken away from other Americans for other equally silly reasons.

"As long as one American is without complete rights, then the rights of all are endangered. It is an American problem, and not one of race, color, or creed. It is an indignity to the colored man to put anything on a purely racial basis. All these social problems should be attacked on the basis of American Problems."

Some of Barbour's Bills

Since 1939 the Senator has consistently introduced bills in the Senate on behalf of colored Americans. On February 20, 1939 he introduced an anti-lynching bill; in March, 1940, a bill to create a colored battalion in the New Jersey State Guard; more recently he has introduced bills to prohibit discrimination in public places such as restaurants, hotels, theatres and other public places in Washington, D.C.

At the time of the AFRO interview the Senator had not yet decided on his position on the Education Bill. Nevertheless, he submitted an amendment prohibiting discrimination because of race, color or creed in the application of Federal funds to State education. "I could not possibly vote on the bill unless it had such a clause."

Mixed Army Okey

Although the Senator would prefer to see a mixed army, if militarily possible, he also wanted to see a colored infantry battalion in New Jersey's State Guard. "You have to start somewhere and that struck me as being the best way."

The Senator has been a strong advocate for equal rights, and although he has lost some friends in congress because of this he does not believe it dangerous to stand up for minority rights.

"I don't see how any American can take a seat in the Senate unless he believes in full rights for Americans. I don't see how any American can expect democracy to survive without fair play and tolerance.

"Americans deserve all the rights and privileges offered by our Constitution. Why should it

"Such jealous persons will act out things they won't even admit to themselves. Protecting the numerically weaker people against the stronger one is the only way to keep a democratic balance."

It is because of this jealousy that the Senator advises tact and suavity in arguing our case.

For States Rights

The Senator describes himself as a "States rights man." His interpretation of the phrase is quite different from a Millard Tydings definition. He modifies his States rights position by saying, "I've not been able to stick to my guns on it."

The Senator does not believe be politically dangerous to protect the rights of other Americans?"

Publicity Overdone

The Senator feels that we sometimes overdo our publicity against injustices. In a very careful, "don't-get-me-wrong-now, — but" manner, he said, "There is quite a trick in getting an appeal balanced on the proper level. Jealousy is one of the primary human motives. Many whites are jealous of colored people.

that his support of the anti-poll Tax Bill, and anti-lynching bill are contradictions of his States rights promise.

"These bills have become symbols of freedom. These bills prove whether a man is for or against the colored people of this country. They are more than mere bills: they are a proposition in democracy and fair play; they are symbols of American justice."

Free Speech in Senate

The Senator pointed to Capitol Hill and with a pious expression said, "That floor of the Senate is one of the last places of free discussion on earth. If it were not I'd give up my job here and go back home. I believe that a man has a right to talk.

"Over in the House, where they have so many representatives it is fair and reasonable to limit discussion. But I'll vote for cloture against filibustering the anti-poll tax bill. I'll have to vote for that because that is the only way I can really protect the rights of American citizens and the freedom of the Senate." The Senator would do the same thing if his bill S 442, the civil rights bill for the District of Columbia ever gets out of committee.

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

Hefty, good natured Senator Barbour is one of the few sincere men on Capitol Hill. He takes his job as a Senator with a devotion that is akin to reverence. He reminded me of the hero in "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington." He is not so naive, but is an astute politician.

Emotionally Hurt

He is emotionally hurt when colored people don't show appreciation of efforts in their behalf. He was, I believe, particularly distressed by the apparent fact that educated Washingtonians have not been pressing to get his Civil Rights bill out of committee.

"The Senate office building is open to American visitors. Colored people should utilize their American citizenship and come here for what they want."

I have tried to find a reason for his sincere interest in the race problem. I can find it only in his strong belief in democracy and his fear that if democracy is diluted for any special group of people the whole solution becomes weaker.

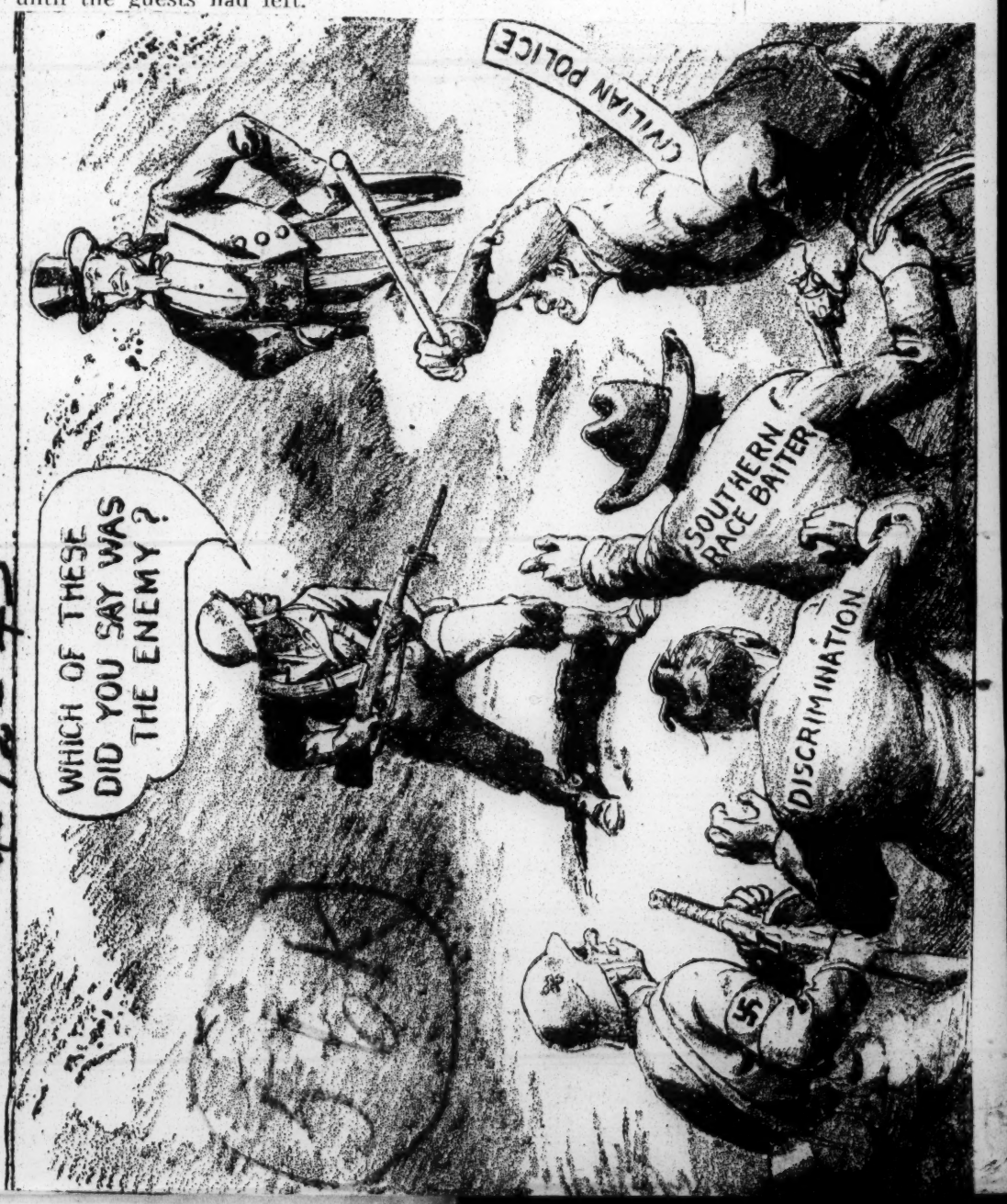
Perhaps it is best explained in syllogism: American citizens by virtue of their citizenship, deserve certain rights, privileges, and immunities. Colored people are Americans. Therefore, colored people deserve the same rights.

"Eleanor" Clubs Non-Existent; Southerners Invent New Ghost

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. 43

NATCHEZ, Miss. — (ANP) — A special investigation by the FBI having proved the so-called "Eleanor" Clubs non-existent, whites here have invented a new ghost, called "Disappointment" Clubs, described as groups of servants organized to stand-up white employers.

The Disappointment Clubs, according to rumor, award prizes to servants inflicting the greatest disappointment upon employers. The current prize winner, according to the story is the cook of a Natchez matron who had arranged an important party only to have the cook report "sick" and remain away until the guests had left.



ATLANTA DAILY WORLD, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
9-12-43

Alabama Gets A New Deal In Governors

Chicago Ill. Defender

By ENOC P. WATERS
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Something new has been added to America's Southland — something refreshingly different in the way of race relations.

FEB 20 1943

In the key Dixie state of Alabama that something new can easily be found in the state capitol here in the person of Gov. Chauncey Sparks.

Governor Sparks granted this reporter the pleasure of an interview last week, which in itself is certainly "something new" for the South. But Sparks is a precedent-breaker as he showed in his inaugural address when he declared in favor of equal advancement of Alabama Negroes.

Post-War Status

Sparks' feeling on the Negro issue is perhaps best summed up in his forthright declaration:

"I think the Negro's place in our democracy of the post-war period will be determined largely by the contribution he makes to the present war effort.

"I think also that any man, white or colored, who interferes with the war program by raising extraneous issues, is as much an enemy to our cause as a German or a Japanese."

I went to the governor's office with certain questions in my mind, questions raised by references he made to the Negro in his inaugural address early last month.

In that statement — which gave the key to his policy regarding Negroes — he declared that he believed in the absolute separation of the races, but that he favored their equal advancement through separate racial channels.

DEC 9 1942

In answer to my question as to how this policy would affect Negro education in the state, he had the following to say:

"I am ready to admit that the state in a lot of respects has not been fair with the Negro. This is specially true in education. I wish you could have heard what I said to my education committee yesterday. I urged them to pay especial attention to Alabama A. and M. college in Huntsville and to our state school for Negroes here.

"Tuskegee," he added, "is a wonderful institution and has meant much to Alabama and to the South. I don't hope to be able to remedy the injustices in our Negro educational system, but I do intend to make a start."

On equal salaries and graduate professional schools, he was silent except to say that the immediate task was to improve Negro education in some of its more elemental and fundamental aspects.

On poll taxes and greater political privileges for Negroes, he said that he felt a man, Negro or white, was entitled to whatever rights and privileges he could win for himself.

Opposes Amalgamation

He was unquestionably opposed to amalgamation and said that not only was it an impractical solution to the problem, but that he felt a merger of the races would be a loss to the nation.

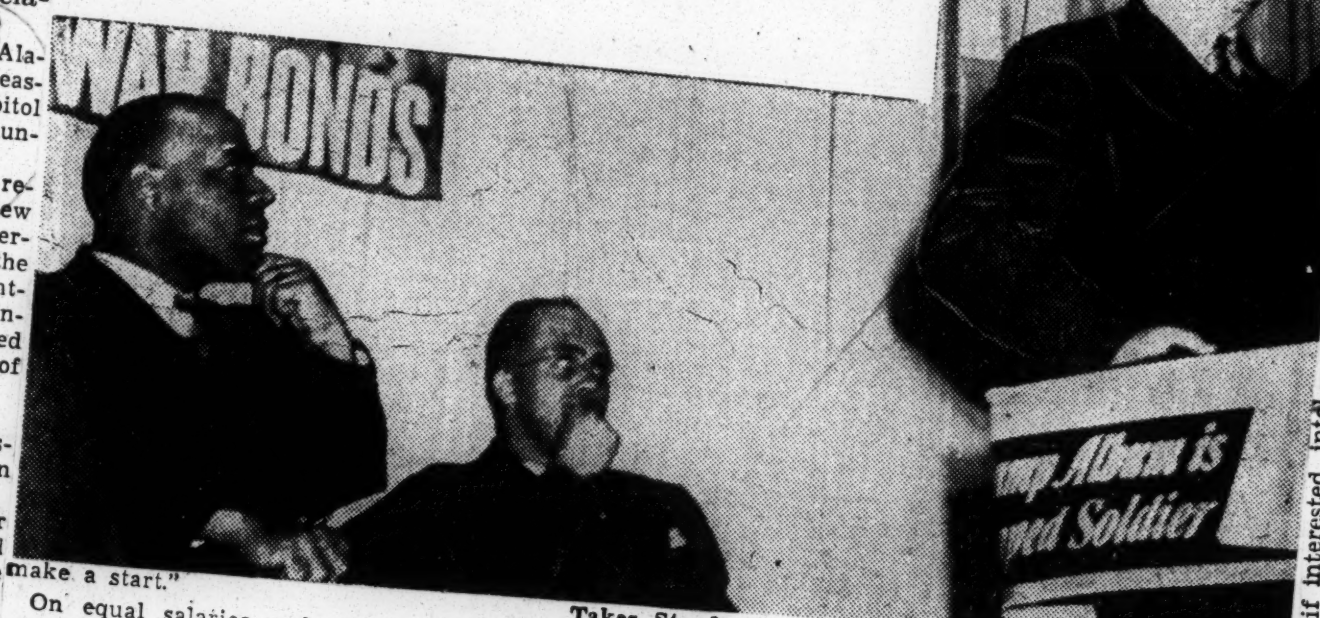
"The two races separately can make a greater contribution," he said. "I think you people should remain pure as you are today and that mine should too."

Back to his admission that the state had not been fair to the Negro, he added that he thought this was realized by many whites, but that was no indication that there would be immediate changes.

"Waters," he said at the conclusion of our interview, "remember this one thing, as much as you might want certain conditions to obtain, as much as many people would, there can be no overnight realization of these things. It may not come in our lifetime, certainly not in my administration, but I hope to make a start in that direction."

Gov. Chauncey Sparks of Alabama addressing an audience of 2,000 Negroes in the City Hall Auditorium last Saturday at the colored Montgomery County bond rally where purchases of $23,000 were made. Left to right in the background are Rev. Ralph W. Riley, chairman, Montgomery County Negro war bond sales, and Dr. H. Council Trenholm, president of Alabama State College for Negroes.

FEB 20 1943



Takes Stand

Sparks is the only southern governor who has voluntarily stated his position on a question which is explosive in the South, and is dangerous for a man with political aspirations.

While his stand is unique for a man in his position and in violation of the generally accepted pattern of the southern white man, I was informed, by a source which prefers to remain anonymous, that his public utterances are a modification of his personal views.

Personally, the governor, I was told, takes a position far in advance of what he expects to do or of even what he will attempt to do.

My informant would not discuss the matter further except to say that Chauncey Sparks would not attempt to impose upon others his personal philosophy.

PM
New York, N. Y.

Biddle Traces Race Bias to Axis

NOV 12 1942

Attorney-General Biddle said last night that race discrimination stemmed from Axis ideology and must not be permitted in this country.

In an address before the Jewish Theological Seminary of America at the Waldorf-Astoria, Biddle said the U.S. could not assume the defense of world democracy "if our example of democracy at home is neither courageous nor consistent."

Broader and more intelligent use of community moral and educational forces is needed to combat intolerance, he said.

Views Race Relations In Savannah

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

By WALTER CHIVERS

I AM ON THE GO again. My first stop was Savannah where I spent a week talking to people of both races, and from various walks of life. I tramped over many miles of hot city pavements observing living and working conditions. The only possible conclusion to be drawn from these experiences is that race relations in Savannah and environs have deteriorated to the danger line and that the process of deterioration is still active.

JUN 2 1943

Let's look at some of the causes of this situation, first, from the viewpoint of the majority, conscious group. There is a strong feeling among many of them to the effect that some strange unseen power is trying to coerce whites into granting Negroes the rights of social equality and that this same power is misguiding Negroes into demanding such rights.

RESENTMENT DEEP

There is deep-seated resentment and anger developing toward Negroes in general, but one is a specific target for poison arrows. They say that the particular paper makes every effort to offend southern white people and to incite Negroes — it puts "ideas into the heads of Negroes." Disgust and a sense of futility express the reactions of some of the white people interviewed over the "lack" of ethics of Negroes who leave the service of long-time employers to make "war money" without giving advance notice. They should be thinking about the fact that they will need work after the war and that such "lack" of ethics will count against them with prospective employers.

Negroes in the community are becoming increasingly irritated over actual and rumored conflicts in public carriers, reports of maltreatment of Negro soldiers both

56k-1943

Jewish Home Owner Wanders Into Den of American Hitlerites:

People's Voice

Los Angeles Agitators Pit Jew Against Negro

New York, N. Y.

NOV 13 1943

By JEANETTE COHEN

LOS ANGELES — "All these god . . . New York Jews are coming here to let the niggers in our neighborhood, but they're not going to do it; we're going to stop them." It could have been in Hamburg, Germany—but it was Los Angeles, Calif. It could have taken place in a Hitler Beer Parlor—but the locale was the American Legion Hall. Those who uttered those words could have been Nazi Stormtroopers—but they spoke perfect English, they were born here in our own United States.

ON THE MARCH

Yes, an American brand of fascists are on the march!

Fooled by the slogans of Nazi propaganda—**Protect Your Home, Keep Non-Caucasion People Out of Our Neighborhood,** over 300 small home owners attended a meeting Oct. 2[illegible] the American Legion Hall on Imperial Blvd. between Main and Broadway, organized to oppose the Federal Government in their attempt to solve the housing shortage by designating the 109th st. Watts section of Los Angeles a "non-restricted area," to permit the building of houses for Negro war workers.

Among these misled and confused people was one lone Jew. Intimidated with the threat of practically losing the home for which he saved all of his life, this man fell into the trap set by a Nazi gang and came to join the protest against housing for Negroes in [illegible] neighborhood, which he was told "would depreciate the value of his house."

DIVIDED WE FALL

Little did he realize before he entered that meeting that his plight as a Jew is bound tightly to that of the Negro. He came with prejudice in his mind against another minority people! What he met was prejudice against himself, his people and his government.

I spoke to this man. He told me his heart ached, his blood boiled when he heard Mr. Dehoe and realty broker Walter Carroll, both leaders of this lynch incitement refer to the Jews as "kikes" and threaten that "we won't stop at anything to get rid of them."

At first he could not understand the connection between winning the war and providing proper housing facilities for ALL war workers egardless of race, creed or color. He had the Ku Kluxers' line that "non-caucasion people work for less money and since there is no shortage of labor here, we don't want them."

EYES OPENED

Was he aware that the trade unions and our government made it possible for all workers to receive equal pay? Was he to believe Hitler's stooges or was he to believe the Manpower Commission's report that Los Angeles is a No. 1 manpower shortage area? All he could think of was his house that took every penny he had.

The man squirmed, he spluttered and searched for words as I spoke to him.

"You sold your soul, when you changed your child's name," I told him. "My name is Cohen and there is no man alive that could terrorize me to change it. All you have, my friend, is your house, but I have my self-respect, I have the dignity of the Jewish people."

Globe and Independent

SAN FRANCISCO TO BE TEST TUBE OF RACE RELATIONS

Nashville, Tenn.

San Francisco, Dec. 23.—(ANP)—San Francisco may develop into an outstanding example of technique in solving current [illegible] problems, Dr. Charles S. [illegible] sociologist, indicated in a review here recently. San Francisco has been one of the spots in the country where experts expected riots to flare up at any time, the rapid expansion of Negro population from 3,000 or 4,000 to 20,000 in little over a year, desperate housing facilities, inability of migrants from the deep south to adjust easily in this highly cosmopolitan city, all pointing to definite racial trouble. Dr. Johnson spent a month here surveying the situation. He brought two assistants with him and a local committee [illegible] meeting.

"One of the reasons for hopefulness in San Francisco," said Dr. Johnson, is that the concentration of Negro workers in this city is in its beginning. San Francisco therefore can start from scratch and a better solution may be arrived at than has been true in many large eastern mid-western and southern cities."

Five problems are faced, Dr. Johnson pointed out. These are industrial occupations, housing, transportation, schooling and recreation for Negroes.

"We will attempt to arrive at a pattern for inorporation of minority groups in the framework of city planning," said Dr. Johnson. "We hope to relax the fears and concerns of the older residents who are likely to be disturbed and to offset the prejudice of southern whites who have come into this territory. San Francisco, with the proper approach, can profit by the mistakes of other cities and take advantage of the values which min-

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ROGERS SAYS:

America Leads in World Politics, But Is Being Run from the South

Courier — Pittsburgh, Pa.

BY J. A. ROGERS

TO take up this week a few scattered subjects: First, the following letter from a WAC at Des Moines, Iowa: "The Negro WACs at Fort Des Moines were informed at their recruiting office that upon completing their four weeks of basic training they would be placed where they were best fitted; if there was not an opening, they would be placed where they were needed. Hundreds of white girls have completed their basic training four months ago. Hundreds of Negro girls have also finished. Their orders usually come in for their company as a whole. The majority of the Negroes are left behind repeating their basic, doing K.P., and regular basic duties. Some classes are a little advanced. We are supposed to be waiting to be classified. There is very little chance for advancement for Negroes. Some of the whites have gone as high as first lieutenant and captain. We have not been given a chance to prove what we can do. If we approach an officering. And the fact that it was with the subject, 'When are ourgroes who were making such a orders expected to come," the answer usually is, 'Well, Classifica-tion is doing all that is in their power to place you. A part of soldiering is waiting. We know how you feel.'

BLOW TO MORALE

"In the meantime, our morale and our attitude. We are positively not given a chance. I think some of these facts should be nationally known so upon our return home our families and friends will not think we are quitters or could not take it. This is only some of what is actually happening. This should also be a blow to the taxpayers' morale.

"I WOULD like for all of our local newspapers to publish this if possible. I could have gotten hundreds of WACs to sign this but I don't think it is necessary."



Mr. Rogers

A PROSTITUTION OF WORTHY TALENT

Those who are disturbed about race relations really haven't seen anything yet. Much as I hate to say it, the worst is yet to come—unless there is a radical change in the attitude of certain white peoples, and of white America in particular, towards the darker races. And there is no such change in sight. Persons who have come

SEES DARK DAYS AHEAD, UNLESS

RETROSPECT

At several columnists ndents stressed the e Harlem outbreak ack in race relations. ess, however, that I not think of that an- don't care a hoot. T

RIOTING IN RET

I notice that sev correspondent such a setback in I must confess, h not only did not th

I WENT last week to see "Cabinwood for such a fact that the H

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chief cause of Negro revolt against injustice. I suppose it was also the Negro press that caused the American Revolution, and the revolt of the barons against King John at Runnymede, and the thousand and one revolts in Europe.

back from India, North Africa, Brazil, Trinidad, Australia, tell me how busily Americans are engaged in sowing color prejudice in those lands. One man, upon whose word I can rely, tells me that Brisbane, Australia, can well now be in Dixie since Southerners have practically taken over that town. A year ago, he said, he would be served in any bar. Now, before he is served, the barmaid has to go ask the manager if she may.

AMERICA today leads in world politics, and America is being run from the South, capital of race hate, and the focus of infection from which this virus seeps into the world at large. Some of the best minds of the white "race" have predicted a war of "races." But I don't see it that way. I see whites, like the Russians and darker peoples, like the Chinese, Africans, East Indians and South Americans, ganging up some day on the English-speaking whites. What effect do you think that reports of American race riots are having on those peoples?

PAUL ROBESON WILLING TO STAY HERE

Christian Recorder

Noted Negro Singer Says He Will Not Again Leave America

Philadelphia, Pa.

NEW YORK.—Paul Robeson, Negro singer who sent his son to school in Russia and went to England so he could live like a "first class citizen", said today that never again would he consider leaving America.

"I did a lot of thinking when the war started," said Robeson, now rehearsing for the leading role in "Othello." "I had planned to leave the United States for good and I was living in London, shuttling over to Russia every summer to see my boy. I thought I saw more tolerance for Negroes abroad than I did here."

But Robeson decided he was wrong when the war broke out.

"I realized then that the Negro problem here is a minority group problem, not one of individuals as it is in many European countries," he said. "And I realized that America gives her minority groups more of a chance than just about any country on earth."

"Besides I was homesick—and I decided that I wasn't helping the Negro problem in the United States any by running away from it.

Robeson now is preparing a treatise on African culture which he promises will demonstrate that it is as old and venerable as Chinese culture. A member of Phi Beta Kappa, honorary scholastic society, and the holder of a law degree from Columbia, Robeson said that he taught himself the Chinese language as part of preparation for writing the treatise.

"I learned the languages of Africa first," he said, adding that he had found the Chinese language very similar, and so learned to speak that tongue.

WILL STILL CRITICIZE

"Just because I've settled down in Connecticut, don't think I'm going to stop criticizing the United States," Robeson continued.

"I'm going right on criticizing this country until Negroes can live like first class citizens."

Now growing a beard for the Moor's role in the Shakespearean play, Robeson said he enjoyed playing Othello because he was "killing two birds with one stone."

"I'm acting," he said, " and I'm talking for the Negroes in the way only Shakespeare can. This play is about the problem of minority groups—a blackamoor who tried to find equality among the whites. It's right up my alley."—UP.

Biddle Urged To Outlaw Bias Group

Amsterdam Star-News

New York, N. Y.

Association For Advancement Of White People Said To Be A Disguised Veil for K.K.K.

The Negro Labor Victory Committee, Saturday, October 30, through its Field Secretary M. Moran Weston, Amsterdam News columnist, called upon Attorney General Biddle to investigate and outlaw The Association for the Advancement of White People reported to have been formed in Hillburn, N. Y., by James Snead to oppose the efforts of the Negro parents to end the jim crow school system.

The letter to Biddle called the Association a 'thinly disguised veil for a Ku Klux Klan movement which seeks to pit race against race and thus destroy the growing unity of the people for the elimination of racial discrimination which is the germ-carrier of domestic fascism and a costly barrier in an all-out war effort."

Stir Up Antagonism

The letter from the Committee to Biddle went on to say "there is no doubt that money is being put up by somebody to finance this organized campaign to stir up racial antagonism. The financial backers of this movement must be ferreted out and exposed.

"The newspaper accounts of the withdrawal of white children from the Main School of Hillburn, after Commissioner Stoddard closed the jim crow Brook School, point out that this James Snead boasted that he had personally solicited white parents to withdraw their children and promised that tuition would be paid for those unable to pay themselves."

"We cannot sit idly by and permit lawless and unpatriotic people to sow the seeds of another Detroit in the Empire State of New York. The unfortunate racial tensions and threats of violence surrounding the current election for mayor of Detroit show how far the Hillburn situation may go if not checked now. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."

Halt Racial Tension, Says Dr. Gallagher

Argus

St. Louis, Mo.

America must halt the rising tide of racial tensions, declared Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, president of Talladega college, in an address Friday at the annual meeting of the Family Welfare Society of St. Louis County at Tuttle's Memorial. "We cannot win this war without convincing our colored allies, who are most of our allies, that we fighting not for ourselves as continuing superior over colored peoples."

Dr. Gallagher stated America and British must realize "this is not a white man's world. The Caucasian is outnumbered by the darker races two to one.

Two courses are open to the white people of the world, declartd Dr. Gallagher who is an outstanding white liberal. One is to attempt to "marshall all the forces of economic exploitation, political pressure and military power and subjugate the colored peoples of the world.... but this will lead to global race war."

The alternative course is for the white race to say, "We wish this not to be a white man's world, or a colored man's world. We wish it to belong to humanity."

The five causes of racial tensions were declared by Dr. Gallagher to be: housing; jobs and discrimination by unions; mis-treatment of Negroes in the armed forces..meager recreational facilities; and segregation and exclusion attitudes of churches, business and civic organizations.

Defender

Chicago, Ill.

BLAST S. C.

GOVERNOR AS NEGRO BAITER

Says He Will Expel From State All Who Preach 'Social Equality'

COLUMBIA, S. C. — "You cannot mix the races and have no trouble. God didn't see fit to mix them. I am tired of people agitating social equality of races in our state!"

This typical utterance by Gov. Olin D. Johnston, made recently to newspapermen, was the prelude to a startling statement made last Friday by 'His Excellency,' when, addressing the officers and men of the State Home Defense Force, he said he would call upon them to expel from South Carolina: "Any outsiders who come into our state and agitate social equality among races."

"Hurtful to His People"

An immediate storm of protest by both whites and Negroes followed the governor's blast. Outspoken, editorially, was the Charleston News and Courier, which asserted:

Southern white people must understand (most of them do) that the Negroes are entitled to just treatment under the law. "Social equality" is a confused and misleading phrase. No one denies it to Negroes among themselves. That gives them no right to break into a white man's club or society of any kind. So Negroes have the perfect right to exclude white people from their organizations, their industries, their restaurants, schools, hotels, political parties.

Suggestion by the governor of South Carolina that he would call out the state guard to resist agitation is not attended by breach of the peace, is ridiculous and dangerous. (One inevitably recalls that Governor Johnston has too often thought of the state guard as an instrument of government — he summoned it to put down the highway department's "insurrection" during which a lady bit a gentleman's finger — and he later substituted military government for civil government in Charleston in relation to a primary election.)

But the governor, puissant though he be, cannot lick the United States and suppress free speech even when it is foolishly and maliciously indulged by agitators.

The governor's speech was hurtful to his people.

Citizens Protest

The Negro Citizens committee, in a replying letter sent to Gov. Johnston, said Negroes were not seeking "social equality" but did seek "equal educational facilities" and "the right to participate in our state government." The letter signed by E. A. Adams, state president, and James M. Hinton, state secretary, said: "The Negroes of South Carolina are not impugning the motives of his excellency in his address, but the inferences made can serve no good purpose to either race."

The Columbia Record, influential evening paper, went further in its criticisms and charged Gov. Johnston with using the race question for political purposes. The Record observed that Negroes had used fair and sensible methods to solve their problems and were driven to the courts in the "equal pay" case by an unsympathetic legislature. It said there was no evidence to which they are entitled. and to talk about calling out the state guard to resist agitation which threatens no resort to violence is nonsense." It concluded that the state might well select two others in the place of Sen. "Cotton Ed" Smith and Gov. Johnston as 1943 senatorial candidates.

Offers $50 Reward

Irked by the charge made by Gov. Johnston, John H. McCray, editor of the Lighthouse and Informer, Negro newspaper of Columbia, offered a reward of $50 leading to "the discovery and proof that any outside person or organization is stirring up Negroes of South Carolina."

Philadelphia Tribune

Philadelphia, Pa.

Whites Insist On Racial Inequality In Charleston

CHARLESTON, S. C. -- (ANP)— Charleston's colored populace, nearly 50 per cent of the whole, "its friends of democracy" among the white people, got a good taste of how it feels to live under Adolph Hitler's aryanism Wednesday morning when the News and Courier, white race-baiting daily, published four letters of reply to a letter of Pvt. Thos. F. Conlon, white northern soldier stationed at the Citadel, famed military college.

Conlon asked if there was any difference in Hitler's race theory and that of the south.

One writer, a woman, appealed to the Bible to prove that colored people were not equal.

Conlon. One hoped he never lived to see the day when "a Negro can 'date' a white person". (Editor's note: As if it were not bad enough for a white man to marry a Negro?"

Three men answered Pvt. Conlon's letter. One hoped he never is a potential lyncher. He told the soldier "he might well be glad that he is in uniform." And the third resorted to the usual argument: "If you 'date' a white person-had a sister, would you permit her to marry a Negro?" As if that is the ultimate argument. Negro can 'date' a white person-had a sister, would you permit her to marry a Negro?" (Editor's note:

56k-1943

This Is Our Common Destiny:

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

Negro, Jew United Thru History by Persecution

(Ed. Note—This is the first of a series of four interpretive articles by Rev. Ben Richardson on the common destiny of Negroes and Jews.)

By BEN RICHARDSON

"ALL LIBERTIES ARE UNITED, and all persecutions are associated." These are the words of the great French statesman, Adolphe Cremieux, spoken at the General Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840.

JUL 24 1943

These are true words, and it is the purpose of this and successive articles to show the inseparable destiny of the Jew and the Negro who are the common targets for home-bred and foreign fascists.

UNITY DEVELOPING

As the two most persecuted minorities, Negroes and Jews, are gradually coming closer together. Slowly, each is realizing that neither is safe from the enemy in isolation from the other.

UnAmerican spokesmen mention Jew and Negro in one breath. Propaganda organs carry stories against both on the same page. Hitler's blueprint for extinction of non-Aryans has the Jew and the Negro at the head of his list; both are sub-human and bestial in his sight.

BASIS FOR UNDERSTANDING

In order to get some basis for better understanding let us consider some of the background of Negro and Jewish relationships in this country.

The Negro came to America as a slave. He stayed shackled to the earth all during the nation's heroic struggle for its freedom.

Early America was made up of many nations. Jews were here too. When the cries began to be sounded for the liberation of the black man, the Jews who themselves had been driven over the face of the earth in the worst persecutions ever exacted by humans, cried out against slavery.

JEWISH ABOLITIONISTS

William Lloyd Garrison fought in the north for Negro emancipation through his newspaper *The Liberator*. A Jewish rabbi, Dr. David Einhorn, had the courage to oppose the enemy in his own camp and publish a challenging paper called *Sinai* in Baltimore, Md. Slaveholders finally drove Einhorn from the south, but they could not silence his protests against the evils of slavery.

John Brown, the social messiah of that day, had three young Jewish immigrants in his brave band of abolitionists in Kansas in 1855.

Many Jews fought with distinction in the northern army all during the Civil War, and while Henry Ward Beecher was purchasing freedom for slaves from his pulpit in Brooklyn, Morris Greenbaum bought fugitives their freedom in Chicago.

Solomon Heydenfelt joined the forces of those who opposed the spread of slavery into free territory, and wrote many pamphlets setting forth his views.

When finally a conditioned and not yet realized freedom came to Negroes in 1865, Jewish blood had been shed to help bring it about.

NEGROES AND JEWS HATED

In America organizations that resent Negroes resent Jews also. This has always been the case.

Mob violence by whites against colored people has existed since the infancy of this nation. Between 1850 and 1860 thirty-eight lynchings took place. These are the known cases. Those not known are doubtlessly innumerable. During these years Jews were held in little repute by Americans. They were resented socially, envied and segregated economically.

SAME IS TRUE TODAY

This criminal brutality against Negroes has persisted until today; and it is usually sanctioned and even promoted by local, state, and national figures of Church and government.

As a running parallel to this savagery we have the utter exclusion of the Jew from many phases of the social, educational and amusement life of this country. In many cities Jews are confined to residential ghettoes, denied respect on the street and in court. Their persecution is often subtle but no less vicious.

LABOR SEGREGATION

During the years of reconstruction after the Civil War the patterns of discrimination against Negroes were crystalized. Jews during these years suffered the same privations at the hands of labor as did Negroes. Neither was wanted.

The ku klux klan organized in these hectic days supposedly to preserve the American way vented its distorted hatred on both Jews and Negroes.

In the last war discrimination in the armed forces was greater than in this war, if that is possible, and very often Jews experienced prejudicial limitations thoroughly akin to those undergone by Negroes. In this war the continuation of such conditions is still deplored by all true Americans.

Thus we see at a glance that historically there is some precedent for the needed and desired friendly understanding and cooperation of Jews and Negroes in their common struggle to be considered Americans and world citizens.

JUL 24 1943

Justice Department Keeps Close Vigil On Civil Rights Violations In South

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois—
JUL 24 1943

Plenty Done

We all know of cases in which abotage case, or a subversive acrotests and requests for investi- ivity case. Such an announcement ations have been used by the De- rould freeze the sources of infor- artment of Justice by the NAACP, nd put any guilty parties in a southern district to participate in a presentation to a grand jury or in a trial on peonage, slavery, lynching, or peace-officer brutality cases where Negroes were invariably the victims.

50 Investigations

Now, however, most of these attorneys make initial complaints to the Department of Justice, invite federal investigations, and participate in prosecutions.

In one case, a department representative said, the people of a southern community refused to put a single penny in the church collection plate passed by an official who is under federal indictment for brutality to a Negro.

By HARRY McALPIN
(Chief, Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—The Department of Justice is much like the army and navy in one respect—it can't talk about its work-in-progress for fear of tipping off the enemy.

I found that out last week in an hour-long interview with a Department of Justice official that was a real eye-opener.

A lot of what we talked about must necessarily be "off-the-record," but I have far more whole-some respect for the department than before I went in there.

The attitude I had — which is pretty much widespread among Negroes — was that the department was not putting forth any overly strenuous effort on behalf of investigating and acting on violations of the constitutional rights of Negroes.

Lawyers Busy

can be told that the civil ction of the criminal divi- the Department of Justice than enough work to keep wyers busy and to furnish eral Bureau of Investiga- D with a constant flow of look into.

ese cases, to my surprise, just those brought to the attention by the NAACP, , the ACLU, or the CIO. ses are a mere drop in the o the total the department interest in, has investi- on which it seeks indict- nd obtains some convictions. t majority of the complaints uests for investigations come department from white ners.

department official said this n a very encouraging atti- and he cited, also, how the tion of U. S. attorneys in uth has improved. In the istant past, it was almost ble to get the U. S. attorney

It is unfortunate for the much- criticized department that it can- has been a v ot talk openly about its activ tude. And he ies and defend itself. It can't an- cooperation o those that ap- nounce a contemplated or active the South h papers. But to me, nvestigation of a lynching, a peon- not-so-distant to many others, they seemed to ge case, a police brutality case, a impossible to e mere token acts.

We all knew of a few isolated ses of the department's action in onage, slavery, lynching, and utality cases — those that ap- ared in the papers. But to me, to many others, they seemed to e mere token acts.

and privileges under the constitution and under federal laws. For the most part, it operates under the sections of the federal statutes which (1) makes it a criminal conspiracy to injure a citizen in the exercise of federally secured rights; (2) forbids depriving anyone of any rights, privileges or immunities secured or protected by the constitution or laws of the United States, under color of any law, regulation, or custom; (3) makes it a crime for any one to carry away another intending that he be sold into involuntary servitude or held as a slave — or aids another in doing so; and (4) forbids holding, arresting or returning any person to a condition of peonage, or causes such an act to be accomplished.

Extend Jurisdiction

Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge has pointed out that murder of a military policeman is not a federal offense, and hence cannot be tried in a federal court. He indicated, however, that there is now a proposal before Congress to include all Army and Navy personnel under the terms of the statute dealing with the killing of federal officers.

Some of the investigation problems of the department were pointed out to me during this interview.

One was the complaint that some of the newspapers blow up some cases in a manner which will not hold water upon investigation. The Defender, I was assured, has never been guilty of such a charge, however.

But one case was cited in which a newspaper published and headlined what purported to be an eyewitness account of the slaying of a Negro by a peace officer. The witness was reported to have pictures of the body. On investigation, it was found that the so-called eyewitness had not been within a hundred miles of the scene of the tragedy, had taken no pictures, and had talked to no newspaper men, nor had he made any such claims. This type of incident, said a department official, hurts the reliability of the paper in the eyes of the department.

In another instance, the civil rights section was embarrassed by requesting an FBI investigation of a complaint that a Negro working in a mining company in the South had been beaten and almost killed by white workers because he had been upgraded and given a highly skilled job. The facts did not bear out the complaint.

There was a lot more I can't repeat, but I hope you, too, get the idea that it is not useless to bring complaints to the attention of the Department of Justice. Though it means more work for them, I got the impression they want you to bring violations of federal laws to their attention, even though they don't blow a horn and announce publicly "here I go investigating."

This Is Our Common Destiny:

(Ed. Note—This is the second of a series of four interpretive articles by the Rev. Ben Richardson on the common destiny of the Negro and the Jew.)

Jews Gave the World Wealth; They're Damned

JUL 31 1943

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

By BEN RICHARDSON

"God does not desire that Jews be exterminated, but that they wander the world like Cain, burdened with shame and approbrium, and that they lead a life a thousandfold worse than death."

JUL 31 1943

These are the savage words of the Christian leader Pierre, Abbe of Cluny in France, who organized the Second Crusade to the Holy Lands. Judging from the treatment Jews have suffered and are yet suffering, many people in Europe and America still share this miserable belief.

JUL 31 1943

LONG SUFFERING

For two thousand years Jews have been persecuted by the Christian world—a world to which the Jews gave the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ.

Riot, pogrom, ghetto, pillage, rapine, and massacre have been the measure of return they have received through the years for their religious gift to Europe and America.

JUL 31 1943

Today the Jew, like his brother, the Negro—is a symbol of suffering.

JUL 31 1943

From the days of the Egyptians to nazi Germany and the klan, Jews have been scapegoats for persecutors and false governments.

There are Jews in all parts of the world. It is not easy to identify them by marked racial features in all the places they inhabit.

JUL 31 1943

In Crimea there are Jews who defy identification, so completely have they been absorbed into the major population. Often Jews have blond hair, blue eyes, and truly Nordic features. There are Slavic types who resemble Poles and Russians; many are indistinguishable from French, German, and Japanese people.

JUL 31 1943

The Falahsas of Abyssinia are identical with the native Negroes of that country, in fact, the original inhabitant of Abyssinia, which means "the mixed people," were Jews and Negroes who later fused into the present racial group.

EARLY CHRISTIAN FRICTION

In the early days of the Christian community some Jews separated themselves from their Christian brothers because they held the idea that the Messiah was yet to come. In that they did not believe that Jesus was He, they could not accept the Church founded on the belief that He was.

If religious freedom means anything, it means the right to have your own God. Negroes in Africa did not worship Christ either. European missionaries brought them the Christian message—and slavery with it.

JUL 31 1943

Black men were carried in chains from Africa to Spain and Portugal to be baptized before being herded into the bellies of slave ships and brought to the new world.

JUL 31 1943

JEWS GAVE WORLD RELIGION

Protestants and Catholics owe their religious knowledge to the Jews. All the religion Negroes have comes from Jewish scriptures and from the wealth of lore about the historic beginnings of this great people. The history of the Christian religion is the history of the Jewish race.

JUL 31 1943

It was in the city of Alexandria during the early Christian years that the persecution of the Jews started. Wild rumors about their eating Greeks at their ceremonies brought general massacres. Two thousand years later the vile Czarist Church in enslaved Russia repeated the same lie and conducted wholesale slaughters of innocent people. In the first instance Alexandria feared the popularity of the Jewish Church and in the second, the government of the Czar needed a scapegoat for its failures.

JUL 31 1943

Next week we shall take up the history of their treatment in Germany, and show how it is the pattern and framework on which the persecution of Negroes rests.

PM
New York, N. Y.

Landlords In Area Demand Mayor's Ouster

A demand that Gov. Dewey remove Mayor LaGuardia was made yesterday by four hundred property owners in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn at a meeting in the Bedford YMCA, 1121 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn. Speakers denounced the taxes imposed by the city on property in the area as excessive and urged that cops be unshackled" as a solution of the alleged crime rise in the district.

Deploring the depreciation of property values, the Rt. Rev. John L. Belford, Pastor of the Roman Catholic Church of the Nativity, declared that the community had deteriorated through the "entrance of people who didn't care how they behaved as long as they weren't molested by the police." Speakers carefully avoided references to Negroes.

NOV 22 1943

Joseph Goldsmith, president of the Taxpayers Union, a landlord's organization, was vigorously applauded when he said, "There is more law in a nightstick than in all the courts of the world."

A Bronx policeman, David Liebman, said that Negroes coming to New York from the South "mistake liberty for license" after passing Washington, D. C.

NOV 22 1943

Liebman said that police in the East Bronx were greatly troubled by "Spanish, Puerto Rican, and other sunburned elements." He said, however, that he did not approve of using a blackjack to improve human conditions.

When he left the platform, Liebman was told by Police Lt. Alfred Panarella, of the 13th Division, that charges would be brought against him for making the speech.

Summer A. Sirtl, president of the Midtown Civic League of Brooklyn, who was chairman of the meeting, did not allow discussion on the resolution asking removal of LaGuardia. His attempt to adjourn the meeting was interrupted when Henry E. Ashcroft, a probation officer in the Court of Special Sessions, demanded the floor to answer previous speakers. Ashcroft was granted five minutes, although [illegible] been set on other speakers. Ashcroft told the audience it had been "treated to a fine tirade against the Negro race." A large part of the audience left, shouting at Ashcroft "We won't listen" and "You're a damned liar." Sirtl assailed Ashcroft as a "disgrace to the Negro race."

NOV 22 1943

Malcolm Martin, who attended the meeting as a representative of the Bedford-Stuyvesant CIO Community Council was refused the floor, despite repeated requests. The Council will hold its own meeting on community problems tomorrow at 5:30 p.m. at 474 Sumner Ave., Brooklyn.

After the meeting, Sirtl labelled [illegible]clusion of Negroes in the proposed "ridiculous" a[illegible] that the real Metropolitan housing project, Sirtl estate interests [illegible] in the community said he was unfamiliar with plans are trying to drive Negroes out for the project and termed it "a Asked if he favored mixed housing in the area, Sirtl said, "I favor any kind of housing that isn't extravagant and that has good sanitary scales." Angered by a reporter who asked him if he approved the ex-

561k-1943

THE LIVING SOUTH

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

By HAROLD PREECE

An Open Letter

YOUR HONOR:

I am not quite sure how I should address you. Titles have never meant very much to me, and I have always felt that plain "Mr." was good enough for most men.

But I am very sure of what I want to say.

I am saying that I am worried as much about democracy in my state of Tennessee as I am about democracy in Germany.

I am more than a little bit worried about the democracy of the War Department to which you are attached as a high official with the power of life and death over the boys who step across the tight bounds of Army regulations.

And as you can guess, Mr. Judge Advocate General, I have an axe to grind. I want to know what is going to happen to the 64 Negro soldiers court martialed at Paris, Tenn., given long sentences at hard labor for playfully taking a couple of army trucks and stepping on the gas for an AWOL holiday.

Now, I know something of the military temperament even if I am a 4-F and a turn-down myself. If I ever got past the Maginot line of lieutenants and colonels in your office and got in to see you, I can imagine your telling me something like this:

"War is war and regulations are regulations whatever sentimental journalists may think about it. The men were convicted for misuse of government property by a court of commissioned officers. I have no choice but to sign these papers locking them up for from one to five years apiece."

You probably have the impatience of most old soldiers for newspapermen. You would probably end up by pressing a button and having some gorgeous gentleman wearing gold braid and military hairbrushes show me the door. Then you would take your pen and sign those commitment papers in the same impersonal manner with which you would light a cigar.

But before you have the gentleman with the hairbrushes bounce me out, before you turn the key on those boys by signing those papers, let me say my piece.

Rules Of Law

I AGREE with you, Mr. Judge Advocate General, that a soldier has to obey rules and orders. We are fighting an enemy who has turned his men into deadly machines without mercy and without conscience.

Not only our amry has to maintain strict discipline. So does our civilian population in these last, tense months before we rip through the heavy armor of the enemy to pierce the evil heart that has already brought death to more than forty millions of the world's people.

But I believe that discipline can be maintained longer in a democracy than in autocracy because the courts of democracy are bound by three essential rules of civilized law which have been wiped off the books in the carrion courts of the Nazis. These rules are:

That the severity of the punishment must be tempered to the seriousness of the offense.

That justice must be tempered with mercy.

That justice must be equal for all people — whether they pray in a church or synagogue, whether they be people with white skins or people with black skins.

Mr. Judge Advocate General, I can find nothing in my own troubled heart to convince me that any of these rules were followed by that court martial which convened to try these young Negroes in the army camp near Paris, Tenn. I strongly suspect that these boys in uniform were convicted before they were ever tried.

"If a black man steals a chicken in the South," so a preacher friend remarked to me once, "they give him 90 days. If a white man steals a chicken in the South, they give him a setting of eggs."

These men are black, so they were given long days of shame and disgrace for breaking loose from the inhuman and insulting restrictions of a jim crow army camp.

The men were black and the men could go to jail. Long liv the memory of Crispus Attucks and Dorie Miller.

The man was black, and the man was shot. That's what happened at Lewistown, Ill., when some white men who lynched a Negro soldier were acquitted by a jury their "peers" — jurors who themselves thirsted for black blood and hungered for black flesh.

Broom — Not A Whip

I KNOW Lewistown, Ill., as I know Paris, Tenn., Mr. Judge Advocate General. I'm not worried about what black men will do for democracy — I've been able to get in words edgewise with Negro soldiers during the jim crow busses bring in its train the liberation of all peoples."

The sharecropper draftee from Georgia realizes this even if he can barely sign his name. He knows that this war must free the peasants wading knee deep in the stagnant water of the Japanese fields. He must free the pregnant women dragging the hundred pound sacks of cotton on the great plantations of the Mississippi Delta.

I'm not worried about what black men will do for democracy. They will die for it.

But I am worried about what places like Paris, Tenn., and Lewistown, Ill., will do to democracy if the ingrown, senseless hatreds of Paris, Tenn. and Lewistown, Ill., continue to dictate the policy of the War Department and of local courts when dealing with Negroes in uniforms or Negroes in overalls.

And I now know how I would feel if I were black and cooped up in a jim crow camp where I was forced to tip my hat to Negro-hating white officers from the South. I know how I would feel if I were insulted and shunted off to the side streets when I got a pass to go into town.

I'd feel mad as hell. And I'd get sore up on that I'd probably break loose and raise a little hell.

But that would be no cause for sending me off to jail for the duration. It would be a sign that I had raised the danger flag and that my superiors had better get down the broom instead of the whip.

But, it is a different proposition when you try to force them into offices with whites. There it is more of a social relationship, and the whites are not going to stand for social equality."

He insisted he was depicting conditions as they exist, not a theory. He said his own personal attitude toward Negroes is one of helpfulness.

Lack of Education

Ramspeck told the Defender that Georgia has more Negroes, numerically, than any other state, though some states have proportionately more Negroes. In Georgia and in the city of Atlanta, Negroes are about one-third of the population.

"We have some fine people among our Negroes. Some of them have nice businesses, but they are in Negro neighborhoods," he pointed out.

The masses of Negroes, however, are not educated beyond the fourth grade, according to the Congressman. He maintained, however, that Georgia has done as good a job in this respect as its available money would allow. The state, he claimed, spends a larger percentage of its per capita wealth for education than does New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, or any others in the North.

He admitted not much high school training was provided for Negroes, but said this was one reason he supported the Federal Aid to Education bill, which was killed by political trickery of the Republicans led by Senator Taft of Ohio.

Talks To Ross

He also voted for the Wage and Hour Law, he said, and was criticiized by Georgians for doing so. They claimed the law would primarily benefit Negroes, who would become unruly if they earned too much. "But I want to see everyone's standard of living raised," Ramspeck declared.

"I have laid off the FEPC," he said, "but now I have to line up on one side or the other. In politics, you can't forever keep quiet. The City Council of Atlanta has called on me and other elected representatives to get FEPC to withdraw. I realize I can't stop them, but I have made the attempt."

He said he talked with Chairman Ross last week about the situation.

"This fellow Saunders in South Carolina had the right idea," he stated. (Ramspeck admitted afterward he was referring to C. C. Spaulding of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance company, in Durham, N. C.) Saunders said in an article in Readers' Digest that Negroes are foolish to seek equality because there is no such thing. He was right. All whites are not equal. All Negroes are not equal. I have heard of a case in New England where Negro residents objected to bringing in outside Negroes to work in war plants.

"Negro leaders are trying to push too far in too many ways," he continued. "Negroes have made remarkable progress since slavery. But trying to go too fast by force will set them back. You can't do it by force."

Race relations, he said, have been very good in Atlanta. "There may be a few cases where Negroes are discriminated against, but on the whole, they know how to get along."

Officials at FEPC had no comment to make beyond saying they had received nothing offcial on the situation, and so far as the agency is concerned, everything remains "as is."

There is apprehension in some quarters that a concerted move might be developing to kill FEPC. On Dec. 3, Rep. John Rankin of Mississippi declared on the house floor the committee "is doing everything it possibly can to drive the white people of the South out of the Democratic party."

"When they go out and attempt to force every private enterprise in the south to accept Negroes, force them to employ Negroes and promote them," he declared, "they are simply creating dissension." Further he added: "This so-called Fair Employment Practice committee is really a rump organization without any legal authority, and should be abolished at once."

While objection is being raised in Atlanta to mixed staffing of the regional office, Carlos Castaneda, acting regional director operating out of Dallas, is proceeding with no apparent difficulty. The case load there is 120.

Birmingham Post

MY DAY

BY
ELEANOR
ROOSEVELT



Birmingham, Alabama

WASHINGTON, Sunday, Dec 19. —On Thursday afternoon of this week I had a tea party for the international students, who gather in this city to study at the various universities. Some of them are undergraduates, some of them in medical, law or business schools.

At this party I usually hear my first Christmas carols. This year they began with "Silent Night, Holy Night," which is known in many languages all over the world. These young people also sang a Spanish carol, which to my surprise, I could understand and sing with them. This gave me a sense of companionship and kinship with the South and Central American students.

I wonder if in every school in this country, the pupils couldn't learn a Spanish or Portuguese Christmas carol for their next Christmas celebration. Perhaps, in every South and Central American country, the children could learn the words of "Silent Night" in English.

Friday afternoon I went to visit the first of the areas in the District of Columbia where colored

old women living in it. The next
ater for scrubbing, door neighbor had been trying to
sonal bathing must get them some coal for a fire. They
nd, if wanted hot, were in bed because they had none.
on the stove. The The effort to make these places
stairs must usually livable was pathetic—so little fur-
s floors, and these niture, so few cooking utensils. In
coal stoves. The one p saw in China with
eds I saw was any- which the table. Though the
family consisted of mother, father
house had and three or four children.
ee

Critical Home Front Period

We are approaching a critical period on the home front. Outbreaks in Mobile, Detroit, Harlem and Baltimore indicate that, but they can happen anywhere.

Mayor La Guardia thought race riots impossible in New York. As late as July 1, he issued a public statement pointing out that New York had made more progress in race relations than any other city.

Colored people there, he said, had better housing, better schools, more municipal jobs than in any other area. Perhaps he is correct, but he guessed wrong on his own town. It had a sizeable disturbance Sunday of last week and the Mayor did a commendable job in recruiting the aid of colored leaders to get the thing stopped.

AUG 14 1943

There has been some disposition on the part of the Mayor to maintain that Harlem had an outbreak of hoodlumism and not a race riot. Let's call it a half riot.

Detroit resented local prejudices. Harlem was outraged by mistreatment of colored soldiers in uniform nationally and what it thought was an instance of the needless shooting of a soldier in New York.

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Detroit's cops did five times as much shooting and killing as Harlem's, but New Yorkers also did twenty times as much looting and store wrecking as Detroiters.

The disturbance in New York must therefore go down in the AFRO books as a race riot. We have no objection to what anyone else desires to name it.

AUG 14 1943

White People Do Not Know

Pearl Buck says the rank and file of white people have no idea of the colored-white racial problem. Many of the top leaders among whites are not aware of it; or if they are, lack the courage to do something about it.

White newspapers and radios are afraid also to take the story of race hate to the white masses. A notable exception was the excellent CBS broadcast which used 30 minutes to tell a nationwide audience that race prejudice is a danger so great that if it is not met and conquered now, even though we win this war, we shall be defeated in victory.

That broadcast reached only a small audience. Colored people have to break through the wall and educate white people on what is going on.

AUG 14 1943

People Ahead of Leaders

A race riot is a notice of the common people to their leaders that they are not moving fast enough.

Leadership must find a way to end segregation or be discredited. The common people do not care how angry they make the white people. Getting angry can serve a good purpose. That is the only way some people learn.

We can call rioters hoodlums and hooligans all we please. But we settle no problem calling names. To the contrary, we simply display our gross ignorance of human nature, which takes only so much before it boils over.

The uprisings in Italy today differ in kind and degree from the Harlem and Detroit disturbances, but that is all. The emotions which move people to protest and disorder are the same in Italy, in the United States and the world over.

What to Do About Riots

If leaders, instead of mobs, are going to lead, they might immediately bestir themselves in two directions:

1. To importune the Federal Government to end discrimination:
   (a) In the war industries;
   (b) In construction of Federal housing; and
   (c) In the armed forces.

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
AUG 14 1943

2. Promote an exodus of colored people from Dixie.

The Government's handling of the recent Bethlehem shipyard strike in Baltimore was prompt and positive. It commanded respect. On the other hand it still permits discrimination perpetuated by railroads, street railway and telephone companies. Its dealing with these companies has been dilatory and uncertain.

In the construction of Federal housing for war workers the Government has been so hamstrung by politics and has catered so strongly to Congressional wire-pulling that it has lost public confidence.

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As to the armed forces, the navy's refusals to enlist colored WAVES, assign colored seamen to war vessels, promote eligible colored seamen to commissions or even to transport colored and white officers on the same ship in some cases, are notorious.

The Camp Stewart Order

AUG 14 1943

The Camp Stewart order issued last week, directing colored soldiers to accept not only the jim crow laws of the South but also jim crow customs and to "be polite and respectful to white people," is another disgraceful chapter in army history.

General Stockton blandly states that there is no discrimination in the army when he knows he is speaking falsely. Jim crow is everywhere at Camp Stewart. The signs colored and white have been taken down, but the race segregation continues by the War Department's order. How else can we account for the fact that out of a half million colored soldiers, there is but one colored general, fewer than a half dozen colonels and that 90 per cent of colored officers are second lieutenants?

As the General says, some colored people are more like children than adults, but even a child is quick to see through sham and hypocrisy.

Let Everybody Obey the Law

General Stockton is correct when he advocates obedience to law. Let the War Department observe the law. Nowhere in the Constitution is authority given the Federal Government to separate the races in the army.

In its treatment of colored citizens on the basis of jim crow, the War Department assumes authority not delegated to it by the Constitution and authority specifically prohibited to the States in the Fourteenth Amendment. So that segregation, either by the War Department or by the State of Georgia, is unconstitutional.

First Demand on Government

The first job, therefore, of leadership, colored and white, is to demand that Government respect the citizenship of colored people as the Constitution requires.

It is as simple as that. We need no interracial commissions or conventions. If we are to have peace and unity at home, we must have it on constitutional grounds. Colored people must be treated as all other citizens. No special orders or reservations for them can be tolerated.

Migration from the South

The second job for leadership is the organization of a program to remove large groups of colored people from the South.

We must set up agencies among ourselves, composed of citizens in every community to co-operate with employers and the Government in finding employment for Southern workers and making them feel at home.

We must commend firms like the Campbell Soup Company which last week went into Orlando, Fla., and recruited 450 workers for its Camden, N.J., plant despite opposition of Florida officials.

The South, like Pharaoh, doesn't want colored people to leave. But they are Americans. They have as much right to seek employment and better living conditions in the North as any other citizens.

Neither the NAACP, the Urban League or any other organization, so far as we know, has seen the need of aiding the migration movement. Thousands of colored people who have moved northward in World War I and in this war, have had no organized aid. They have come despite the NAACP, the league, organized labor, the churches, the fraternal organizations and the Women's Federation of Clubs.

This is another instance where the common people have moved when leadership failed.

If leaders are to resolve existing racial problems in an orderly way, they must bestir themselves. This is a new day. Freedom is in the air—freedom for the common people.

CHARLESTON, S.C.—(ANP)— staggering load of educating the s and Courier, colored in the higher grades.
y printed an "Abolition of free tuition in the the question schools of higher would
people of the probably accelerate migration of
permit law colored people. The greater the
e payment of number of colored citizens leav-
teachers ing the South, the greater will be
to those paid the number of white settlers com-
ing into it."

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paying for the
d, and hints
a blessing to
colored per-
er sections in

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Would End Free Schools

The editorial continues:

"The white taxpayers can establish and maintain private schools for their children and thereby escape the

Charleston Wants Colored People to Leave S.C. Town

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.
AUG 14 1943

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SHOULD NEGROES SIT AT THE PEACE TABLE?

Defender
Chicago, Ill

By JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES
(Editor, Birmingham Age-Herald)

In consistency our southern states which insist on race segregation at home should not object to separate representation for Negroes at the peace conference. If the delegation is big enough I think our Negro people should be represented. If there is a delegation of 10, for example, the Negro, who represents one tenth of our population, should have a member.

YES

But he should be a southern Negro. I am positive of that. He should come from the part of the United States where Negroes and whites have to get along together in greatest numbers and proximity. Someone like James E. Shepard of the North Carolina College for Negroes. Or F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute; Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta university; Charles S. Johnson of Fisk university; J. R. E. Lee of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical college; Ben Mays of Morehouse college; C. C. Spaulding of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance company; or F. L. Atkins of Winston-Salem Teachers college.

It is pointed out that the race problem in the United States is not identical with the one in India. It may as truly be said that the problem in the southern states, where 10,000,000 Negroes live alongside 30,000,000 whites, is not like the one in the rest of the nation where 3,000,000 Negroes are scattered among 100,000,000 whites.

Many of us in the South think we could solve the Negro problem satisfactorily for all parties if we lived where the Negro percentage was only three per cent, as outside the South, rather than 33 per cent, as in the South. Even in the Northern centers of Negro population—Detroit, Chicago, Harlem, etc.—the situation is not like the Southern one.

And our southern Negro leaders, even though they differ among themselves and with those outside about some of the problems of their race, know what is possible and what is not possible in the part of the country where the overwhelming majority of our Negroes live. If the race is to be represented on our delegation to peace conference, I am sincerely convinced that the representative should come from the South.

And the very fact that such a representative would in likelihood be less belligerent and demanding in behalf of his race than one from outside the South argues to the same end. The racial bitterness that has come about in this land in the war's course may have been necessary or inescapable but it certainly should not be taken to the peace table.

If, as was the case when the Peace of Versailles was being made, the American delegation is composed of only three or four men with real voices in the settlements, I would hope that no effort would be made by our American Negroes to have one of their race included. In that case the race in this country would be better served at the conference without a representative than with one.

With the leaders of both political parties—Roosevelt and Willkie—famously friends to the Negro and his ambitions, far more could be gained through that indirect representation than through a direct one.

A Negro on the American delegation—if it is a small one—would be conspicuous in ways that would handicap him badly. Whatever he proposed or pled for would be suspected in the sense of being looked upon as special pleading for one group rather than a world-minded consideration of delicately interrelated problems involving all groups.

It seems to me, therefore, that if the delegation is large there might properly be Negro representation. He should come from the southern states. But if the delegation is small, a Negro on it would get nowhere and perhaps cost his race some of the sympathy it otherwise will certainly have.

In this and many other matters, my theory is that the Negro is promised so much in the years to come and has already achieved so much that his two ideals should be (1) not to let the fine evolution be interrupted, and (2) to qualify constantly in character, taste, self-control and affirmative point of view for the better things so sure to come.

By MARK ETHRIDGE
(Publisher, Louisville Courier-Journal)

I have not thought about the personnel or the composition of the American delegation to the forthcoming peace conference. I am not at all certain under the Atlantic Charter that there will be a peace conference. The procedure outlined by the President and Churchill may make wholly unnecessary any such conference.

NO

While the Negro's viewpoint certainly must be taken into consideration, I don't favor special group representation on delegations. If we have a conference and the delegation is composed of five men, I want the five best men in the United States regardless of race, color, creed or religion. If the Negroes can advance the name of a man who will rank with four others and who is able to do well by the country and the world, then he should be selected on that basis, not because he is a Negro.

I imagine the Jews, who have suffered more in the war than any other group of people will probably want a representative, too. The Catholic church has been the victim of violent oppression in Germany and particularly in Poland, but that does not justify a Catholic member of the delegation, unless he is fully able to represent us in every respect.

If you began to load a delegation up with representatives of special groups, you never would make out a peace, but all their views should be consulted. I can imagine no delegation which would not want consultants embracing the minority groups.

By SAMUEL GRAFTON
(Nationally-Known Newspaper Columnist)

There is no assurance that there is going to be any peace conference. We remember that there was one last time. But there is no guarantee that there will be one this time. The chances are there will be a series of conferences on special problems, some even taking place before the end of the war, as in the case of the Hot Springs food conference.

NO

The American problem is to make sure that this country is represented by genuine small-d democrats at these conferences. That is the only way to take care of all interests, white, Negro, Jewish, etc.

Negro interests would be safer in the hands of progressive members of the white race than in the hands of non-progressive members of the Negro race.

I can think of many gentiles who are better spokesmen for the Jews than a number of Jews. I should like to see a Negro delegate or delegates, but I should want them to have been selected primarily as democrats.

NEXT WEEK

YES: Dr. Charles Wesley
President, Wilberforce University
NO: Howard Vincent O'Brien
Columnist, Chicago Daily News
NO: Dr. F. D. Patterson
President, Tuskegee Institute

University Men Open Defender Symposium

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

These articles are the first of a series by outstanding American leaders on a question affecting this country's biggest minority. The symposium will continue in the Defender for twelve weeks.

By MENDER COOK

YES

There is good common sense in the adage that cautions against continuing to butt one's head against a stone wall. For two thousand years for two thousand years they have failed. Twenty centuries are a long time to keep on making the same mistake. From this cold hard fact, one of sending the same battered friends will object. "To be con- out to the mound? What about sistent with your proposal the peace bringing in some fresh blood from conference would be an interracial the minority Negroes? rather than an international as- For example, when this war ends, sembly."

either permanent peace is a mirage, I should like to see not one but two or (2) the wrong kind of men have been writing the treaties. Discounting the first alternative for peace conferences: one, composed of discussion purposes at least, we are professional diplomats, compelled to lay the blame at the and the other made up of about ten door of the peacemakers. women like Pearl Buck, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Mary McLeod Bethune.

What kind of men have been? Victorious and oftimes vengeful generals, wily politicians, like Talleyrand and Clemenceau who knew only political idealists, like Wilson; realists, like Chiang Kai-Shek should also prove acceptable, despite the fact that she once attended too well the dangers of German militarism; and embittered representatives of the defeated countries.

Or men like the Haitian, Dantes Bellegarde, who so eloquently championed the cause of all Negroes at the League of Nations. They must be men who can think in terms of fourteen million Americans, three million Haitians, forty million Latin Americans, and more than 120 million Africans.

Fresh Blood Needed

In baseball parlance, it is high time to change pitchers. Why keep bringing in, some fresh blood from the same battered hurlers out to the mound? What about sistent with your proposal the peace bringing in some fresh blood from conference would be an interracial the minority Negroes? rather than an international assembly."

For example, when this war ends,

League of Races

"And why not?" we might reply. Where a League of Nations failed, a league or family or races, with yellow, white, and black delegates might succeed. Moreover, though it may be an unscientific myth, race has affected and still affects the lives of millions of colored people much more than has any other single factor. All too often, the American Negro has been treated first as a Negro and last as an American.

Another potent argument in favor of Negro participation in the Peace Conference becomes evident from a study of other international meetings. Consider, for example, the tremendous liberalizing influence exerted by the mere presence of Haitian delegates at all the important Pan-American conferences. In most instances, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and other mulatto countries to the South have been represented by men who look and think white. The Haitian delegation has usually carried upon its shoulders the entire weight of all the Negroes in the New World.

One case in point is the Second Pan American Press conference that met in Havana in June of this year. One hundred and sixteen resolutions were adopted by that body. Less than five of those resolutions were even remotely concerned with racial discrimination. The Dominicans, who insisted that in their country "no race problem whatsoever exists," recommended that no newspaper in the Americas publish "anything that smacks of racial discrimination in any form." A Mexican journalist proposed the suppressioning of any mention of race or nationality in reporting criminal cases.

Haiti Stands Up

But the vital, straight-from-the-shoulder attack on race prejudice came from a Haitian, M. Roussan Camille, who asked all North, Central, and South American periodicals to campaign constantly against race prejudice, to support "every political or social campaign tending toward a deep and total understanding between races, and to annul laws and wipe out customs of race discrimination and segregation wherever they may exist on the continent," etc. Haiti would hardly have taken the lead in this campaign if she had not been the only officially Negroid member of the twenty-one members of the Pan-American Union.

If we transpose this pattern to a world peace conference, we get a picture of the United States, Britain, Russia, France, Italy, Germany Poland, and other "white men's countries," meeting with yellow-skinned China and Japan to decide, among other things, what is to be done with black Africa.

Suppose a Bilbo or some other American fascist proposes a 49th state or mass deportation to Africa for Negroes, who would defend us? Some white liberal, no doubt. But the defense would be ever so much stronger coming from a well-informed and courageous Negro spokesman.

Suppose General Smuts attempts to obtain a pledge of non-interference in South Africa's barbarous racial situation, who would object? Again some white liberal, no doubt, but a black man who knows Africa, a man like Max Yergan, would be more effective.

Aid To Morale

Or finally, let us suppose that the NAACP committee recently organized to formulate the Negro's proposals to the Peace conference were obliged to entrust its case to one of the white parliamentarians—which it will probably have to do. The use of such an intermediary, no matter how sincere or influential, will simply mean a continuation of the outworn tradition that denies the Negro the right to speak for himself.

There is, to be sure, no guarantee that a Negro delegate will be able to accomplish anything; he may be as helpless as a single Negro congressman in our House of Representatives. Even so, his very presence at the conference table will be heartening to colored people. Who knows? He may even find a way to ally the Negro's cause to that of other oppressed minorities: Jews, Chinese, and Indians. And though we are only dreaming about peace treaties, it might be well to remember that they usually accomplish little or nothing. Consider for instance not the international but the national scene. Recent events at Detroit, Michigan, and Beaumont, Texas, might well make us wonder who surrendered to whom at Appomattox.

By MILTON MAYER

I can think of nothing that would contribute more to the support of fascism than to send a delegation of Negroes as such to the next peace conference. The proposal to do so is just as fascistic, not in intention but in principle, as the proposal for a Jewish army in the war.

NO

Either Negroes are human beings or they are not. (I happen to believe they are.) If they are not human beings, they should be treated like any other sub-human form of life; if they are not human beings, they should be the slaves of human beings, just as cattle are.

If, however, they are human beings, then they have all the natural rights of every other human being. They must be treated always as human beings, and never as a special kind of animal. If they are human beings, then the color of their skin is a mere accident which can no more distinguish them in the eyes of other human beings than blonde whites should be distinguished from brunette whites.

Essence of Fascism

Anyone who asks that a delegation of Negroes AS SUCH be sent to the next peace conference is saying, in effect:

"Negroes are different from other human beings. Instead of distinguishing them on the basis of their human qualities, we are distinguishing them on the basis of the accident of color. We believe that there are two or more kinds of human beings, and not just one."

Whites who pretend that they have no race prejudice think that they can fool themselves and their friends by the old equal treatment argument, always involving segregation. They claim to be liberals or democrats, but their advocacy of equal treatment is a hypocritical disguise of their real feeling. Actually they do not want Negroes living next door to them or attending their schools or churches, and the reason they don't, whatever their pretensions may be, is that they are prejudiced against Negroes. They are, whether they know it or not, fascists in their hearts.

Negro racism is, in my opinion, no better than white racism. Negroes who want separate, even though equal treatment, of Negroes are exactly as fascistic as whites who want separate treatment of whites. Ours will never be one world until all the human beings in it are united on the basis of their common humanity, regardless of race, creed, or previous condition.

It may take centuries to achieve that ideal, and we shall have to be patient in the pursuit of it. But we must be pursuing it in every act of our lives, and we must never give way to any impulse that will interfere with its ultimate achievement.

Struggle For Human Rights

Negroes must struggle not for Negro rights but for human rights. The Negroes have been oppressed; they must be relieved of their oppression, not, however, in the name of Negro rights but in the name of human rights. Negroes must struggle not for their own freedom but for the freedom of all men, black, white, yellow, or brown. A Negro who sees a white man being oppressed must struggle just as valiantly for the freedom of that white man as he would for the freedom of any black man.

I know a great university president who has done a great deal in his private life to redress the wrongs done to men who happened to be black. But whenever somebody comes to him with the suggestion that he appoint this or that Negro to the faculty, the university president says, "I am not interested in Negroes. I am interested in men."

At the risk of being misunderstood, I too say, "I am not interested in Negroes. I am interested in men.' I will never do anything for a man just because he is black, any more than I will ever do anything **against** him just because he is black. If I do anything for a man it must be because he is a human being, and therefore my brother. I do not care whether he is black or green.

Thus any proposal, either from Negroes or from whites, to disinguish between human beings because of the accident of color, must ultimately support the fascist doctrine that there are different kinds of human beings. If black men are kept from the peace conference **just because** they are black, I will fight those who keep them away. If they are admitted **just because** they are black, I will fight those who admit them. I want human beings at the next peace conference, regardless of their color or the size of their hatband.

Harlem's Anti-Semites Using Hate Scrawls

People's Voice New York, N. Y.

By BEN RICHARDSON and LLEWELLYN RANSOM

Special

"The recent wave of virulent anti-Semitism in Boston and New York, the continuing [illegible] tension in Detroit and other war-production centers, highlight a grave danger which is confronting the American people and the war effort," began a statement to Attorney General Biddle, recently submitted by a delegation from the National Negro Congress. The statement continued, "Those violent outbreaks against racial minorities—whether against Negroes, Jews or Mexicans, form a national pattern . . . fomented by persons and groups associated with the KKK, the Christian Front and similar subversive organizations."

"All liberties are united and all persecutions are associated," began a serie sof PV articles recently published to show the inseparable destiny of the Jew and the Negro, who are the common targets for home-bred, foreign fascists. PV, continuing in the tradition of the Negro press that began as an organ of protest against race hate and abuse, now turns its attention to anti-Semitism in Harlem.

PV believes that the Negro who Jew-baits, labor-baits and red-baits as a temporary release from his frustration and wrath, plays into the hands of those who seek to divide, defeat and control them all.

Harlem has a fringe of anti-Semitic scoundrels. Although they are a bit more subtle than their Brooklyn ilk, they are no less vicious.

The techniques of Jew-baiters in this community are varied, but deadly and effective. The Negroes' economic plight is played upon by them as being the result of Jewish "sharpery" in business and real estate dealings. Negroes are to this way of thinking

and although they do not give vent to their feelings by many overt acts of any violent consequence, they do contribute to the spread of persecution by loose and unfounded talk, name calling, wall scribbling and other petty acts that lead to conflict.

Actual facts show that non-Jews

Swastikas and oaths are frequently smeared on Jewish property in Harlem. The desecration of the homes of Negroes is another side of this same picture — of home-grown fascism.

Children of Jew-hating parents defile posters and signs bearing Jewish pictures or names. An advertisement of the candidacy of Meyer Goldberg for City Council was wantonly defaced and inscribed with [illegible] profanity that cannot be put into print here.

661-1943

Missouri's Opportunity To Square Practice With Principle

Kansas City Call

The convention for the revision of the state constitution now in session is Missouri's opportunity to square the administration of the law with conscience. The facts are plain: Custom has taken the place of law in this state in its treatment of citizens of color.

Though the present constitution of Missouri was formulated near the close of the Civil war, a struggle in which part of the state was pro-slavery, it has only one provision that makes any difference in the legal status of Negroes. They must attend separate schools. (We do not consider the intermarriage prohibition a second difference, because it limits whites as much as it does blacks.)

Kansas City, Mo.

For our basic law to be so free of race hatred, though drawn up 68 years ago, is a tribute to the breadth of vision and the democracy of the men of that day. But the plan made in 1875 is not followed. In its stead we have custom which denies Negroes all sorts of things, for which law gives no warrant. Bus drivers operating common carriers have segregated Negroes. Purveyors of necessities refuse them food. Courts appealed to for law observance have said this one limitation on us, definitely stated to apply to schools, prevents our sharing other public services. Worst of all, Missouri when called on to provide "equal" though separate school facilities, has appealed to the prejudice of white juries to escape from what it admits is the law's requirement.

The one difference the law inflicted on Negroes has grown into an abandonment of principle. We say this convention now sitting should take up the state's treatment of its Negro citizens, and either make practice square with law or frankly state that Missouri still holds that they have no rights.

In a case brought by a Negro taxpayer, wherein he asked the use of public services which his money helped to provide, — not schools mind you — a judge held that he was entitled only to "equal" and not to "identical" services, though his taxes, like every other taxpayer's, helped buy all public services. It is the experience of Negroes that "equal" services are a talking point, never a real aim of the authorities.

What has happened in health protection, a public service of admitted prime importance, illustrates the point. Kansas City maintains a public hospital of which a special ward for the tubercular is a part. Negroes, like whites, have tuberculosis. But where the latter were given treatment in a well designed and operated tuberculosis ward, Negroes for many long years had only the charnel house addition to their Old General hospital for their tubercular.

Today Missouri university, recognizing the need for more doctors, is talking of adding two years more to its present two-year pre-medic course. Good! The improvement is needed! But when it comes, Missouri will not provide "equal" training for Negroes though health is the one community asset held in common. If the past is any guide to the future, when Negroes ask that training they will be told that the state has not had sufficient notice of their need and that they must wait a "reasonable time" for it to be provided.

All the while Missouri, like all states, holds that ignorance of the law does not excuse the citizen from any of his responsibilities as supporter of the government. Yet the Negro by custom, is not to expect benefits and if he dares expect them, he is to be denied them.

The state should set an example of law observance, because it expects its citizens to be law abiding. The meeting of this convention to revise the constitution is most opportune. It is to be hoped that its members, mindful of the respect for every man's rights required by the new age into which we are being hurried, will set Missouri's house in order and make its practice square with its professed principles, thereby repeating the wisdom of the statesmen of 1875.

'Babies Are Not Born to Hate'

Kansas City Call Mo

About a year ago, a series of articles on the Negro and the race situation in the United States appeared in the leading magazines of the country provoking much favorable comment and influencing the thinking of many Americans who had paid little attention to the subject before.

Recently two large corporations in full-page advertisements in leading journals advocated tolerance and interracial goodwill, starting a new trend we hope will be carried on by other commercial firms.

The Revere Copper and Brass corporation built its entire ad in the Life magazine of September 24 around a Negro employe who has worked in the plant for 19 years. In the ad, the company said:

"Many of the workers at the Revere plants are Negroes. William Hayes is representative of their high standard of endeavor, their wholehearted interest in winning the war."

The Emerson Radio and Phonograph Corp., in a full-page advertisement in the New York Times recently, carried the pictures of four babies, three white and one colored. Beneath them a caption read, "Babies Are Not Born to Hate.'

Both companies are to be commended upon their attempt to weld together into a strong nation Americans of different races, colors and creeds.

These firms could have considered their share in building a real democracy done when they employed Negroes in their shops. But they were not content to stop there. They did more than was expected of them because they believe in the fundamental principles of America and want to see them put into practice bad enough to do something about it.

The Revere and Emerson corporations have joined the growing number of thinking white Americans who realize that this country must abolish its color and caste system if we are to lead the way to world peace.

DYNAMITE

By **H. George Davenport**

The Four Freedoms

(The opinions expressed by this columnist do not necessarily reflect the editorial opinion of the Washington Tribune.—The Editor.)

This writer has before him the pictures of the Four Freedoms drawn by Norman Rockwell, world' famed painter. Freedom of speech, want and worship are good illustrations. But freedom from fear wasn't good enough to portray the idea. Being somewhat of an artist myself I would have used an entirely different picture. The Four Freedoms we hear so much about weren't intended to include the Negro,—that is this writer's opinion anyway.

Freedom of speech has not only been denied Negroes, but has also been denied certain white groups. What the final results will be only time will tell. Just recently, A. Philip Randolph was denied the privilege of speaking in Memphis. The late Clarence Darrow, a white lawyer, was threatened when he represented certain groups in a case involving whether the human race sprang from monkeys—this happened in the same state—Tennessee.

Negroes are not allowed to speak out in many southern states and cities, and in many small cities in the north the better ones speak out. Freedom of worship has never been denied Negroes; except in rare cases, although the Negro has to worship God in his own jim-crowed church in most instances.

Washington Tribune

"Wings Over Jordan" has made many appearances throughout the south, because the southern white man encourages religion among Negroes because there is little competition and no one but the Lord is involved, and the Negro is allowed to whoop, holler and sing to his heart's content in his jim crow church. In many appearances this group has been allowed to sing in auditoriums denied Negroes in other walks of life. White Southerns like Negro spirituals, and "Wings Over Jordan" has made many contacts that have helped Negroes throughout the South. Freedom from want [illegible] in many ways—it covers a lot of territory—in every way the Negro is denied what he wants most—"CITIZENSHIP." Give him citizenship, "not on paper"—"not in certain sections of the country"—and his wants will be the same as the white man.

Washington, D. C.

If he were a full fledged citizen, he could join any union, he could go to any church, he could stop at any hotel, he wouldn't be kicked about and discriminated against in the Army, Navy or Air Corps or Government jobs. But the very man who started the talk about the Four Freedoms, President Roosevelt, does not possess the courage of Abraham Lincoln, who won his election BATTLING FOR THE FREEDOM OF NEGRO SLAVES.

Roosevelt is VERY SILENT on the Negro question and it might cause his defeat if he rushes, which this writer hopes he doesn't. In key cities like Chicago, Detroit, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland and simillar sections, if the vote is close—and Negroes vote Republican, "ROOSEVELT CAN BE DEFEATED." Freedom from

fear can be taken [illegible] from want, as constructed by this writer is followed in detail, because if we were citizens we would have no reason to fear anything—but to date—all we have is freedom of worship —!!

Jail
Kansas City, Mo

Epochal Change in the South

Because parties and personalities were the terms in which Georgia's election was [illegible] fact may go unnoticed that really it was an epochal battle between ignorance and education—and the beginning of race prejudice's downfall. Arnall, the winner, made no more promises of better treatment for the Negro citizens of Georgia than did gallus-snapping Talmadge whom he defeated. But this he did, he campaigned on real issues instead of appealing to the fears and follies of the white voters.

Gov. Arnall not only made his campaign for better government, but he has succeeded in getting the legislature to enact laws that will provide education and correct management so that he expects Georgia from being one of the nation's worst to become one of the nation's best states.

In all this no word about the Negro, the direct cause of the South's one party system, and indirectly of its lag in industry and government. Yet the Negro will be benefitted along with whites, because the people of a community go up together as they go down together.

The education whites will get under Gov. Arnall's new order in Georgia will harvest good in so many ways that Negroes will get some of it. For one thing the educated man, knowing how interdependent all men are, will want all to be healthy and contented as the one practical way in which he himself can have happiness and contentment.

The educated Georgian, understanding the full meaning of the new relationship in which the United States will stand toward all other countries, will practice good will. Those differing from him he may not invite to his house, but he will treat them well because the really educated face toward their ideals and do not surrender to prejudices.

Gov. Arnall in his interview here said that major trouble with his section was the handicap it suffers industrially through discriminating freight rates and the like. We have heard that before. If true, it accounts for the dog-eat-dog race relations in the South, suicide for the strong in the end, a very natural thing for people who do not know better.

But with education, Georgians will know that social problems can be solved, and will continue the course Gov. Arnall has started, instead of turning to hate in disappointment at their poverty. We say Georgians, meaning both white and black, because to [illegible]groes comes new responsibility if they would match the new vision that has come to the white people of their state.

We do not expect the sudden end of Georgia's black laws, nor any quick change of her customs. But as fast as the whites make practical use of their added knowledge, the blacks too will have the new opportunities sound industry and good government create.

Ignorance lynched because ignorance was blind enough to believe one man could rise by standing on the neck of another. Education knows that the prisoner and his jailer are both in prison, and that both are a public expense.

Ignorance idles, because ignorance does not see through today's difficulties to ultimate success. Both races have languished under the old system. Both will rise under the new. Taking heart from education's victory over ignorance, let Negroes [illegible] ahead and be ready to offer merit for reward. Otherwise they either cheat or seek charity, an unthinkable thing for a citizen to do who wants to be on equality with his fellows.

What's the Evidence?

Nation

Dear Sirs: Whether one agrees or disagrees with James Boyd's point of view regarding the proper strategy for Negroes in the present crisis, one cannot accept his assumptions concerning human nature and the nature of race contacts.

New York, N. Y.

Mr. Boyd [illegible] at the beginning of his article that the most rudimentary factor affecting the Negro's position in American society is "man's primitive antagonism to the strange." As evidence he states that "the alien cast up on the beach is killed because his color, speech, smell are different." This assumption concerning "man's primitive antagonism to the strange" is not new. It belongs among the many erroneous folk beliefs concerning human nature. There is no scientific evidence either in psychological or anthropological research to substantiate it. Unless they are otherwise conditioned by personal experience, traditions, or customs, the attitude of men toward the strange is properly described as fascination. When a white child first sees a black person he does not experience a feeling of antagonism or even fear. Mr. Boyd should know this from the history of blacks and whites in the South. Moreover, he should have learned from the history of race relations in the South that when the Negro had a well-defined status in the social organization as well as in the economic organization of the South during slavery and relations between the two races were regulated by an established etiquette, not only was there no racial antagonism but the maximum intimacy between the two races could be maintained. One would like to know what evidence Mr. Boyd has for his statement that "the alien cast up on the beach is killed" because he is strange. From what I have read of such instances, people have regarded aliens with fascination at first and then have disposed of them according to their customs and beliefs or interests. Sometimes the stranger has been treated as a god and accorded special respect, and when he was eaten, it often occurred not because he was strange but because he was thought to possess some special power or virtue.

In view of these facts, it is unnecessary to attribute the attitude of whites toward Negroes to an impulse "rooted in nature's urge to eliminate the atypical from her breeding program." If there had been such a mystical urge in nature, the appearance of *Homo sapiens* in the course of evolution would have been impossible. Whether one accepts the Darwinian hypothesis concerning variations in nature or the findings of modern genetics, one must conclude that the evolutionary process has been characterized by the breeding of the atypical. When one considers breeding in man, it is clear that even if such a thing as "nature's urge to eliminate the atypical" ever existed, the urge has been nullified by human association and customs and traditions. Not only the Portuguese and the Spanish but in some instances even the British in their relations with colonial peoples have not shown an urge to eliminate the atypical. To bring the matter closer home, it is common knowledge that although mixed bloods in the South have not become a part of the white social organization, they have enjoyed some special privileges, and there has been no general urge to eliminate them.

In the light of these facts Mr. Boyd's assumptions concerning human nature and the nature of race relations appear as mere rationalizations of current attitudes of whites. Although racial attitudes are not fundamentally affected by showing that the rationalizations which support them are false, it is necessary to insist that those who discuss race relations dispassionately and on a scientific plane base their arguments upon science rather than folk beliefs concerning human nature and biological urges.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Washington, D. C., June 28

Greedy Whites Block Use Ga. Auditorium

Afro-American, Balto., Md.

ATLANTA, [illegible]—Believed the result of behind-the-scenes maneuverings of local theatre operators, J. Neal Montgomery, director of the Southeastern Artists' Bureau, has been notified by city authorities that the City Auditorium would no longer be available for attractions booked by him.

In addition to the effort of white theatre operators to monopolize the entertainment field, the usual economic jealousy was also seen in the sudden decision of city council [illegible]

City officials, in explaining the order, said it was the result of poor conduct on the part of patrons. Montgomery in a letter to the officials pointed out that the thousands who throng the auditorium at attractions he gives, are no better nor worse than those who attend affairs given by white promoters.

The order, unless it is amended, means cancellation of a whole series of dances and concerts including Dorothy Maynor's scheduled appearance here in October, Montgomery said.

Montgomery became enbroiled with Bailey Theatres, Inc., which operates all the colored theatres here, in June over the showing of "Cabin in the Sky." Bailey, who does not book Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer pictures, refused to contract for the all-colored film for his houses.

Montgomery secured the picture for a special showing at the Auditorium over the futile protest of the city council that price scale was "too high for our poor colored people."



Atlanta, Ga. Journal
February 21, 1943

ARNALL "RETURNED GOVERNMENT TO THE PEOPLE'
Speaker Harris and Governor Study Bills.—(Wide World)

AP Tells Nation How Arnall Has Reformed Rule in Georgia

Changes Amaze Average Citizen, Writer Says

The following article, prepared in the Atlanta bureau of the Associated Press, and the accompanying picture have been sent to more than 1,000 daily newspapers, members of the Associated Press throughout the United States, and are appearing in a large number of these papers today.

By JOSH SKINNER
Associated Press Staff Writer

An emphatic "no" comes from Georgia's new Governor so often that old-line politicians hardly believe their ears, and the average man is just plain amazed at how the state is being run.

But so far, Ellis Gibbs Arnall, 35 years old and on the short and dumpy side in stature, has been able to accomplish numerous reforms he promised to make while successfully campaigning against three-time Governor Eugene Talmadge.

His administration is only five weeks old, but at the end of the first three weeks the Legislature had enacted necessary bills to put into effect the 10 major steps Arnall requested "to return the government to the people."

Right and left, he clipped powers from the Governor's office. No more pardons and paroles from the Governor: From now on they come from a commission, and the Governor is not even an ex officio member of it. No more dishing out of money by the Governor to the various state departments for their operations: From now on the legislature appropriates the money and a tight budget control system sees that it is spent for intended purposes.

Patronage Privilege

One of the mainstays of patronage control through the Governor's office has been the privilege of striking from any department's quarterly budget the name of any employe found undesirable. Arnall has had this privilege removed.

He does, however, have an interest in patronage. Always very frank and open with his official conduct while serving as state attorney general for three years, his interest in appointments to state positions recently was summarized at a meeting of department heads:

Elective state officials will handle their own patronage, but "naturally I do not want them to appoint anyone violently opposed to me in the election."

Appointive state officials in charge of engaging employes "will be expected to work closely with me in naming their personnel."

Little Hiring So Far

But it hasn't been a job hunter's paradise since Arnall went in. There has been a lot of firing to weed out what the Governor calls "dead timber," but there has been little hiring so far. The time for personnel changes will come after the Legislature adjourns next month, he says, but he also emphasizes a program of rigid economy, says there will not be as many jobs as before.

A third of his large daily stack of mail is from job hunters, he estimates, but "when they find out that I mean what I say, I guess I just won't be getting any mail anymore."

The most publicized part of Arnall's program came over the management of the State University System, operated by a board of regents.

With Talmadge as an ex officio member of the board—as all governors have been—charges were brought by Talmadge against two faculty members of state colleges that they were sponsoring the coeducation of Negroes and whites in the state. Talmadge pressed the charges at one hearing, and the board acquitted them, voting to continue them in the system.

Dropped Without Trial

Talmadge reorganized the board, requesting some resignations, firing others, and then brought the charges again. At this hearing the new board voted not to reemploy the accused, both of whom denied the charges. Other persons were dropped without trial. Within a brief span, accrediting agencies dropped numerous Georgia colleges from their approved lists, the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools removing nine at one time on charges that operation of the schools was subject to political interference.

Arnall made this the chief issue of his campaign against Talmadge. He called for a nonpolitical board of regents, for removal of the Governor as a member of this and all other state boards, and in general for a "return to constitutional government in Georgia."

He assailed Talmadge as a "dictator" for his University System actions and because of the financial system Talmadge instituted. Under the Talmadge system, the Governor allotted money to the various state departments, approving quarterly budgets and setting aside funds for expenditures he approved. There was no legislative appropriations act.

Not only under Talmadge, but for years, there had been criticism of the exercise of the governor's clemency powers in granting pardons and paroles. Nearly every campaign has seen the term "pardon racket" used frequently. The state has had a Prison and Parole Commission to manage prisons and conduct hearings on paroles, but it could only recommend action to the governor on clemency. Final word came from the governor, and he did not necessarily have to go through the commission to act.

In the first three weeks of Arnall's administration, the biennial Legislature has:

Abolished the old Board of Regents and set up a new one without the governor as a member. The new arrangement will be permanent if the voters in 1944 approve a constitutional amendment which proposes incorporation of the new plan in the State Constitution.

Changed the financial system of the state by making appropriations for each state department; by making the state auditor (budget officer) elective by the Legislature instead of appointive by the governor; by removing the governor's control over personnel through budget "blue pencilling;" by setting up a financial commission to handle budgetary adjustments instead of leaving it to the governor entirely; by making all state income subject to legislative appropriation instead of allocating to some departments the income from certain taxes and fees.

Established a Pardon and Parole Commission of three members appointed by the Governor to handle exclusively all clemency matters except stays of execution in capital cases; approved a constitutional amendment proposal

Governor Arnall Takes High Grounds

In his message before the Kiwanis club at Chattanooga this week, Governor Arnall made a strong case for Georgia and the entire South against freight-rate differentials. "This is no time to build up sectional isolation," the governor said. "No nation can long endure prosperity with one section in poverty and enslavement. We have every God-given advantage, but we have been held back by man-made discrimination."

Atlanta, Georgia
Daily World
JUL 29 1943

The argument

In a recent speech,, he said:
"We have let the shyster lawyer
know that pardons and paroles are
no longer for sale in Georgia. We

of the unfair freight rates against the South is identical with our argument against differentials in salaries, in educational provisions, in economic equality, and for other enabling opportunities for citizenship rights for Negroes of the South. Just as no nation can long endure prosperously with one section in poverty and enslavement, neither can a vigorous, healthy and intelligent white South be safe as long as there is a diseased, ignorant and poverty-stricken black South.

Wendell L. Willkie, in his book One World, decries the acute health problems of the natives in Teheran, capital city of Iran. He says: "The city's water supply runs through open gutters along sides of the streets. People wash themselves or their clothes in it, pump it upstairs to their apartments, drink it and cook in it." And here is the point about Mr. Willkie's statement that merits most consideration:

"It is all very well to say, as some people did say to me in Cairo and Jerusalem, that 'the natives don't want anything better than what they have." That is the argument that has been used everywhere for centuries against the advancement of the underprivileged, by those whose condition makes them satisfied with the status quo. "Yet," continues Mr. Willkie, "the history of civilization shows that the creation of economic conditions under which those who have little or nothing can improve their lot is not a dividing process but a multiplying one, but which the well-being of all society is advanced."

There are those among the white South who will in all likelihood, dissent from the governor's pronouncement, especially if it is to apply to the Negro. We cannot be certain that the governor himself would not repudiate such a view. Nevertheless, the inescapable logic of Wendell Willkie remains, that to advance one section is not a dividing process, it is moreover, a multiplying one. And if this idea gains currency in the South it will not be long before our common problem will have been solved.

'White Supremacy' Plotter Asks End of Presidential Elections

Daily Worker, N.Y.
The Worker, N.Y.

By Rob. F. Hall

(Special to The Worker)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Horace Wilkinson, corporation lawyer and co-worker with former Governor Dixon in the "white supremacy" insurrection against President Roosevelt's war leadership, urged this week the abolition of popular elections to the Presidency. "The Worker"

"The next objective of the white people of America," he said in an address before the Ensley Kiwanis Club Thursday, "must be to throw the election of the President into the House of Representatives."

Wilkinson also urged laws to disfranchise all government employes. He would, he said, "make it a felony for any employe or appointive officer of the federal government to vote for or undertake to . . . influence the election of electors for President."

New York, N.Y.

RACIAL ATTACKS

JAN 10 1943

He put forward this double-barreled attack on democracy, he said, to counter "the Mulatto Menace" and the "amalgamation of races" which he claims is being forced on the South by "mulatto escapists and their white companions in Washington."

Spokesmen for the Roosevelt Administration and Wendell Willkie were both inferentially attacked by Wilkinson because of their position that our post-war aims should include justice for all peoples.

"Unhappy and unattainable ideas of social equality and ultimate amalgamation are being urged upon the Negro," he said. "Inter-mixture and inter-marriage and the destruction of segregation is the ultimate aim and secret ambition of these pressure groups whose activities are centered in Washington, where they are undertaking to make the federal government accessory to the crime."

JAN 10 1943

Wilkinson attacked federal policies designed to integrate Negro workers into war industry as "making the Negro an economic menace." "The reason we exclude the Asiatics from America is an economic reason," he said, and concluded that "it may be necessary to exclude the Negro from America for economic reasons."

"Annihilation, emigration or amalgamation are the only three solutions" he said and asserted that "we might well begin the consideration of a Negro republic in some advantageous place following the war."

During the Civil War, Karl Marx wrote that the Southern Bourbons were seeking "not a dissolution of the Union, but a reorganization of it, a reorganization on the basis of slavery, under the recognized control of the slave-holding oligarchy." The plot of the Wilkinson-Dixon clique presents a deadly parallel. They are seeking not simply, as they contend, to preserve the status-quo in the South, but to extend the most reactionary and fascist institutions of the South, such as Jim Crow, and the poll tax, throughout the nation

NOT A CRACKPOT

Wilkinson cannot be dismissed merely as a crackpot or a has-been. He has studied assiduously the "race theories" of Hitler. As former political boss of Birmingham, he has widespread connections with persons high in political and financial affairs, not only in Alabama and the South, but in Washington. His associations with Borden Burr, counsel for the big U. S. Steel subsidiary, the T. C. I., with former Governor Dixon, and with Southern Congressmen is well known. There is a great deal in common between his position and that of Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the Alabama State Executive Committee of the Democratic Party, who has likewise attacked Roosevelt for his war policies. Mr. McCorvey's committee is already, according to reports, planning to secede from the National Democratic Party and to throw in their lot with the Republican defeatists around the Chicago Tribune.

JAN 10 1943

The Wilkinson proposal therefore is not something isolated. It is a part of the gigantic defeatist plot that extends from the NAM, from Vandenberg, Wheeler, Hoffman to Martin Dies and Charles Coughlin. Nor are Wilkinson's proposals purely trial balloons. They represent the contribution of himself and his group towards a blueprint for fascism.

His plan to evacuate the Negro people from America to "some advantageous location" is the counterpart of Hitler's program of extermination and evacuation of the Jews. Mr. Wilkinson would evacuate the Negro people, he says, to "remove the necessity" of exterminating them.

His plan to have the 78th Congress, rather than the people, select a successor to President Roosevelt testifies to the defeatists' faith in the present House of Representatives. It has even greater significance, however, as a suggestion to the fascists as to how they might make their seizure of power "legal" and "constitutional."

The Dixon-Wilkinson insurrectionists have sought to make the "Administration's handling of the Negro question" the main issue, hoping to exploit old prejudices that exist in the South, and thus drive a wedge between Roosevelt on the one hand and the win-the-war forces of the South, on the other. Their alliance with the Republican defeatists, their attack on national democracy and the republican form of government, their consistent efforts to disrupt war production show that their main aim is to reduce the people to impotence before the marching hordes of fascism and Nazism.

DON'T SPEAK FOR PEOPLE

That they do not represent the will of the masses of Southern whites is dramatically proven in the action of the Red Ore Council of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, CIO, of Bessemer Workers affiliated with the council in a few days raised the sum of $516.92 in donations from 567 workers to send to the National Democratic Party as a "token" they said, of "what the people of Alabama, the rank and file Democrats of the state, are ready to contribute in money, effort and devotion in support of President Roosevelt and his war policies of victory."

JAN 10 1943

Labor thus shows the way for the win-the-war forces in the South. The indignant voice of the Southern people must answer the plots and conspiracies of the "white supremacy" defeatists. They should demand federal action to punish and silence the treasonous Conspirators in the South.

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Dixon Reviews Administration As End Nears

JAN 13 1943

Tells Legislature That Results Have Proven Worth Of Innovations

Commending the State Civil Service and State Liquor Store systems and various administrative changes, Gov. Frank M. Dixon yesterday gave his final message to the Alabama Legislature as that body opened its brief organizational session.

An interested spectator was Gov.-Elect Chauncey Sparks, who sat in the rear of the hall of the House, at his own request.

Sparks will succeed Dixon as the State's chief executive Monday, after the Legislature complies with the formality of certifying his election at a joint session beginning at 11 a.m. today.

JAN 13 1943

The Governor's address, which consisted almost entirely of a review of his administration, was almost the only activity of the Legislature's opening day. The two Houses re-affirmed the officers chosen in the special session last Fall to comply with legal technicalities.

The 40 House committees will be named today by Speaker George O. Miller, while Senate committees must await the inauguration of Lieut. Gov. Handy Ellis next week.

Dixon spoke for 45 minutes in outlining the work of his administration.

"It was the pledge of this administration," he said, "that the faith and confidence of the people of Alabama in the government of the State would be restored. I believed this has come to pass, that our State is in the best condition it has ever been in, that public affairs are being properly, efficiently and economically administered, and that the condition and morale of our people are excellent."

Federal-State Relations

Dixon also spoke of Federal-State cooperation, which he declared had been wholehearted except that "it has been necessary for this administration to protest the actions of certain Federal officials and agencies in their efforts at concentration of power in fields having no relation to the war effort, and in their attempts to abolish the segregation of the races in the South."

JAN 13 1943

"Birmingham News"
"Birmingham Post"

Gov. Dixon's Message

In reviewing his record of four years as governor in his retiring message to the Legislature, Frank M. Dixon was fully entitled to express pride in the accomplishments of his administration. The people of Alabama, regardless of political sympathies, can well share the governor's pride, for this state has unquestionably come a long way in its governmental affairs in the last four years.

Gov. Dixon has been a constructive, efficient administrator. There is a strong basis for his statement in his retiring message "that our state is in the best condition it has ever been in, that public affairs are being properly, efficiently and economically administered, and that the condition and morale of our people are excellent."

JAN 14 1943

Gov. Dixon has not been merely an efficient administrator, however. He has been a progressive governor, especially in governmental methods and procedures. During his administration some important and far-reaching reforms have been made. Some of the state's governmental institutions have been revised and modernized to great advantage. The structure of the state government has been improved. Frank Dixon has been a "reform" governor in a very real sense.

This fact, incidentally, goes to show that governmental reform does not necessarily have to be politically or socially radical, because no one would ever accuse Frank Dixon of being a radical, and yet he has been conspicuously a reform governor.

Birmingham, Ala.

Most notable of the reforms of the Dixon administration were the establishment of the civil service system for state employes and state political systems. The people are also in favor of bringing them about. Civil service and the parole system have proved their worth in Alabama, and, although there remains room for improvement in both, the people of the state are overwhelmingly in favor of retaining them. The reorganization of governmental departments was another direction in which Gov. Frank Dixon worked successfully for progress and reforms had improving both systems.

JAN 14 1943

Dixon has been advocated for years by some Alabamians, and they were adopted with the support of public opinion; but to Frank Dixon and his Legislature must go the honor of reform. The state's affairs are much better

ordered now than they were before. Financial administration has been sound, and the public services have been improved in many respects. Notable gains were made in education, with increased appropriations for the schools and lengthening of the minimum term to eight months. In public welfare, in highway construction and in other services, the record of the Dixon administration is good.

Frank Dixon has long been a keen, earnest student of government, and that has been one of his strongest points. Some of his friends sometimes wish he were as apt a student of politics. His political ineptitude at times has been one of his weakest points. A case in point is the fallacy he has lately fallen into regarding the federal government and race relations. When he talks about attempts to disrupt our social system in this regard, he is just seeing things.

Birmingham, Ala. News
January 15, 1942

This Evening

EPILOGUE

Gov. Dixon's final message to the Legislature is illuminating. Quite naturally, it emphasizes achievements. This account of work well done, of innovations justified by experience, of good intentions in government turned into accomplishments, is a story of administrative advance. It is indisputable that in several directions Gov. Dixon has led the state toward efficiency and a sound technique.

But the tone of the governor's report is another matter. Why the governor should have chosen the tone he uses, why he should have injected into an account of his stewardship of state affairs a reminder of his unhappy excursion into national agitation, why he should have found it incumbent to make this statement a clear attempt to heighten his own political stature—these are questions which spring up to blur the picture of progress in state government.

In many ways Gov. Dixon's service has been admirable. But he has done his level best to reduce the significance of his performance by claiming too much, by emphasizing activities which do him little credit. The man who refused to help the teachers until his hand was forced should not point with pride to what he has done for the schools. The man who has made such a sorry ado about the Negro question ought in this instance to have refrained from pursuing that demagogic course. The man who went out of his way to fight the Roosevelt administration ought in the current circumstances to let bygones be bygones.

Many of us who knew Frank Dixon when he sought the governorship the first time have watched his evolution with amazement. That early defeat did not rob him of glamor. But four years of grooming himself for another race made a great change in him. The reformer became a politician who won the prize. Actual occupancy of the gubernatorial chair completed the transformation. He retained his charm, and he grew in articulateness, but his inherent conservatism and his latent prejudices came to the surface. The result is that he saddened many friends, brought an ugly notoriety to the state, and gained in the country at large a reputation which bracketed him with Eugene Talmadge as an exponent of swashbuckling obscuratism.

That is a pity because his gifts are real and tested. They are needed in Alabama for the promotion of a finer life. They would be called for, as time goes on, if only they could be freed of egoism and narrowness. They should be dedicated to large causes, instead of private ambitions, to the shaping of a free world, instead of a relapse into the ways and aims of "ancient men" and "ringmasters."

GOV. SPARKS OUTLINES POLICIES FOR WAR YEAR

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 4—In opening his first, full legislative session shortly after noon Tuesday, Gov. Chauncey Sparks called upon the state's lawmakers to use "practical approaches" in administering the state governmental policies during the war year ahead.

Advancing plans and policies for the four-year term in simple, plain-spoken terms, Gov. Sparks proceeded to state his stand on immediate problems facing this session, calling for a State Department of Labor, a war emergency fund, retention of the merit system, a statewide vote on the liquor question, better educational facilities for Negroes and a committee on reapportionment of representation in the State Legislature.

* * *

LABOR

Regarding labor, Gov. Sparks recommended:

"Creation of a Department of Labor for the purpose of administering our labor laws and stimulating a study of employer and employe relationship. In addition to the creation of the department, we should provide laws regulating, in the interest of employer and employe and the public, matters which affect their welfare.

"Strikes should be avoided whenever possible. They are an economic loss not only to the worker and his employer, but to the public also. Provision should be made for arbitration of disputes where possible. No one denies the right of labor to organize, collectively bargain, and to strike when necessary, but our laws should protect property and life and the rights of the public.

"A bill will be offered for your consideration embodying these provisions."

* * *

EQUALIZATION LAW

The governor urged the retention of the tax equalization law, declaring:

"The equalization boards, which have been in office for the last four years, in may instances, have done a good work. It has been the practice of the state for many years to have a supervisory agency, as far removed from politics and local influences as possible, to pass upon tax assessments.

"This is not taking away, as I see it, the right of local self-government. It is in the interest of equality of tax assessments upon all the people, reduction where necessary, and increases where required. Until some better method is devised than the old method, which relegated such matters to the courts of county commissioners, I respectively urge the retention of the equalization boards."

* * *

PUBLIC WELFARE

"I recommend to the Legislature increased funds for old-age assistance in the manner in which we now provide this service. To accomplish this, I suggest that there be appropriated to the counties, earmarked specifically for old-age assistance, the sum of $650,000 from current revenues derived from the sales tax. In addition, there should be an equal appropriation from the general fund for this purpose.

"We cannot neglect our aged needy. Any funds that are appropriated to this cause are matched by the federal government. It is my hope that we shall some day attain a worthy goal of not less than $30 per month to all needy aged people in Alabama. Such a goal we may not be able to reach during my administration, but we can help along the way and start a program that some day will give adequate support to those who are entitled to it."

* * *

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES

As to a statewide liquor referendum, Gov. Sparks said:

"In my platform as a candidate for governor I stated:

"'I favor keeping the control of alcoholic beverages in the hands of the people. To this end I advocate a statewide vote to decide whether the present liquor laws shall or shall not be retained. If they are retained by vote of the people, I shall advocate the state store system and abolition of all honky-tonks, juke joints and other corrupting liquor outlets.'

"I recommend to the Legislature the consideration of the above quoted plan in my platform.

"Since taking office, the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board has gone far toward accomplishment of a clean-up program. Honky-tonks have, in large measure, been controlled. What are known as 'juke joints' have been outlawed and the present disposition of liquor has been cleansed of some of its objectionable features. We propose to go further in this clean-up program under the present statute."

* * *

MERIT SYSTEM

Gov. Sparks urged retention of the merit system and establishment of a state retirement program in conjunction with it as follows:

"The merit system in Alabama has worked well. It is, I think, a proper principle in the administration of the state's affairs. It gives security to the employe. It relieves the governor's office of tremendous burdens and removes, as near as possible, politics in the securing of employes for the state government. I urge its retention.

"If there be any defects in the present law which should be amended, or if it should be changed in any way to strengthen it and make it a better aid to employment and security to employes, such matters will occur to the members of your bodies.

"I recommend to the Legislature the consideration of establishing, in connection with our present personnel system, a retirement program."

* * *

EDUCATION—AID TO NEGROES

Gov. Sparks not only called for adequate support for schools from the special educational trust fund and cited the fact that public education during the 1942-43 school year is getting $3,833,901 more than ever received before, but advocated providing better educational facilities for Negroes. He said:

"Alabama's population consists of two races—the white and the Negro race. It would be a shortsighted policy to fail to educate both. Whatever sphere in life they may occupy, that sphere is better filled if each be educated. Because of impoverished conditions of our state since 1865 we have not been enabled to do all we should have done for the education of the Negro.

"As an economic asset he is of value if trained. He is a part of our body politic. He has a right to request of us adequate provision for the education of his race. I recommend to your earnest consideration an improvement, by way of increased appropriation, to our two Negro institutions of higher learning, the one at Montgomery known as the Alabama State Teachers College, and the one at Normal, near Huntsville, known as the Agricultural and Mechanical Institute for Negroes. They are both doing a good work. The results of an improvement of that work will grow as the years pass.

"Tuskegee Institute at Tuskegee has done a great work in training Negro boys and girls. It was founded by the foresight of our predecessors as a state institution in 1881. Then a small appropriation was made to establish the institution. It grew by voluntary and charitable contributions, to be one of the largest institutions of learning for Negroes in the world. It touches our own life at many points. For us to be isolated from it is to neglect a duty to ourselves and to the Negro race, which we cannot afford to neglect.

"Tuskegee should be tied in with the educational system of Alabama to the extent it is willing to go along with us. It can be helpful to us and we to it. There are certain fundamentals of racial relationship which should never be lost sight of. These fundamentals do not prevent the proper training and education of the Negro race at Tuskegee. The traditions of the South are a worthy inheritance. The Negro is a part of that tradition. The association with and contact through our educational system will promote the preservation of that tradition.

"At Tuskegee there is a demand for graduate work in certain elementary fields which it has provided for the Negro race. It comes now to you and asks that you make a small appropriation for the establishment and maintenance of graduate work in these fields. With such establishment and promotion the educational system of Alabama should be tied in. The superintendent of education should be connected with the work at Tuskegee when appropriations are made by the state, just as he is with the other institutions for Negro training in Alabama. We cannot refrain longer from providing adequate facilities for all training for which the Negro is capable.

"I recommend to your fair and serious consideration an appropriation of $100,000 for beginning, at Tuskegee, work on the graduate level in agriculture, rural education and home economics."

Pointing out there is a special educational trust fund of $8,587,654.57, Sparks recommended that it be used over a four-year period with not more than a fourth spent in any one year. He also asked that any additional accumulations in this fund be added to it for replenishment.

Vocational education and training was recommended for schools and appropriations were asked to place the teacher retirement fund "on a safe and sound basis."

Sparks recommended providing fees for attorneys appointed to defend indigent capital cases and urged that "every capital case in which the death penalty is fixed by the jury be appealed to the Supreme Court for consideration of both facts and errors."

* * *

REAPPORTIONMENT

With respect to the much-discussed proposal for reapportionment of the state's legislative representation, and about which nothing has been done since the 1901 constitution was adopted, the governor made this comment in his message:

"Reapportionment of representation in the Legislature has been a constantly recurring problem for every Legislature to consider. It has never been adequately solved. Shifting populations have made it necessary to give careful thought to more equitable apportionment of representation. Population cannot be the sole basis for reapportionment, because of the concentration of large population in certain centers and decrease of population in others. All counties should be represented. Population should not be the sole standard for fixing representation. Some method of reapportionment, recognizing both area and population, can be worked out. To this end I recommend to the Legislature the appointment of a committee of reapportionment and recommend a plan that would be fair to every section of our state."

The governor said the Pardon-Parole Board "has done a good work," and declared that it should be more adequately financed. He asked also for "adequate support" for the Conservation Department.

He recommended that the Legislature provide for refunding approximately $4,365,500 in bridge bonds, reissue them at a lower rate of interest and "thereby save to the state, during the life of the bonds, many hundreds of thousands of dollars."

Sparks recommended that the extension service at Auburn make a study of the teaching of production and marketing with an annual expenditure of $75,000 handled by "specialists trained in the character of work."

Adequate marketing facilities were also asked through creation of an Alabama State Markets Board to study production concentrations, transportation and marketing problems and present improved methods of inspecting, classifying, refrigerating and dehydrating foods for markets.

He recommended establishment of an experiment station in "the Piedmont area" within the 13 counties in the east and northeast of the state. He asked for improvement in the quality of livestock and recommended a $40,000 appropriation from the general fund to eradicate Bangs disease from cattle.

The governor called for adequate attention to eleemosynary institutions and proposed a conditional appropriation for establishment of a four-year medical college "to meet the demands made upon the medical profession and to increase the number who engage in this profession."

The problems of highways is maintenance, Sparks told the legislators. He said that if sufficient funds are currently lacking for maintenance and payment of debt service charges on outstanding bond indebtedness, he would recommend refunding principal maturities for not longer than five years so that current income might be used for necessary maintenance.

He said planning of highways should be started now and building begun as soon as the war is ended. He emphasized that farm-to-market roads should be considered in line with his proposal for a state market system.

The State Civilian Defense Council, the governor continued, should be made a part of the state government. He also proposed a state planning board out of the Planning Commission to study postwar problems such as unemployment.

He proposed also that a financing corporation be set up by the state to finance public works projects in connection with meeting post-war emergencies "and to utilize re-sources and credit in providing em-ployment to those who may need it."

The war emergency pool of funds that he proposed, the governor said, should be used not only for construction and rehabilitation. The governor proposed correlating the Aviation Commission with the Highway Department and suggested a statewide aviation system for some small industries are suffering from war shortages and he pointed out, will be insufficient when the impact of unemployment follows peace."

While there is widespread employment now, the governor pointed out, some of the theurged consideration of their needs by the Legislature.

FACTS AND FANCIES

Tribune Philadelphia, Pa.

MAY 22 1943

By EUSTACE GAY

Calling Names

Gov. Chauncey Sparks, of the State of Alabama, was guest speaker recently at Founder's Day rites at Tuskegee Institute, Ala. The Governor, so says the AP releases, indulged in some "plain talking" on the "so-called problem" of race relations. The Governor, however, did more than that. He indulged in some fancy name-calling. I must say, in passing, that you will not find this in the releases sent out by the Institute's Bureau of Press Relations. But, from some of the releases in metropolitan dailies, I gather that the Governor is much disturbed by the activities of men, white and colored, who believe in the Constitution of the United States and in the elevation of America's "Tenth Man" to full citizenship status.



GAY

MAY 29 1943

According to Governor Sparks, fair-minded white men who decry the injustices which Alabama's colored citizens are forced to suffer, because of their race, are 'demagogues". On the other hand, colored men who have the courage to speak out against these injustices are. the Governor said, "social climbers". The latter accusation gives some idea of what is going on in the Governor's mind. The fact is—the Governor himself is aware of it—that the colored people of Alabama and other States below the Mason-Dixon line are deprived of much that is theirs as citizens and human beings. Knowing this, the Governor is desirous of doing something in Alabama to correct the unfair condition. Instead of referring to white men who offer a program as "misguided agitators and demagogues", he ought to examine their suggestions.

OCT. 27 1943

Colored men who want to vote in Alabama; send their children to schools supported by taxes which they help to pay; have colored teachers get the same pay as any other teacher, with similar qualifications; secure decent accommodations on public conveyances, when they pay the same fare; get justice at the bar, instead of the lyncher's rope—these men are not 'social climbers" in the sense of wanting to eat at the Governor's table in the Executive Mansion, or at the table of any other white man in Aabama; or in the sense of wanting to marry the Governor's daughter—if he has one; or of going o the University of Alabama for the questionable privilege of sitting next to the Governor's son — if he has one. They are interested however, in "climbing" manhood ladder as citizens of Alabama. And that is their right, according to the country's basic law. No name-calling can change this!

Apr. 17 1943

Store to save. Find out how each food keeps best, and store each article in the right, and correctly cared for, cupboard, cooler, can, or jar.

Keep bread and cake in ventilated containers, scalded, sunned and aired once a week.

Sparks Hails Right Of State To Rule Itself

Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala. Tells Legionnaires That South Will Not Recede From View On Races

JUL 14 1943

Citing the administration of the selective service act by the several States as an example of "democracy at work," Gov. Sparks yesterday called for a return to the States "their right to govern themselves."

Speaking before the 25th annual convention of the Alabama Department of the American Legion, Gov. Sparks said, "If the people are not capable of governing themselves, then there must follow autocracy and dictatorship. The American people have demonstrated their ability to govern in this one particular high responsibility (the selective service act). .....

"If much of our national effort to regulate the habits, the practices, the customs, prescribed duties, secure conformity to needful and necessary laws, rules and regulations, had been delegated to the States I am constrained to believe we would have had many shining examples such as the selective service. .....

"If Washington had been a little more anxious to acquire efficiency than political appointments, much of the confusion now prevailing in our national effort could have been relieved."

The governor said the South particularly was interested in the States governing themselves, adding, "it is simply a reiteration of the fundamental, universal and eternal truth that the people can best govern themselves when they are permitted to control their growth, their relations, their education, their social ideas, their civil obligations, without impositions from outside."

On Race Relations

Gov. Sparks said, "we (the South) hold that social equality is impossible, civil rights must be earned, that they are not given because one happens to be a resident. No power can force upon the South the acceptance of a different belief."

Declaring the South could expect nothing from the Republican or a third party, Governor Sparks said, "we should expect our party (Democrat) to make a national declaration after the following order:

"We recognize the inherent right of every State to control its internal affairs. We demand equal economic opportunity for every section. We believe in the right of the people to govern themselves, and that this right embraces moral, social, and political self determination.

"Democracy must stand for this, national democracy no less than Southern democracy."

Mobile Wins Trophies

Mobile carried off a heavy proportion of trophies presented by the American Legion Auxiliary for excellence in various phases of auxiliary work, at the "trophies and awards" luncheon held Tuesday at the Jefferson Davis Hotel. Won by Mobile were the Woodrow honor roll trophy; the Waldrop history trophy for the best unit history; the McClung membership trophy, and the Maude Bolton membership trophy; the Waldrop membership trophy, awarded to an individual, won by Mrs. E. C. Doody, of Mobile; the Maiben Cammack Legion enrollment trophy, for the unit enrolling the most Legion members, won by the Mobile unit, and the Cates-by Jones Legion membership trophy, which went to the individual enrolling the most Legion members, to Mrs. Berry Dandridge, Mobile.

The Montgomery unit won the Ellis rehabilitation trophy, for the best job of rehabilitation work among veterans, and the award for the best singing group among members.

The Lipscomb membership trophy, for largest percentage of increase in membership, was won by Ozark, the Kelly scholarship trophy, for contributing most to scholarships, by Jasper, and the Americanism award to the child writing the best essay on Americanism, by James Langley, Opelika.

The Owen publicity trophy was won by the Decatur unit. Gen. Gorgas unit, Birmingham, won the Hart trophy for the unit having the best war activity program, and the Ensley child welfare trophy. Central Park unit, Birmingham, won the Ward junior enrollment trophy and the North Jefferson junior trophy.

Mrs. John T. Batten, department president, presided at sessions of the Auxiliary, holding its 22nd annual department convention at the Jefferson Davis Hotel.

"Look To Future"

Urging Legionnaires to look to the future, Henry H. Dudley, director of field secretaries, reviewed the Legion's efforts to assure a program of national defense and warned that the future must be planned.

Telling the Alabama Legionnaires that the Legion had called for adequate national defense, Dudley said, "Let me say that had the Congress of the United States and the nation at large done likewise; had they followed the program of the American Legion of evolved judgment and foresight calling for an adequate national defense, there is a good possibility we would not be involved at the present time in a world wide war."

Dudley pointed out that the Legion had advocated universal service which would have "prevented the internal strife which has done more during the past year to hinder our war efforts than any other single thing."

Seven pieces of legislation to benefit men now in service had been brought to completion by the Legion he said, and added that the Legion already had established a "post war planning commission."

Department Chaplain W. E. Patterson conducted the annual memorial services for Legionnaires who have died during the past year. State Adjt. D. Trotter Jones who read the list said there were nearly 100 who died during the past year. At the conclusion of the memorial service, as the Legionnaires stood with bowed heads, Miss Ella Chapelle sang "Taps," the soldier's requiem.

New Members Initiated

Three veterans of World War II, all of Langdale, Ala., were initiated in the first such ceremony at an Alabama State convention by a ritual team from Chambers County Post No. 67. The young veterans initiated were James F. Boone who served in North Africa; Cecil T. Watkins, of infantry, who was awarded the Soldiers' Medal at Fort Benning for rescuing two soldiers from a burning truck, and Byron L. Duffey, who served in the Coast Artillery.

The ritual team instructed the new members in the four fundamentals of the Legion, justice, freedom, liberty and loyalty, and explained the significance of the Legion emblem.

Tom Owen, national historian of the Legion and a native of Alabama, addressed the convention on the national organization's progress and its hopes for the future.

Thanks From FBI

Alabama Legionnaires got a personal message of thanks from J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation at the afternoon session, through L. R. Pennington, Hoover's assistant, who began his FBI work in Montgomery.

Pennington told the Legionnaires of numerous instances where the Legion had aided the FBI in rounding up enemy aliens,

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Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

GOVERNOR OATH GIVEN TO SPARKS

Thousands Are Present At Inauguration In Montgomery

MILITARY PARADE PROGRAM FEATURE

JAN 19 1943

New Executive Pledges Service To People In Address

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 18—(AP)—Chauncey Sparks, of Eufaula, became the 43rd governor of Alabama Monday in simple inauguration ceremonies here.

The incoming governor, who leads the state's 45th administration, pledged himself to the service of the people in his inaugural address outlining his proposed program.

Several thousand attended the inauguration and watched a martial parade of more than an hour preceding the simple inauguration ceremony. The customary pomp was omitted at Sparks' request because of wartime conditions.

Effective prosecution of the war he placed first on the list of objectives of his administration, adding education, internal justice, essential service to the needy and preservation of democracy and private enterprise.

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Referring to the control of alcoholic beverages b ythe state, he said the law received its power from a vote of the people and added that any question as to the value of its operation "is something that can well be submitted to the people for their determination."

Law Must Be Enforced

While such law exists, re declared, it must be operated according to the purposes of the empowering act—"protection of the p[ublic] welfare, health, peace and morals of the people of the state." There can be no deviation, he added.

He said the pooling of the state's resources should be considered "to the end that all the agencies of the state may have reasonable and equal support; that some way not be abundantly provided for, while others are lean and in dire distress."

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"It is my hope, also," he added, "that we shall guard carefully the surplus which the foresight and prudence of the outgoing administration have created. We cannot spend it in promotion of standards of service which we may not be able to maintain. We must use it to meet diminishing revenues, to maintain as reasonably good standard of government as possible and to prepare us for proper activities and service when the war is over."

Sparks declared that in the broad outline of government for Alabama "there are certain domestic policies which must claim our attention. These spring from and are involced in the peculiar social srtucture of our Southern tsates."

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Try To Be Just

"We may not have always done what possibly others think we should have, but we have tried, perhaps haltingly, to be just and fair and to grant achieved rights to all entitled thereto. We have made mistakes. There has been exploitation, there has been some injustice, there has been economic cheating.

"But we of the South are not the only ones guilty of these things. There are those who cry for economic and political justice, but they are like the one who carried the bear in his eye and undertook to locate the mote in his neighbor's.

"There should be no talk of economic justice until there is removed from around the necks of the people of the South trade barriers, discriminatory rates, and political reprisals which have dragged it down to the lowest level of per capita wealth and per capita income.

"The Negro and the white can live in peace in Alabama if they recognize and lay down as fundamentals two principles which are inviolable. First, complete recial segregation; second, independent recial development.

"With these fundamentals there can be builded in the South a relationship which carries with it justice, fair dealing, equal opportunity on the part of each race to acquire rights to which it is entitled, and which the laws will grant to it when achieved.

Outside Interference Hit

"Any outside efforts to interfer with established relationships, such relationships as will, in a spirit of mutual cooperation and sense of responsibilify and high concept of justice, solve any problem that may arise, will be of little value to us of the South, either white or black.

SPARKS

"We do not propose to agitate. About our daily tasks we shall go and promote the welfare and the prosperity of our people, and guarantee to them justice, protection of all rights, and equal opportunities to which men are entitled. This I know Alabama will do and it shall be my purpose to promote it.

"If it is possible to maintain a standard of eight months for schools and a higher schedule of pay for our teachers, it would be an ambition worthy of any man," Sparks declared, "but if it cannot be done, I am sure that the school people of Alabama will recognize they, too, along with all the rest, must assume their share of sacrifice."

While the right to construct additional highways may be denied temporarily, Sparks said, especially the important farm-to-market road, the state cannot neglect to maintain and protect the highway investment it already has.

State Responsibilities

He referred to public health and public welfare services as state responsibilities, adding "the moral welfare of our people is as much a consideration as our state's government as is their security and protection in life, liberty and property. No state government and no society can overlook this responsibility."

Sparks said state contributions to agriculture should be encouraged and extended and "we should also study a method by which the products of our farms can find an outlet and seek a market among those who constantly stand in need of these products."

He said that while emergency powers may be given the executive in time of war they must be "speedily" returned to the people when the emergency ends. He said, "there will be no dictator in Alabama."

He saw for Alabama a chance to lead all the states, "not only alphatelcally but in achievement, in progress, in prosperity." He called for systematic planning to meet future emergencies and progressive developments.

Age Of Change

The new governor declared that an age of change and progress has engulfed the world and that new responsibilities faced this state and nation and would cause a greater participation in world affairs following the war, both economic and political.

The Legislature, which recessed last week, convened at 10 a.m. and recessed a few minutes later so that members could attend the parade and inauguration. It meets at 10 a.m. Tuesday.

Speaker George Miller introduced James E. Nettles, new representative from Conecuh County, at the brief House session. The Legislature is expected to adjourn Wednesday.

The parade before the inauguration exhibited the concentrated military might of Alabama, including units from combat forces, aviation cadets and state guardsmen.

The units from the 81st (Wildcat) Division at Camp Rucker, under command of Maj. Gen. Paul J. Mueller, sang their new marching song, "Fighting Wildcat March," written by Pvt. Emory Heim and Lt. Myron Morgan.

McClellan Band Plays

The band and singing troops of the 92nd Division from Ft. McClellan also stood out in the line of march. The 92nd Band dropped out at the reviewing stand and played while its units filed past.

A 19-gun salute, the traditional military salute to the governor, was fired with a 75-MM. cannon by a Maxwell Field ordnance company just as Sparks took the oath of office.

The oath was administered by Chief Justice Lucien D. Gardner, of the State Supreme Court. The incoming governor took the oath with his hand placed on the Jefferson Davis Bible.

The Bible was opened to Ecclesiastes 12-13, Sparks' favorite passage: "Fear God and keep his commandment: For this is the whole duty of man."

The grandstand was erected over the steps to the capitol in the shadow of the dome and before the historic portico where Jefferson Davis took the oath as president of the Confederacy in 1861.

State Democrats Reelect McCorvey

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 18—(AP)—Gessner T. McCorvey, Mobile lawyer, was reelected chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee Monday in a brief and harmonious session immediately preceding the inauguration of Gov. Chauncey Sparks.

Technically, McCorvey was chosen, without opposition, chairman of the new state committee which went into session a moment after the executive group, which had served the last four years, completed routine busness and went out of existence.

Walter Price, Huntsville, was elected vice chairman and Robert W. Gwin, Bessemer, secretary. Mrs. F. A. McCartney, Anniston, was named vice chairman for the women's division, succeeding Mrs. Edwina Mitchell, of Montgomery.

McCorvey reported that the old committee had authorized him to invest $20,000 in surplus funds in U. S. War Savings Bonds.

No resolutions of controversial nature, which had been expected in some quarters in view of recent talk of the possible formnation of a third party, were offered.

A majority of the new committee were also members of the retiring group.

Gadsden, Ala., Times
February 7, 1943
Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

Just, Fair Treatment For State's Negroes Pledged By Governor

FEB 7 - 1943

Sparks Asks For Unity, Cooperation Of Races For Obtaining Victory

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (AP) — "Equal opportunity, just and fair treatment" for Negro citizens of Alabama was pledged Saturday by Gov. Chauncey Sparks.

Addressing a countywide Negro bond rally, the governor said, "We must let nothing divide us." He declared that everyone must sacrifice in order to share in victory's benefits.

FEB 7 - 1943

"Any person, group or class that attempts to divide us at this time is no better than a Jap, Hun or Italian," the governor said, adding, "Let us work together."

Sparks told his audience that he would not "agitate" but proposed to aid Negro education and progress, which he said was "the goal in every honest heart in Alabama."

"If we can bear the heat of the day," the governor continued, "those of us who survive will see the dawning of a beautiful day that will bring us all opportunities."

Quoting Booker T. Washington, Sparks said that although "we may be separated socially and politically, economically we must be one." He urged the following of Washington's teachings.

Asking his audience to buy as many bonds as it could, Sparks said, "We are fighting that Democracy might live and we must all participate in helping to achieve inevitable victory."

Amsterdam Star-News
New York, N. Y.

Scores Sparks' Tuskegee Talk

Apr. 24, 1943

KNOXVILLE, Tenn., (ANP)—In an NAACP address, the president of Knoxville college, Dr. William Lloyd Imes, criticized the remarks made recently by the present governor of Alabama at Tuskegee. He read the governor's speech condoning segregation which appeared in the New York Times and said in his speech: "This article appearing in our nation's largest daily newspaper, could hardly be unrepresentative of what the governor really meant. It said in part that

which you and I know as well, gation first because it is only a certain very considerable artificial and can never succeed. time that we began the four freeite people in doms right here at home!" he and will con- said.

He criticized the policy of segre- to fight in the desert Africa and the jungles

Racial Animosity Stirred By C. W. Rice, Wesley Claims

"The Informer" "Houston Post"

JAN 2 - 1943

By CARTER WESLEY

In times of war it is seditious for any man to stir up racial animosity, by telling one race that the other race is going to rise up against it in a community, even though the man guilty is doing it to get a job for himself. C. W. Rice is now accused of telling contractors and other leading employers that it is all he can do to hold Negroes down, and that they are on the verge of rioting and rising up. Many whites, who are thus frightened, are arming themselves and are really concerned over this imaginary riot by Negroes of this community.

Over the last several weeks we have seen mysterious evidences of this rumor. Always they seem to come through Negroes connected with or working for whites, who are hearing it from whites. This week one of those Negroes called to say that he had found out who was responsible for the rumor. He said one of the white men who talked to him had given him a description which made him suspect Rice. He says he met Rice and started to talking to Rice, and Rice told him that he had just come out of a contractor's office, and had told the contractor that it was all he could do to keep the Negroes down and keep them from rioting.

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A Dangerous Trick

We know that C. W. Rice is in a desperate plight now, the support that he has gotten from the Hughes Tool Company and from other employers on the claim that he could handle Negroes, being in danger because of his woeful failure in keeping the Negroes from joining the CIO. But we seriously question the wisdom of permitting Rice to scatter carelessly and dangerously talk of riots in this community.

Rice is grabbing at straws now to save himself from the fall from checks from influential white people in this community. He has started a paper in Port Arthur, hoping that he can build up among the people in Port Arthur the same type of deception that he has practiced on the leading merchants and business people of this community, now that it is likely that they will discover his weakness and his deception, after his woeful failure in the Hughes Tool situation. It is likely that this dodge of telling contractors and other leaders that Negroes are going to riot if he doesn't keep them from rioting, is another plan to get a different class and group to giving him checks to keep Negroes "in their place." But any white man whose mind is thus inflamed in likely to precipitate a riot by shooting up Negroes, or doing something else violent in his fear and in his nervous condition. Houston has had one riot and it doesn't want another. The white leaders of this town will do a service to the community to make a cold-blooded check of these rumors of Negroes rioting and stop them, before they may bring us to bloodshed and grief.

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We are in contact with Negroes in every crevice and corner of this city, and we know that there is no element intending to riot or to do any violence to white people. C. W. Rice knows that there isn't evidence anywhere of any intent on the part of Negroes to do violence to whites, whether they be housewives, contractors.n employers or city administrators or anyone else. Negroes want to vote, they want equal pay, and they want the other things that the Constitution and the four freedoms promise, but they have no thought or plan to use guns or any other violence to get them. For any leader in this community to attempt to scare white people with that kind of thing is dangerous to the lives of the people in the community and war effort. Negroes don't want such leadership, and it is another reason why they resent white leaders taking men like Rice as their representative.

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Evasive Cheat

C. W. Rice has through nimble wits fooled the white people in this community a number of years and has gotten thousands of dollars from them, on the ground that he was protecting them from radical Negroes and from radical movements. Having come a cropper in the Hughes Tool election, he is now attempting to fool everybody again by attacking those who expose his activities in the Hughes Tool matter, and putting them on the defensive so they will cease to point out his failures. Accused of never having worked to help Negroes but always having tried to stir up white people against "radical" Negroes, and having tried to fool Negroes that he was their saviour, he now tries to keep the truth from coming to light and the whites from seeing the picture as it is. There never has been any great amount of radicalism among Negroes in this community, and the white employers and leaders could at any time have worked out constructive programs by talking to the real leaders of Negroes about the difficulties to face and the things being done about them instead of trusting so-called overlords and quislings.

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It's Blasphemy

It's close to blasphemy for any one to pretend, as does C. W. Rice, that Booker T. Washington advocated that so-called labor leaders should stifle the aspiration of workers, on the pretense of being friendly to white people. C. W. Rice's attempted answer to our criticism of the quotation in the Post editorial of his "Uncle Tom" statement just isn't responsive. Neither has his statement, that Southern leaders would act wisely to curb racial feeling, (everybody says that) anything to do with the accusation that he was using his influence in behalf of employers to stifle the aspiration of Negroes.

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Either Mr. Rice is incapable of thinking honestly or he has deliberately attempted to arouse racial feeling of his white employers against Carter Wesley and the Informer. Perhaps he hopes to intimidate the writer and the Informer by making these prejudicial appeals to whites in the hope that we will be afraid of what may happen. So far as we are concerned, we still say that any Negro who says that conditions are all right for Negro people in Texas or in the South is a blatant liar and a sycophant, trying to curry favor. Any Negro, whether it be the Labor News or C. W. Rice, who gets himself quoted as endorsing the claim that Negroes are getting fair educational facilities and other opportunities equal to all other people in Texas, cannot use such treachery as an argument that he is keeping down racial strife. For if racial strife must come when Negroes push for equal opportunities under their constitutional guarantees, then it is those who seek to deprive Negroes of their constitutional rights who precipitate racial strife.

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The Facts

The very week of the election C W. Rice came out in his paper and gave ten reasons why he knew that the vote in the election would be even better than 2 to 1 for the Independent Union at Hughes and against the CIO. When the vote proved him a false prophet and showed up the untruths that he had been telling white leaders in thiscommunity, he attempted to evade the consequences by claiming that the men had voted 10 to 1 against the CIO. Rice did this despite the fact that the official vote had shown that the CIO had won the election. He did it despite the fact that he himself had written reams of paper, proving that the CIO would be defeated by an overwhelming vote. Rice said the CIO would lose and the CIO won, that is a fact that employers and others can't get away from and he can't talk himself out of. If there are any subversive elements in this area among Negroes, they have come because of what Rice has done to make the working people here lose confidence in the white leadership. The white leadership is responsible for letting Rice get between them and the workers. The question of wages is not one that can be settled for any length of time by deception. Neither do we believe that the employers of this community need to use deception in their problems of adjustment of labor questions. The employers have been moral cowards and have let C. W. Rice use them all these years. They could save money if they would consult with the real Negro leaders, along with the working men, on any issues that come up. The real leaders among Negroes are not radical, indeed, they are most reasonable to deal with.

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A Tangled Web

Mr. Rice, having spun a web of glib-tongue oratory and deception over the years, now finds himself forced to go even to the border of sedition, if not to sedition itself, to cover up the other deceptions of the past. A realistic view of the career of C. W. Rice and his effect on labor in this community will remind one of Scott's couplet:

"Oh, what a tangled web we weave,
When first we practice to deceive!"

Gadsden, Ala., Times
January 18, 1943

Sparks Becomes Alabama's Chief Executive Today

Military Atmosphere Marks Inauguration; Ceremonies Simple

MONTGOMERY, Jan. 18.—(AP) Following a parade of the military might concentrated in Alabama, Chauncey Sparks was inaugurated at noon today as the state's 43rd governor.

While the incoming administration is the 45th in the state's history, Sparks, first bachelor governor in 70 years, becomes the 43rd governor.

Several thousand saw the parade and simple inauguration. The usual pomp and ceremony was omitted at Sparks' request because of wartime conditions.

Long Military Parade

Combat units, aviation and prep school cadets, several bands and the Alabama State Guard participated in the parade, which filed past the capitol reviewing stand for more than an hour.

Sparks and outgoing Governor Frank M. Dixon rode at the head of the gigantic procession and stood with military leaders from all sections of the state to review the martial parade.

The 81st (Wildcat) Division from Camp Rucker sang its marching song, "Fighting Wildcat March" and the 92nd division from Fort McClellan sang its fighting song in passing the reviewing stand.

19-Gun Salute

Sparks took the oath of office from Chief Justice Lucien D. Gardner, and immediately a 19-gun salute to the governor was fired by a Maxwell Field ordnance unit with a 75-mm. cannon.

As he took the oath, the governor placed his hand on the Jefferson Davis Bible, used by Alabama chief executives since 1853, choosing a verse from Ecclesiastes 12:13:

"Fear God and keep His commandments: for this is the whole duty of man."

T. B. Hill of Montgomery, was master of ceremonies for the occasion. Governor and Mrs. Dixon and Mrs. Louise Sparks Flewellen, sister of the incoming executive, sat in the front row of the grandstand.

The grandstand was erected over the steps of the capitol in the shadow of the dome and before the historic protico where Jefferson Daxis took the oath as president of the Confederacy in 1861.

Sen. Lister Hill (D-Ala) and others prominent in state public life attended the inauguration. The legislature recessed, and attended the ceremony en masse.

LOCAL GUARD COMPANIES IN INAUGURAL PARADE

Etowah County's two State Guard companies, under the command of Capt. C. D. Tommie and Capt. Horace G. Banks, were in Montgomery today to participate in the inaugural parade. The two

dragged it down to the lowest level of per capita wealth and per capita income.

Two Fundamental Principles

"The Negro and the white can live in peace in Alabama if they recognize and lay down as fundamentals two principles which

promote the welfare and the schools and a higher schedule of
perity of our people, and guar- pay for our teachers, it would be said, es-pecially the
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grant to it when achieved. About our daily tasks we shall go "If it is possible to maintain a standard of eight months for While the right to construct additional highways may be de-

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Inaugural Address Of Gov. Sparks

IT IS fitting that so large a number should gather to witness this occasion. The government of a democracy belongs to its people. They have the inherent right, as well as the power, to control. This is your government, and you should witness its inauguration, and constantly keep in touch with its functioning, and measure its servants by the yardstick of democracy. I welcome you, as well as the occasion here presented, to tell briefly what I think and to give an outline of the things I hope to accomplish for the ensuing four years.

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The office which I assume is not mine, except to hold and to administer for a limited period of time. I am commissioned by my fellow Alabamians to perform a duty and I shall not be recreant to that obligation, except through inevitable mistakes. While I cannot promise ease and comfort and relief from the tragedy and tears and sorrow, I shall pledge myself to endeavor to promote the happiness, peace, welfare, and prosperity of the people of my State.

This occasion has a different significance for you and me to that of any similar occasion within our generation. We are today facing, as we have never before in the beginning of a new administration, a world war. Our nation is deeply involved in that war. It is making tremendous demands upon our resources, our manpower and material equipment. We have dedicated ourselves to the winning of that war. Alabama no less than all the rest of the 48 states. We shall do our part, do it willingly and heroically, and as we begin this four years, we shall rededicate ourselves primarily to this one objective, to the end that our nation and our State shall be free, and democracy will continue to have a safe refuge among the peoples of the earth.

There is today a world revolution. We are fighting in that revolution. We cannot withdraw our own domestic affairs from its influence. With the courage of Paine, and Jefferson, and Washington, we shall, as they did in their time, face this revolution and adapt it to the needs of our people. We will turn our faces backward for inspiration, and forward for achievement. We shall not be afraid to adopt new conceptions and new ideas. Democracy will progress, and we will accept that progress for the benefit of national welfare. We will go forward and not backward henceforth. Ours shall be a progress freed from selfishness, looking only to the betterment of peoples everywhere. We should provide for ourselves and for the world a peace only provided by a Christian nation which clings to the teachings of the Master of Man.

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While facing this world tragedy, and in planning for the part we shall play in it and the contribution we shall make to our country, Alabama faces its own domestic problems, both presently and hereafter. These problems are no less in war times than in peace, for we shall be recreant to an obligation if we do not keep the home fires burning and do not preserve that which has been committed to us by those who have gone to war. We owe a duty that we cannot rightly pass by. Within our own borders, both because of foreign enemies and from necessity of conditions, as well as changing political thought, our way of life is undergoing a tremendous revision. This will continue as the war projects us into an era wherein, no doubt, there shall be strains on our democratic operations, private enterprise, the way of life we have enjoyed for so many generations. In all these requirements which we face now and may hereafter face, Alabama will and must play her part as she has always played, intelligently and courageously.

In appraising our domestic situation, we should realize to begin with that, while we dedicate all we have and are to the accomplishment of the purpose to which our great country has dedicated itself, we must try and maintain a standard of service through government which will not let either our political welfare diminish, or our economic progress halt. Those of us who are left behind to carry on at home, while our younger men carry on on the many battle fronts of the world, should, as near as possible, maintain a high standard of government, of service, and of progress. We should recognize the necessity for preparing Alabama to take advantage of post war conditions and to equip her to play a part worthy of her history and traditions in the affairs of this nation.

I come now and in your presence and dedicate myself to the service of my people, first, to the effective prosecution of the war on behalf of my State, and second, to the education of our children, to the establishment of internal justice, to rendering essential service to the needy among us, and to the preservation of democracy and the private enterprise system which retains to our people the accomplishments and heritage of the past. Among our objectives we may consider these:

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Education of our youth is an essential service of democracy and necessary, if we are to continue progress in the principles of government by and for the people. We have today an eight months common school term, universally throughout the State. It was achieved through an accumulation of a surplus in the treasury by the outgoing administration, and by the vision of the incoming legislators who came to the rescue of a needy and tottering educational system to fortify it with increased resources. It should be our hope to maintain these standards throughout the next four years. It may be difficult, and we may have to recede from time to time from this high standard, owing to such tremendous demands upon our resources, but I ask that our people willingly and uncomplainingly take whatever befalls them, recognizing that we cannot have all we want while we are giving all we have to the successful defense against treacherous attacks by foreign foes. If it is possible to maintain a standard of eight months and a higher schedule of pay for our teachers, it would be an ambition worthy of any man; but if it cannot be done, I am sure that the school people of Alabama will recognize they too, along with all the rest, must assume their share of sacrifice.

We have, in recent years, builded a great system of public highways in Alabama, spending hundreds of millions of dollars. These highways have added much to the happiness and prosperity of our people and the promotion of adequate distribution. Their value will increase as time goes on. We cannot lose the investment thus made. While we may be denied the right temporarily to construct additional highways, and particularly that type of highway which is going to add more and more to the prosperity of our people — the farm to market road — we cannot, under any circumstances, neglect to maintain and protect from deterioration the investment we now have. To do this it may be necessary to shift funds temporarily and to use the resources at our command for this purpose.

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In times such as these, and in all times, the health of our people is an essential consideration by the government of our State. Public health has become a service by the State. Private health is no longer an individual matter. We have recognized it as a collective responsibility and a necessity of modern social structure.

We have recognized, in recent years, the collective responsibility on the part of governments towards those less fortunate than others. To supply this need and to activate this function, we have established a publiction welfare department, looking towards the help of the aged and needy, the crippled and blind, the underprivileged, the homeless, and the unfit.

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The moral welfare of our people is as much a consideration of our State's government as is their security and protection in life, liberty and property. No state government and no society can overlook this responsibility. It increases from time to time as new practices are adopted which have inherently some power of injuring or destroying moral life and character.

Some six years ago we began a new experiment in the control and management of alcoholic beverages in Alabama. The purposes of that control were, to quote the Act, "protection of the public welfare, health, peace and morals of the people of the State." It received its power from a vote of the people. Any questions as to the value of its operation and its effect upon the health, welfare and morals of the people of the State is something that can well be submitted to the people for their determination. While such law exists it must be operated for the accomplishment of the purposes stated in the Act itself. There can be no deviation here.

Agriculture is a basic activity of our people, and the source from which comes much of our wealth. It is not what it should be. The State has made a great contribution to progress in agriculture in Alabama in recent years through its extension service and through the activities of its agricultural and mechanical college. This should be encouraged and promoted to the end that our farmers may have a better standard of life, a larger spendable income, and more of the comforts which modern genius can afford. A great aid to the accomplishment of this worthy purpose is the establishment of adequate marketing facilities for farmers. In addition to teaching them and studying through experiment and otherwise the larger production of agriculture, we should also study a method by which the products of our farm can find an outlet and seek a market among those who constantly stand in need of these products.

We must give early consideration to such adjustments and legislative acts as will enable Alabama to do her part in the war quickly and promptly. Emergency legislation is essential, and emergency powers must, as near as consistent with our Constitution, be delegated, so that we shall not be denied the opportunity promptly to use our resources to meet an emergency. In the consideration of any such legislation, it must always be borne in mind that all powers must be returned to the people speedily and as soon as the emergency ends. There will be no dictator in Alabama. There will be only such authority and powers as in the wisdom of the Legislature may seem necessary for the conduct of our part in this war. There should be considered also the necessity of pooling resources, perhaps permanently, to the end that all the agencies of the State may have reasonable and equal support; that some may not be abundantly provided for, while others are lean and in dire distress.

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It is my hope also that that we shall guard carefully the surplus which the foresight and prudence of the outgoing administration have created. We cannot spend it in promotion of standards of service which we may not be able to maintain. We must use it to meet diminishing revenue, to maintain as reasonably good standard of government as possible and to prepare us for proper activities and service when the war is over.

In the consideration of the broad outline of government in Alabama, there are certain domestic policies which must claim our attention. Those spring from and are involved in the peculiar social texture of our Southern States. It is not and has not been our purpose to inject these matters into our national life at times such as we face. The genius of the people of Alabama has been sufficient to meet domestic problems satisfactorily, and to adopt policies that are effective. I have confidence in that genius. It will continue to do and accomplish what it has in the past, quietly, peacefully and unostentatiously.

We may not have always done what possibly others think we should have, but we have tried, perhaps haltingly, to be just and fair and to grant achieved rights to all entitled thereto. We have made mistakes. There has been exploitation, there has been some injustice, there has been economic cheating.

But we of the South are not the only ones guilty of these things. There are those who cry for economic and political justice, but they are like the one who carried the beam in his eye and undertook to locate the mote in his neighbor's. There should be no talk of economic justice until there is removed from around the necks of the people of the South trade barriers, discriminatory rates, and political reprisals which have dragged it down to the lowest level of per capita wealth and per capita income. We need to look at our problems from the bigger point of view and not in the isolated perspective of alleged and presupposed racial discriminations.

The Negro and the white can live in peace in Alabama if they recognize and lay down as fundamentals two principles which are inevitable. First, complete racial segregation; second, independent racial development.

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With these fundamentals there can be

tablished and tried channels, rather than undertake to create others.

When the war shall end, we will face new problems. From the disasters and experiences of war we shall rise, like the Phoenix, to a bigger and better service. We shall heed the call of a greater nation, dedicated to democracy, justice, fair dealing among all nations and all races of people and all regions. We shall recognize an increased responsibility placed upon those who administer the affairs of the people to see that justice is done among all. We will have learned from this war many lessons which we must translate into governmental service or activity that center around social reforms, economic changes, and the relationship of employer and employee. These present problems which, in a measure, can be anticipated as far as possible and preparation made to meet them when peace shall come. Because whatever renaissance, social, economical, or political, we should be prepared to meet it.

For we are not living in a static age. Our thinking, our inventions, our improvements, as well as our life, are not static. This is an age in process of change, of progress, of trial and error. We cannot return to the old from which many of our mistakes have come; nor can we follow the illusions of misguided leaders. It is our duty to mark the road our people should follow and mark it definitely. We have heard much in recent years which does not ring soundly, and that cannot be used by the people of Alabama in their relationships, nor in developing their social, economic and political life. There is, on the other hand, much which we should incorporate, recognizing the changed demands and needs of our people. But we shall need at the same time to avoid the pitfalls and hazards which have been created by quasi advanced thinkers who have come to us in sheep's clothing, but in reality are enemies of our way of life. To steer our State between the two extremes is my humble desire.

When this war shall end there will come to America, and to Aalbama, as a part of America, a great responsibility in world affairs. This responsibility is both political and economic. We shall be charged with the duty and responsibility of preventing a recurrence of such a holocaust as we now face. That is a national problem. We shall also be faced with the responsibility of rehabilitating, clothing, and feeding, in a material way, the peoples of the earth. In this, Alabama will play a great part. To her an opportunity comes and it knocks loudly at her door. Have we the genius to accept it and have we the ability to incorporate it, to utilize it and to profit by it? I have no doubt. To that end, I should like, therefore, to see Alabama start even now to prepare herself for the coming of such times. Her agricultural yield, large and small industries, processing of her raw materials, the manufacture of her available products and definite planning for the future are things which we must prepare to accomplish. God has blessed our great State with all the resources of any nation—sunshine, rain, soil, manpower, many minerals and natural resources. That we are poor today perhaps is due to two factors: Injustices on the part of those who would build barriers against the South, and our own indifference, false economic policies and traditional one-crop hazards. We shall break away from this. We shall teach the nation and the world that "He who makes a better mousetrap . . . the world will make a beaten path to his door."

Through education and training we will prepare our people for manufacturing; through our banking and capital resources we shall find available investments necessary to equip our industries; through our manpower and our skilled and unskilled labor, we shall find the resources for the operation of essential industries to balance the economic budget of the South. This we can do and shall do, and place Alabama in the lead, not only alphabetically, but in achievement, in progress, in prosperity.

In preparation for the accomplishment of such a task, I call upon the people of this State to lend to me and give to me their unstinted cooperation, advice and support. I cannot do it all alone. I must have help. I am privileged to serve with those in the government of Alabama, legislative and executive branches, who have the same ideals, I am sure, that I have here tried to express and who will give me unstinted loyalty and service and the benefit of their independent thinking and counsel. I cannot too loudly call upon you, of this great State, to awaken, to recognize not only a duty and a responsibility, but an opportunity. If we neglect so great an opportunity, salvation will not come to us, but we will continue to decrease in wealth, and in per capita income as we have in the past by draining the resources which God has endowed us with, in order that we may pay bills and balance our budget.

This will not be true in Alabama, I hope, a generation from now. I want to give these four years in undertaking to lay down a pathway upon which we can travel. I want rather to be helpful than honored. I want to encourage among our people a sense of fair dealing, honesty, pride in their own State, and an anxiety to help along the way. I do not hold out false hopes, nor point to rainbow's ends, where there are disillusionment and disappointment. I stand rather for those fundamental things which we understand and know and which we can work out all together. I repudiate the false teachings and doctrine which would undertake to destroy our present achievements and disrupt our established relationship. I plead for harmony. I ask to be rid of discord and strife, unnecessary and uncalled for efforts to inject issues and questions which distract our people, retard our efforts to promote our nation's war activities, and becloud the future with unnecessary and childish disputes.

We have bigger things today and tomorrow to consider. While we consider these bigger things, we shall be ourselves big enough to know and understand the smaller things that make for peace, happiness and accord. We shall not lose our sense of justice and of right and of fair dealings; we shall remember that they are the basic foundations of any democratic structure, and any government which loses sight of those in dealing even with the humblest of its citizens, sows the seed of destruction and disaster. No democratic nation can live except as it practices in its relationship to its citizens abstract justice to all and special privileges to none.

We here and now dedicate ourselves to these principles and pledge that in our efforts to administer the affairs of the State of Alabama, they shall ever loom large as does a beacon light to the sailor who seeks a refuge in time of storm. For we recognize that democracy is not only on trial throughout the world, but even among our own people; that the birthday of democracy anew is at hand; that this new birth should guarantee, not only the blessings of the past, but an increase in these blessings. We know that government by the people is what the world today is fighting to achieve, and when achieved, we should be poor indeed if we ourselves lost it.

Even the usually critical St. Louis Globe-Democrat commented:

"When Gov. Chauncey Sparks of Alabama made the negro problem a topic in his inaugural address, he certainly departed from protocol as it is generally observed below the Mason-Dixon line . . . . . Gov. Sparks may be right to some degree in blaming the existing situation on trade barriers and other discriminations raised against the South after the Civil War. These still persist in the form of freight rates, for example."

'Full Faith And Credit'

The United States Constitution declares that "full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other state."

The Constitution also declares that "a person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime."

The layman wonders how these constitutional statements square up with the stand taken by Gov. Walter S. Goodland, of Wisconsin, who refused to return to Alabama a Negro convict escape on the grounds that the Negro would be denied equal protection of the law and a fair, impartial trial in Alabama.

Gov. Sparks charges that the action of the Wisconsin governor is "slander against the state of Alabama" and suggests "prejudice, bias and animosity." The action also borders on a defiance of the nation's Constitution which stipulates that one state shall have full faith and credit in the public acts and judicial proceedings of other states.

Even if one grants the right of the Wisconsin governor to doubt the desire or the ability of Alabama to give justice and fair treatment to all persons—a charge which all responsible Alabamians will deny—the Wisconsin governor is still under the constitutional requirement to have full faith and credit in Alabama's judicial proceedings.

Alabama's judicial system is not to be tried and condemned in *ex parte* proceedings in the private office of the governor of Wisconsin or any other state. The framers of the American Constitution foresaw that some state might seek to be autocratic in regard to refugees from another state, and in plain words sought to prevent just the sort of things that the governor of Wisconsin seems to be doing.

If the forthright letter of Gov. Sparks to Gov. Goodland does not achieve the desired results, Alabama still has the possibility of recourse to the federal courts and a test to see if the United States Constitution means what it says.

SPARKS SAYS NO RIOTS EXPECTED

Governor Informs Editor

Two Races Are Part Of Economy

MONTGOMERY, Ala., June 24—(AP)—Gov. Chauncey Sparks said Thursday that the Negro and white races "are part of the economy of the South and shall continue to remain so in peace and accord if we can be let alone and zoot-minded propagandists and reformers do not mislead, misguide and misinform."

Sparks made public a telegram which he said he had sent in reply to a request from John P. Lewis, managing editor of PM, New York daily newspaper, for an expression of his views on the racial question in view of recent disorders.

The governor recently called out seven companies of state guardsmen following racial troubles in Mobile shipyards, in which several persons were injured.

His telegram to Lewis said:

"Alabama is determined to use all available force to prevent riots. We have had none of any consequence and we would not have any but for influence over which we have no control.

"If self-seeking politicians, misguided philanthropists and outside influences would quit trying to regulate matters which are entirely local, we would have no future difficulty.

"We are undertaking to forestall any new disorders by emphasizing among ourselves and to the outside world that all races in Alabama shall have justice, education and a square deal.

"Alabama today is doing more for Negro education than ever before. It will continue to increase this service.

"The two races are part of the economy of the South and shall continue to remain so in peace and accord if we can be let alone and

He made public Lewis' query as follows:

"We know how concerned you must be about the riots that have broken out all over the nation in recent weeks, destroying lives and property, creating disunity, and

Since your state is among those in which rioting has occurred this would like to know what steps you have taken and what plans are under way to forestall new disorders."

Red Bay, Ala., Progress
July 22, 1943

LEGISLATURE'S GREAT SESSION

Big Melon Cut By Its Members

Alabama's streamlined legislature recently adjourned after making history in more ways than one, chiefly in splitting the largest revenue melon in the history of state and the adoption of the compulsory blood test in connection with the control of syphillis.

Highlights are:

1. Passed appropriation measures slicing an anticipated $102,000,000 annual revenue melon—the largest in Alabama's history—and apportioning shares among various state activities.

2. Increased appropriations for education from $11,571,000 to $19,800,000.

3. Increased the old-age pension appropriation $2,600,000 a year, thereby advancing individual pension payments from $9.50 to $15 per month and increasing the number of pensioners from 21,000 to 25,000.

4. Split a $300,000 special appropriation evenly among three Negro colleges, Tuskegee Institute and Teachers Colleges at Huntsville and Montgomery.

5. Enacted two new taxes, a 10 per cent levy on all liquor sales for the benefit of municipalities and a 1 cent per bottle tax on beer for the benefit of the Jefferson County government.

6. Passed a far-reaching labor regulatory measure.

Measure Passed

Final passage of the Henderson bill requiring blood tests of all persons between 14 and 50 came early Friday afternoon after the House rules committee, which repeatedly had refused to make the measure a special order, reversed itself and placed it at the top of the list for consideration immediately after the lunch recess.

The blood test bill appropriates $75,000 to defray cost of the wide-scale tests and under another law on the statute books persons reacting positively to the test will be compelled to undergo immediate treatment for syphilis.

Estimates were that two or three years may pass before the entire state is tested, but proponents declared the bill was a forward stride toward elimination of serious and costly menace to society.

Alabama, it was declared is the first state to pass a statewide compulsory blood test measure. Sweden and Switzerland are said to have similar laws.

The bill which passed the House without a dissenting vote and with but little discussion is expected to reach Gov. Chauncey Sparks' desk in the next day or two for his signature.

Time Is Marked

After laying aside their calendars during mid-afternoon, thus dooming between 150 and 250 lingering bills, House and Senate members marked time during the afternoon and night, waiting for the last shower of bills to be signed by presiding officers of the respective houses. That formality was the only thing that stood in the way of immediate sine die adjournment. Representatives and senators apparently spent a pleasant period singing songs, swapping anecdotes and shaking hands with members and others who took leave of Capitol Hill in advance of the actual close.

As the Legislature's closing moment arrived, House and Senate members admitted the last two months had been extremely strenuous and some were apprehensive that because the Legislature undertook to do in two months what former legislatures have taken from four to five

State fiscal experts estimated Friday that by increasing general and special education trust funds appropriations and by renewing various other appropriations based on state revenues, or on federal funds trasferred to the state the Legislature during the last 60 days had cut the largest revenue melon in Alabama's history.

About $10,000,000 of the anticipated $102,000,000 in revenue during the next fiscal year comes from the federal government, state records show. Four years ago, after final adjournment of the 1939 Legislature, the state's total revenue, including about $10,000,000 in federal funds, was about $90,000,000.

The Legislature during the past two months wrote into law

Sparks

New Ala. Governor Promises System Of Separate Equality

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
APR 10 1946

TUSKEGEE INST., Ala., April 8—(ANP)—Hon Chauncey Sparks, new Alabama governor, delivering the 30th annual Founder's Day address at Tuskegee Institute Sunday, pledged separate but equal treatment for the races.

A huge gathering awaited the presence of the state executive, anxious to know what would be his stand as regards race relations in view of the infamous record of his predecessor, Frank H. Dixon.

POSITION MADE CLEAR

Governor Sparks wasted no time nor mincing words. In unmistakable language he declared himself in favor of fair treatment for the Negro although he is an advocate of absolute segregation.

"The two races in the South are different and must remain so," Sparks asserted, "but Negroes should have equal civil rights, equal educational opportunity and priviliges—so long as their enjoyment of them are separate."

CITES TWO FUNDAMENTALS

Governor Sparks said he has always believed fundamentally in two solid principles regarding the races: (1) absolute racial segregation; and (2) independent racial development. He said both are essentials to happiness.

Sparks challenged his listeners, "If you want civil rights, then you will possess them; they are achived by training, experience, endurance, achievement — intellectual, industrial and moral. No man is entitled to them except that he achieves them. It is no matter of hopes but of works."

Speaker At Chamber Of Commerce Meeting Charts Rise Of Budget

Birmingham News
October 15

Oklahoma Congressman Says He's Reactionary; Members Hear Sparks

BY MARGUERITE JOHNSTON

Dating the astronomical rise of the budget — through Republican administration as well as Democrat—from the enactment of the income tax amendment in 1913, Cong. Wesley E. Disney, of Oklahoma, boxed the ears of 20th century Americans for their failure to take part in their government in an address Thursday night in Birmingham.

He was speaker at the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce banquet, final meeting of the sixth annual conference, held at the Tutwiler Hotel.



CONGRESSMAN SCORES CONGRESS—Declaring that Congress has reached a spending stage of "stark, raving insanity" and laying the blame on the average American business man who puts his best thought on his business, home and family rather than on his government, Cong. Wesley Disney Thursday night traced the soaring climb of the American budget since 1913 for the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce. Representative from Oklahoma, the speaker was introduced by Alabama Cong. Joe Starnes at the final banquet of the state chamber conference which was presided over by W. A. Steadman at the Tutwiler Hotel.

"George Washington was the richest man in America with a real palace on the Potomac. But he devoted his best thought to government rather than to home and business and family. He left his beautiful home and didn't go near it for six years when he was commander and chief of the armies of the revolution.

* * *

"HE WASN'T A YOUNG MAN EVEN THEN. As a still older man, he left that beautiful home again to spend a hot Summer in Philadelphia to preside at the drafting of the constitution.

"He was older still when he made the sacrifice of accepting the presidency of these new United States, though he wanted to go home.

"He was still older when, with this nation on the verge of war with France, he took command of the armies for a second time.

"He did all this because he knew that without good government, home and family and business are but dust and ashes.

"Today, our big business men put their first thought on their business and homes and families, leaving someone else to look out for their government."

* * *

SINCE THE FIRST DECADES of this country as a nation, Americans have steadily relinquished their responsibilities as democratic citizens until today the country is governed from Washington, Rep. Disney pointed out. Today few of the best equipped men are willing to sacrifice their personal careers to take the risks of government leadership.

The 16th amendment enacted in 1913 started the United States on its spending spree, Disney said.

"In 1913, we had 90,000,000 and the entire federal budget was $700,000,000.

"Under the 16th amendment, Congress can take the shirt off your back. There is no limit set.

"AND THE BUDGET HAS CLIMBED. The climb isn't partisan. It climbed under Harding and Coolidge and Hoover until in 1940 the budget was nine billion dollars. In 1940 we had 130,000,000 people.

"The population had increased 40 per cent and the expenditures had increased 2,000 per cent.

"And the money is being thrown away by your Congress."

"THIS," THE OKLAHOMA REPRESENTATIVE said, "is my thesis: Keep the money, the power and the responsibility in the states. Let's quit talking about states' rights and talk about states' responsibility.

"All the money made by all DOUS SUMS on "monkey business." "The Department of Agriculture of $5,000 'for statistical purposes.' Last year it 'needed' one and a half billion dollars.

"The Labor Department started with $25,000 'for statistical purposes.' Now its appropriation is from $15,000,000 to $400,000,000.

"I'm a reactionary." Congressman declared.

"For traveling expenses in 1938 Congr. Disney was allowed $99,000,000," he said, totaled 64 billion dollars.

"There was no war on," he declared.

"How long can our economy stand that process?

"We had a national debt of 65000 federal employees. Now there were 1,000,000 Americans in 1938, said, totaled 64 billion dollars.

"Surely Americans to those liberals who shaped our much government constitution, the greatest liberal noon. Alabama's signposts 'point, and now a national debt of 167 bil-don't need that much government have document of history."

Gov. Sparks said, toward better

"Expenses of government in a quarter of a century.

"Before the war, there were 1,000,000 employes. Now there are 3,060,000.

"Then we'll have a self-supporting, self-sustaining nation of self-supporting individuals."

"I'm a reactionary." Congressman Disney said. "—a reactionary back to those principles of government which made America great."

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"We had a national debt of 65000 federal employees. Now there are 3,060,000.

"Then we'll have a self-supporting, self-sustaining nation of self-supporting individuals."

agriculture, better industry, a better economy, better education and a better way of life for the individual.

"We can raise the standards for all our people," Gov. Sparks said. "It doesn't hurt you to raise the man next door to a cleaner, healthier, more intelligent life. The raise of his level raises yours and mine."

"We're trying to do something for the Negro in Alabama, in an educational way," Gov. Sparks said, "recognizing that education of him is—if we want to look at it that way—only enlightened selfishness—because he will be a better citizen and a better man."

* * *

THIS IMPROVEMENT OF THE living conditions of all Alabamians can come from the state's own resources, Gov. Sparks said, through scientific agriculture, distribution of products to the market, consequent increase in farm incomes, and better education of all the people of this state. "In 1914," he said, "18 per cent of all persons in Alabama were illiterate. In 1938, the illiteracy is less than 2 per cent. Alabama is on the march."

New officers of the State Chamber of Commerce were elected Thursday afternoon as follows: Joseph B. Converse, Mobile, president, succeeding W. A. Steadman, of Birmingham; N. Floyd McGowin, of Chapman, vice president, succeeding G. Arthur Cook, Montgomery.

The body reelected 12 vice presidents from the state at large, and added to the executive committee H. A. Pharr, Mobile, and W. C. Bowman, Montgomery.

Sparks Picks Five Trustees For Tuskegee

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser
October 8, 1943

They Are To Represent State On Institute Board

Gov. Sparks yesterday appointed the five-member commission to represent the State on the Tuskegee Institute board of trustees provided for in the act of the present legislature appropriating $100,000 of State funds to the privately endowed college for negroes.

The commissioners, who will serve with 19 other members of the board, are State Representative W. C. Beebe, Bay Minette, lawyer and education leader; State Senator John H. Pinson, Geiger, banker and business man; State Representative Henry Neil Segrest, Tuskegee, lawyer; Herbert Stockham, Birmingham, industrialist; and J. R. Wingfield, superintendent of the State Negro Industrial School at Mt. Meigs and a Tuskegee Institute graduate.

The 1943 legislature appropriated $100,000 annually to the school, to be used for broadening the higher educational program for negroes. Specifically, the appropriation act provided for establishment of graduate work in agriculture and home economics, along with any other graduate courses the trustees might deem necessary.

Under the act, the State-appointed members will serve as regular members of the board of trustees, except that they will have no voice in filling vacancies. The Governor will fill vacancies other than among the 19 original members, a self-perpetuating group, Gov. Sparks explained.

The commissioners were described by the governor as "liaison men" between the institute and the State in administration of the $100,000 appropriation, which is in addition to the regular $10,000 allotment given the school for the past several years.

Dr. E. B. Norton, State superintendent of education, is ex-officio member of the board.

ALABAMA GOVERNOR PLANS CONVENTION FIGHT ON F. D. R.

SEP 23 1943

By DREW PEARSON

Christian Recorder

A situation which may bring the entire Negro question to the floor of the Democratic National Convention is brewing in Alamaba's ebullient Governor Chauncey Sparks is laying plans, first, to elect a pungently anti-New Deal delegation to represent his State in the Democratic convention. Second, he proposes to make a speech on the race issue, denouncing Mrs. Roosevelt, and attempting to obtain adoption of plank in the Democratic platform for white supremacy.

SEP 23 1943

Philadelphia, Pa.

His moves have met with the vigorous opposition of certain of Alabama's liberal Democrats, led by forthright Colonel Harry Ayres, of the Anniston Star. They feel that any anti-Negro move such as that proposed by Sparks would do the country no good, would alienate millions of colored voters in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago, and would definitely swing the Negro vote securely back to its traditional position in Republican columns.

SEP 23 1943

As a result, one of the hottest preconvention battles of the South is already on in Alabama over sending an anti-Roosevelt or pro-Roosevelt delegation to the Democratic National Convention.

SEP 23 1943

Note: War Department executives are aghast at the Sparks proposal; say it would play directly into the hands of Jap propagandists, already doing a good job of harping on the color issue in the Orient.

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Post
Washington, D. C.

AUG 30 1943

By Drew Pearson

A SITUATION which may bring the entire Negro question to the floor of the Democratic National Convention is brewing in Alabama.

Alabama's ebullient Gov. Chauncey Sparks is laying plans, first, to elect a pungently anti-New Deal delegation to represent his State in the Democratic Convention. Second, he proposes to make a speech on the floor of the convention on the race issue, denouncing Mrs. Roosevelt, and attempting to obtain adoption of a plank in the Democratic platform for white supremacy.

His moves have met with the vigorous opposition of certain of Alabama's liberal Democrats, led by forthright Col. Harry Ayres of the Anniston Star. They feel that any anti-Negro move such as that proposed by Governor Sparks would do the country no good, would alienate millions of colored voters in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago, and would definitely swing the Negro vote securely back to its traditional position in Republican colu

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SPARKS

Anniston (Ala.) Times
January 31, 1943

Sparks Starts Job On Keynote Of Cooperation

Montgomery. — Cooperation among all branches of the state government and the citizens of Alabama, behind a program concentrated upon victory for the United Nations and solid economic progress after the war, is the keynote upon which Chauncey Sparks of Eufaula begins his administration as Alabama's 42nd governor.

In his inaugural address, Governor Sparks called for a truce in "discord and strife," saying:

"I plead for harmony . . . Democracy is not only on trial throughout the world, but even among our own people; the birthday of democracy anew is at hand . . . I want rather to be helpful than honored . . . I call upon the people of this state to lend to me and to give me their unstinted cooperation, advice and support. I cannot do it all alone. I must have help.

"This is an age in process of change, of progress, of trial and error . . . We have heard much in recent years which does not ring soundly, and that cannot be sued by the people of Alabama in their relationships, nor in developing their social, economic and political life. There is, on the other hand, much which we should incorporate . . . To steer our state between the two extremes is my humble desire . . .

"That we are poor today perhaps is due to two factors: injustices on the part of those who would build barriers against the South, and our own indifference, false economic policies and traditional one-crop hazards. We shall break away from this. . .

"I dedicate myself to the service of my people, first to the effective prosecution of the war on behalf of my state, and second, to the education of our children, to the establishment of internal justice, to rendering essential service to the needy among us, and to the preservation of democracy and the private enterprise system which retains to our people the accomplishments and heritage of the past . . .

'We have, in recent years, built a great system of public highways. We cannot neglect to protect the investment. To do this it may be necessary to shift funds temporarily and to use the resources at our command for this purpose . . . It is my hope that we shall guard carefully the surplus which the foresight and prudence of the outgoing administration have created . . . .

There should be no talk of economic justice until there is removed from around the necks of the people of the South trade barriers, discriminatory rates and poltical reprisals which have dragged it down to the lowest level of per capita wealth . . . The negro and the white can live in peace in Alabama if they recognize and lay down as fundamentals two principles which are inviolable. First, complete racial segregation; second, independent racial development. Any outside efforts to interfere with established relationships . . . will be of little value to us of the South, either white or black."

Amsterdam Star-News
New York, N. Y.

Alabama Governor Urges Equal Rights, Segregation

JAN 23 1943

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Declaring for "complete racial segregation and independent racial development" in Alabama, Gov. Chauncey Sparks in his inaugural address as the state's forty-fifth governor, pledged his administration Monday to seek betterment of racial relations through "independent racial development."

While planning his administration inside the Southern pattern of racial segregation, Governor Sparks said that he would endeavor to afford to the Negro in his state "the equal opportunities to which men are entitled." He added that the solution to the Negro and whites living together in peace rested on two inviolate principles; first, complete racial segregation; second, independent racial development."

In effect, repudiating the die-hard anti-Negro policies of his predecessor, Frank M. Dixon, Governor Sparks broke a long-established tradition of Southern governors and mentioned the Negro in his inaugural speech. He even asked for "equal opportunities to which men are entitled," which is an encouraging sign of what may yet become the new South.

JAN 23 1943

The bachelor-farmer governor, who is also a lawyer and banker, decried conditions in the South and said: "The peculiar social structure of our Southern States was due in part to trade barriers and political reprisals which have dragged the South down to the lowest level of per capita wealth and per capita income."

Gov. Sparks Denies Dixie Hates Negro

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

JUL 24 1943

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (ANP) — A pleas for state's rights, the promise of racial justice and the statement that civil rights must be earned were contained in the address of Gov. Chauncey Sparks to the 1943 convention of the state American Legion last Tuesday.

He also declared that "social equality between the races in the South is impossible."

"Mankind is the same wherever you find it," he asserted. "It is just as easy to have a race riot in Detroit as it is in Mobile."

"We in the South are tired of people telling us we are not honest, that we are unfair, that we are Negro haters. It is not true. Established relations and traditional treatment, which are not based upon justice, are dishonest. This we know. But we do not propose to let outsiders force on our people standards of social relations.

"We deplore race riots. We deplore violence, dishonesty, maltreatment and injustice. We believe in equal opportunity for all. We believe in education. We believe in civil rights when achieved and earned. We believe in economic justice. The South is going to fight for these things.

"We also recognize the inherent right of every state to control its internal affairs. The state is the basis and the level at which not only national service can be performed, but local administration and development."

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

Ala. Governor Assures All 'Equal Opportunity'

JAN 30 1943

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—For the first time within memory of the oldest resident of this Jeff Davis capital of the Confederacy, an Alabama governor promised "equal opportunity" for Negroes, when Governor Chauncey Sparks pledged this as one of his objectives in his inaugural address at the state capital.

The new governor caused an uplifting of brows and a widespread tittering among his audience as he departed from the usual, accepted form of inaugural addresses and embarked on a frank discussion of the racial question.

As successor to Gov. Frank M. Dixon, Governor Sparks, the 58-year-old farmer-born bachelor, said that the solution of the problem of the Negro and the white "living together in peace" rests on two inviolable principles: "First, complete racial segregation; second, independent racial development."

Breathes Easier

As he mentioned the phrase "complete racial segregation," there was a noticeable lowering of tension on the part of his audience, many breathing a sigh of relief over their narrow escape from mis-application of the terms "equal opportunity" with "social equality."

Referring to the general, low economic level of the South, Governor Sparks placed partial blame for the "peculiar social structure of our Southern states" on "trade barriers and political reprisals which have dragged (the South) down to the lowest economic level of per capita wealth and per capita income." He continued:

"There are certain domestic policies which must demand our attention. We may not always have done what others think we should have done, but we have tried, perhaps haltingly, to be just and fair and to grant achieved rights to all entitled thereto. We have made mistakes. There has been exploitation, there has been some injustice, there has been some economic cheating."

Concluding, the governor stated: "We do not propose to agitate. About our daily tasks we shall go, and promote the welfare and the prosperity of our people and guarantee to them justice, protection of all rights and equal opportunities to which men are entitled. This I know Alabama will do and it shall be my purpose to promote it."

February 11, 1943

GOV. SPARKS AND THE NEGRO

Alabama's Georgia-reared Governor Sparks seems to have started off "on the right foot." His inaugural address carried a vision of what must be done in the years to come and a pledge that he would do all in his power for all classes.

A great many papers have praised Governor Sparks for his words, among them being the Greensboro, N. C., Record, which declared:

Chauncey Sparks, one-time farm boy who pulled himself up the hard way and who has just been inaugurated as 45th Governor of Alabama, steers a sane, progressive and forthright course as he takes over the helm in Montgomery. In his inaugural speech the new Governor —58-years-old Eufaula lawyer-banker, who replaces Governor Frank Dixon—put first things first, pledging "effective prosecution of the war," and urging maintenance of a high standard of government, service and progress.

"An especially important, and commendable feature of the inaugural address was Governor Sparks' pledge to bring about better racial relations in his State through "independent development" for the negro race. Vigorously attacking "outside efforts" to interfere with the "established relationship" between the races in his State, he said: "The two races can live at peace in Alabama, but only by recognizing two inviolable principles—complete racial segregation, and independent racial development." He rightly said that the problems of Alabama, and of the other Southern States, this section of the country, and up-prisals, which have dragged it down Southern States.

(where a "peculiar social structure" on "Our own indifference, false ec- to the lowest level of per capita exists), should be looked upon from onomic policies and traditional one- income." But, said he wealth and inconomic justice until there is remov- break away from this a broad viewpoint, and "not in the crop hazard." In ringing tones he education and training." isolated prespective of alleged and said: "There can be no talk of ec- through education Governor Sparks' pre-supported racial discrimination, onomic justice until there is remov- Governor Sparks' prescription for

The Governor blamed "poverty in ed from around the necks of South- Southern ills—particularly social the South" upon injustices of those ern people the trade barriers, dis- and economic—is one that should who would build barriers against criminatory rates, and political re- commend itself to the leaders of all

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

'Negroes, Whites Can Live Amicably' --Chauncey Sparks

JAN 30 1943

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 28—Alabama's new Gov. Chauncey Sparks took the reins of office from Frank Dixon here last week at a colorful inaugural ceremony where he pledged the State's aid to the successful prosecution of the war as an immediate objective and also declared that any outside effort to interfere with established relations would be of little value to either the whites or Negroes in the South.

"The Negro and the white can live in peace in Alabama," stated Sparks, "if they recognize and lay down as fundamentals two principles which are inviolable.

"First, complete racial segregation; second, independent racial development."

SPARKS SPEAKS OF THE NEW SOUTH

The new State executive declared that with these fundamentals there can be built in the South a relationship which carries with it, "justice, fair dealing, equal opportunity on the part of each race to acquire rights to which it is entitled, and which the laws will grant to it when achieved."

Sparks said that trade barriers, discriminatory rates and political reprisals have dragged the South down to the lowest level of per capita wealth and per capita income. "There can be no talk of economic justice until these injustices are removed from around the necks of the people of the South," he continued.

"We do not propose to agitate," asserted Governor Sparks in regard to the delicate race question, "we shall go about our daily tasks and promote the welfare and prosperity of our people, and guarantee them justice, protection of all rights, and equal opportunities to which men are entitled. This I know Alabama will do and it shall be my purpose to promote it."

PUBLIC WELFARE A STATE RESPONSIBILITY

He referred to public health and public welfare services as State responsibilities, adding that "the moral welfare of our people is as much a consideration of our State's government as is their security and protection in life, liberty and property. No State government and no society can overlook this responsibility."

"We may not have always done what possibly others think we should," he said, "but we have tried, perhaps haltingly, to be just and fair and to grant achieved rights to all entitled thereof. We have made mistakes. There has been exploitation, there has been some injustice, there has been economic cheating.

"But we of the South are not the only ones guilty of these things. There are those who cry for economic and political justice, but they are like the one who carried the beam in his eye and undertook to locate the mote in his neighbor's."

Sparks also promised to maintain—if at all possible—a standard of eight months for schools and a higher schedule of pay for teachers.

Alabama's Governor Blames Zoot-Minded

MONTGOMERY, Ala., June 24 (AP)—Gov. Chauncey Sparks said today that the Negro and white races "are part of the economy of the South, and shall continue to remain so in peace and accord if we can be let alone and zoot-minded propagandists and reformers do not mislead, misguide and misinform."

Legislature Gets Down To Work Sixty Day Session

Battle Anticipated On Some Of The Bills Expected To Be Introduced During Meet

Montgomery — The regular session of the 1943 Legislature got down to work this week on a broad program submitted by Governor Sparks, calling for wartime emergency legislation, measures to prepare Alabama for post-war conditions and recommendations in behalf of education, agriculture, public welfare and many other important phases of the state governmental concern.

The governor reported all departments of our state government functioning well, urged retention of the merit system and asked the Legislature to consider establishing a retirement system for state employess.

Alabama has dedicated herself to help win the war, Governor Sparks, but at the same time: "We must not forget our internal needs . . . to keep Alabama a democracy, and a serving democracy."

Praising the work performed by the interim committees, the governors message called for:

1. Creation of an emergency fund, for the dual purpose of assuring conduct of all services of our state government when funds begin to sag, and post-war construction and rehabilitation; establishment of a state corporation which would carry on post-war public works and a State Planning Board to map out development and use of Alabama's resources; development of a statewide aviation system to foster air commerce; planning for post-war highway building and present road maintenance.

2. Maitenance of present educational standards, with improvements if our revenues permit, but no "vacuum which must be filled by an incoming administration." The governor pointed out: "Alabama is spending about 33c out of every dollar which comes into the general treasury of the state for education . . . For the school yeai 1942-43, education will receive from state monies $3,835,901 more than it has ever received before." He recommended restriction of use of the present $8,587,654 special educational trust fund "so that not more than one-fourth of it can be used in any one of the next four years." He urged an appropriation from the fund of sufficient amount to place the teacher retirement fund on a safe and sound basis. He asked an $100,000 appropriation for Tuskegee Institute.

3. Building up of the present $39,000,000 surplus in the unemployment compensation fund, through a rate increase, to cushion the impact of unemployment following peace.

4. Appropriation of $650,000 each from the sales tax and the state general fund for old age assistance, with the hope that we shall some day attain a worthy goal of not less than $30 per month to all needy aged people in Alabama. (At a press conference prior to the convening of the Legislature, the governor explained that such appropriations, plus additional funds from liquor revenue, when matched by federal funds might result in raising the present average $10 pension to a figure close to $20 a month.)

5. Consideration by the Legislature of a statewide referendum on retention of the present liquor laws. The governor said: "The ABC Board has gone far toward accomplishment of a cleanup program. Honky-tonks have, in a large measure, been controlled. What are known as juke-joints, have been outlawed and the present disposition of liquor has been cleansed of some of its objectionable features. We propose to go further in this cleanup program under the present satute."

6. Appropriation of $75,000 for production and marketing studies by Auburn; creation of an Alabama State Markets Board; establishment of a Piedmont soil study station to serve 13 eastern and northeastern counties; appropriation of $40,000 to eradicate Bangs disease . . . More than one third of our people actually live on the farm.

7. Creation of a Department of Labor to settle industrial disputes by arbitration . . . "No one denies the right of labor to organize, collectively bargain and to strike when necessary, but our laws should protect property and life and the rights of the public."

8. Additional public health money; for, better facilities at the state asylums; establishment of a four-year medical school; control of tuberculosis, cancer and venereal diseases.

9. Retention of the county equalization boards until some better method is devised than the old method, which relegated such matters to the Courts of County Commissioners.

'Justice For All', Promised In Query By Ala. Governor

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(ANP)—"All races in Alabama shall have justice, education and a square deal," declared Gov. Chauncey Sparks in replying to an inquiry by Mr. liberal New York newspaper.

When PM requested six governors in states where race riots have occurred (Texas, Mississippi, California, New Jersey, Michigan and Alabama) a statement of what they were doing toward riot prevention, Gov. Sparks made the following reply:

"Alabama is determined to use all available force to prevent riots. We have had none of any consequence and we would not have had any but for influence over which we have no control.

"If self-seeking politicians, misguided philanthropists and outside influence would quit trying to regulate matters which are entirely local we would have no future difficulty.

"We are undertaking to forephasizing among ourselves and to the outside world that all races in Alabama shall have justice, education and a square deal.

"Alabama today is doing more for Negro education than ever before. It will continue to increase this service. The two races are part of the economy of the south and shall continue to remain so in peace and accord if we can be let alone and soot-minded propagandists and reformers do not mislead, misguide and misinform."

56k-1943
Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Is This Peonage?

Governor Talmadge, in the closing days of his administration, has been busy paroling hundreds of convicts. They are paroled to farmers, with the object of thus providing farm labor to meet the shortage caused by the selective service drain on man power and the high wages in war industry which have lured many rural workers to the cities.

Under the parole terms, the farmer is responsible to the state for the safekeeping of all convicts paroled in his care. He is, of course, supposed to pay them wages at the current rate for farm labor, to properly house and feed them.

However, if the paroled convict should leave the farm, he can be traced down, arrested by the regular law enforcement authorities and returned to prison or some convict camp to complete his term.

JAN 7 - 1943

This has certain features about it which bear the taint, at least the suspicion, of peonage. The worker cannot leave the farm where he is employed. If he does, he automatically becomes a fugitive from the law and may be hunted down and returned to jail, or reparoled to the farmer. There is no means of checking the amount of pay such paroled workers receive for their labors and there is no law to enforce proper standards of payment upon the employing farmers.

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If it is not, legally, peonage, it is, at best, a return to the basic principle of the leasing of convicts to private employers, a condition presumed to have been long outlawed in Georgia.

It is assumed that all our courts and law enforcement agencies would not stoop to so venal a practice, but it requires little imagination to envision a court which rounded up all available workers in its jurisdiction, convicted them on some charge or other, sent them to prison, there to be promptly paroled to any farmer who asked for such help in solving his labor problem. To be paid or not, for their work, according to the honesty, or generosity, of the farmer.

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And, under the multitudinous laws upon the state statute books, it would be extremely difficult to find any man, white or colored, rich or poor, who has not been guilty of law violations for which he could be sentenced to prison.

Of course, the paroling of convicts is done in the name of patriotism on the argument that production of food crops is essential to victory, that there is a desperate crisis, in the form of labor shortage, facing the farmers of the state and that these convicts would be better employed on the farms than on roads or other public works.

But, no matter how desperate the need, this country has not yet reached the stage where it has to resort to peonage, to forced, slave labor to win the war. And that is what the Talmadge system of parole amounts to.

Pittman Re-Instated As Teachers' Head

ATLANTA, Jan. 26.—(AP)—The new state board of regents of the university system today voted to reemploy Dr. Marvin S. Pittman as president of the Georgia Teachers' College at Statesboro.

Pittman was ousted a year ago last July on charges by former Gov. Eugene Talmadge that he espoused racial coeducation. He denied the charge.

It was the ousting of Pittman and Dean Walter D. Cocking of the University of Georgia that precipitated the disaccrediting of the state university system.

Return Job to Prof. Ousted By Talmadge

(By Federated Press)

ATLANTA.—The smoke left over from ex-Gov. Eugene Talmadge's bookburning, witch-hunting regime is beginning to clear. One of the first actions taken by the new board of regents, appointed by Gov. Ellis Arnall was to recall Dr. Marvin S. Pittman as president of Georgia Teachers College at Statesboro.

Pittman and three of his colleagues were ousted from the state university system in July, 1941, amid hysterical accusations by the Georgia governor that they advocated racial equality.

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Talmadge was forced to change the personnel of a hostile board of regents to carry through his putsch. Also ignored were the protests of thousands of Georgia students who organized mass demonstrations outside the capitol building.

Typical of the charges offered at the dismissal hearing of the educators was the following indignant comment by Regent James S. Peters:

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"They want them (Negroes) to use the same schools, ride in the same trains and sit side by side. They want to pull the white man down and draw the races together. It means they want intermarriage, that's what it means."

As a result of the affair, the Southern Assn. of Colleges and Secondary Schools withdrew the accredited standing of the state university system. Enrollment at Georgia State College dropped more than 50 per cent.

56L-1943

Rise Of Puerto Rico 'Populars'

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

A Saga Of People's Democracy

By DETON J. BROOKS
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico—There's a saga of democracy here in Puerto Rico! The story of the most-loved, most-hated of the island's political parties—the Populars.

It is a party which sprung from the discontent of hungry, poverty-stricken farmers and came to power in two short years because Munoz Marin, its great leader, gave them hope for a better way of life.

In the spring of 1938 the Populars didn't exist, yet in November 1940 they took control of the Insular legislature. This feat is unparalleled in the history of modern democratic action—of a people's party seizing the reins of government in a peaceful legal manner in so short a time.

It could never have happened here if conditions hadn't been so rotten. Munoz and his followers had no funds with which to wage a costly campaign; their strength lay not in money, but in the discontent which generated from the greed, graft and corruption of old-line politicians who because of their power and wealth—an accumulation of forty-years rule—had grown sleek and fat and morally sick. These leaders, disdain and contempt for dirty, ragged, illiterate landless farmers and hillsfolk became the Frankenstein which brought about their political downfall.

Sugar Interests in Control

One coalition and then another, but always representing the rich, powerful sugar interests had been in control of the Insular legislature ever since Congress granted Puerto Rico autonomy in 1900.

All during this period the majority legislators winked at the law Congress itself had passed restricting to 500 acres the amount of land a corporation could own. The inevitable happened. Year by year the companies gobbled up more of the best land, squeezing out the small farmers who became landless. And because they were landless in a country which lives by the soil they became poorer, more illiterate, more diseased. More than 70 per cent of the population lives in indescribable poverty.

This is what Munoz Marin found when he returned after a long stay in the United States. He had intended to remain a short time and then return to the continent, but he couldn't tear himself away after he saw the condition of the people.

Elected with Negro

Desiring to improve things, he joined the Liberal party and campaigned in the 1932 elections for reform. The Liberals lost, but he and one of his most trusted lieutenants, Ramos Antonini, brilliant Negro labor lawyer and orator, were elected. Munoz became minority leader of the Senate and Ramos the minority leader of the House.

The legislature was controlled, however, by a combination of Union Republicans and Socialists, the darlings of the sugar interests with funds supplied by them the coalition easily won.

On election day their henchmen rounded up the voters fed them, gave them free liquor and paid them for their vote. This had been going on for years, so long in fact that the poor illiterate masses felt that it was a necessary evil of democracy.

With this coalition in power there was very little Munoz and his followers could do. They fought bitterly for reform, one or two bills were passed, but they were never enforced.

Ask Aid to Farmers

Munoz did succeed in getting the Federal government to appropriate 50 million dollars setting up the Puerto Rican Reconstruction administration, but because its program was designed to help the small farmer and it was controlled from Washington instead of San Juan, the coalition bitterly opposed it. It was doomed for eventual failure, partly because of this opposition, and partly because of growing Congressional antagonism to New Deal legislation.

As the 1936 elections approached the populace became more restless. Increased agitation on the part of the Nationalists for independence was one of the manifestations. This party never amounted to much numerically as the 1936 elections showed. They received only a minisicule number of votes, but they were militant.

Governor Winship who was not an experienced colonial administrator over-estimated their strength and became alarmed. He set out to forcibly subdue them. Tension increased, partisans on both sides feared they would be assassinated. There were riots, the chief of police was shot, and when Nationalists attempted to stage a mass demonstration in the city of Ponce, they were halted by police gunfire.

Leaders Jailed

This agitation subsided when the leaders of the party, including Pedro Albizu Campos, its president, were convicted of subversive activity and sent to Atlanta. Campos is a mulatto—by American standards would be classified as a Negro. He has just recently been released on parole and is recovering his health in New York.

If the activities of the Nationalists are properly understood, it will be seen that their fight was primarily economic not political—it was a protest against misery and poverty. Most of these people spoke only Spanish, they had few contacts with Americans other than government officials. To them the United States represented the big colossus which kept them poor. Apparently they never realized that they could accomplish their economic ends by breaking the stranglehold of local feudalistic overlords.

Munoz realizing the basic problem was the island's economy tried to get the Liberals to adopt a more stringent platform of reform, but the leaders afraid of losing sugar money to finance their campaign refused. Munoz and Ramos then declined to be candidates for reelection in 1936.

Loses Favor in D. C.

Governor Ernest Gruening of Alaska, then head of the division of territories of the Department of the Interior, asked Munoz, because of his popularity with the masses, to publicly condemn the action of the Nationalists. "Certainly I condemn them," he replied." Irresponsible people are expected sometime lose their head, but a government must always be calm. Both the governor and the Nationalists were equally responsible.'

This wasn't the answer Greening wanted so Munoz temporarily lost favor in Washington. As his influence waned in the capital, he lost his usefulness to leaders of the Liberal party. In a secret session held at Naranjales farm near San Juan they expelled him. This was in 1938. Other factors were also involved in their decision. Munoz was gaining too much power within the party. At their convention before the 1936 elections he proposed that as a protest since they knew they couldn't win they boycott the polls. He lost this proposal by only one vote. This show of strength was interpreted by Liberal bosses as a threat to their leadership.

The official reason they gave, however, was that his refusal to run for reelection had ruined the party's chances on winning the 1936 elections.

Organizes Populars

Using the Liberals who walked out with him as a nucleus, he organized the Populars. This new party faced tremendous obstacles. A percentage of the people to whom it looked for support couldn't read. They were cynical—they were conditioned to expect politicians to act as they always had—make them promises, buy their votes and then forget about them until the next campaign.

There was one big question mark had they lost hope?

Munoz launched an educational campaign. He left San Juan for two years and went into the hills, and there traveling on foot and horseback he personally visited the people. He would sit down, eat their monotonous daily dish of beans and rice and explain, "You can correct these conditions if you will. You can do it if you won't sell your vote. That's all youve got—you don't have any money—but with your vote you can seize power and make your government work for you."

At a meeting before workers of a big sugar central, he said, "Every party ever organized has been in power, but you people who place them there, have never controlled your government."

Go to Court

Passage of the Federal minimum wage and hour law helped his cause. Workers at one of the big sugar mills asked if this law applied to them. Their dissatisfaction had the person who could. Ramos Antonini told them it didn't. Ramos Antonini have legislators who pass laws to and his partner took the case free save them the amounts you have in of charge and quickly won. your hand."

When the workers received their adjustment money, more than they ever possessed in one lump sum before, they tried to give Munoz a

TOURING CARIBBEAN



DETON J. BROOKS

campaign was a four-page farm newspaper El Batey. This financed by small advertisers was given away free. The country folk anxiously awaited it. Those who couldn't read would congregate around the person who could.

New Coalition

Then the inside rot of the coalition began coming out. The Department of Justice started investigations of some of its leaders. The secretary of the Interior replaced Governor Winship with the Liberals.

As the campaign drew down the graft home stretch of the last few months, it was bitterly fought. The Republicans and Socialists formed another coalition—this time with the Liberals.

The campaign drew down the graft home stretch of the last few months, it was bitterly fought. The Republicans and Socialists formed another coalition—this time with the Liberals.

As the

ernor Winship with tough—democratically-minded Admiral -Leahy who had the responsibility of impartially supervising the elections.

Munoz more than once warned the workers not to let their employers know that they were going to vote for the Populars, for if they did, they would be fired.

Little things were done to hamper him. En route to a meeting where he was to speak, he started through a company field, but the guards wouldn't let him pass. The distance was half a mile through company property and six miles through a swamp by the more circuitous route, but Munoz got there. Then the guards let him come out the short way.

Big Demonstration

About a month before election Munoz staged his biggest, most symbolic demonstration. He held a mammoth outdoor mass meeting in San Juan with a radio hook-up reaching every nook and cranny in the island. There he read not only a platform but drafts of specific bills his party intended to pass. These included, the land re-organization law, insular law on wages and hours, bill creating bureau of civil liberties and teacher's salary measure.

As he finished explaining these bills, each candidate stepped to the microphone solemnly swearing that if elected he would cast his vote in favor of them.

And yet the city people were cynical. They didn't believe the old way could be changed. They figured that 400 years of oppression and exploitation had extinguished any spark which might be kindled into a flame of intelligent mass action on the part of the hillsfolk and farmers. But they were fooled.

The city folk with the exception of those of Ponce voted the old way, but the downtrodden "jibaros" and "aggregados" pointed their government along a new more humanitarian path.

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

New Jamaica Governor Mum

WASHINGTON (ANP)—Sir John Huggins, the new governor of Jamaica who will take office shortly, is not prepared to say what his plans are for the island, and he has extremely reluctant to talk about Jamaica or its new constitution when the Associated Negro Press approached him last week before his departure for England.

Under this constitution, announced in February as the culmination of a long fight that has been prosecuted by the Peoples National party of Jamaica, universal suffrage is extended to the islanders.

ordered the arrest of Wilfred Domingo, well known Harlemite, Jamaican born progressive president of the West Indian National Council of New York."

Domingo was taken from a ship at Kingston when he was attempting to return home to help Jamaican workers organize trade unions, and escorted direct to a concentration camp. Only mass protest and agitation by natives, supported by parliamentary intervention by radical British laborites, secured Domingo's release.

These high-handed acts by Richards made him so unpopular that Jamaican leaders petitioned the secretary of state of the colonies to recall him. His departure for Nigeria will pave the way for greater cooperation between the British government and Jamaicans in applying the new constitution.

Self-Rule For Puerto Rico Sought By Roosevelt

Defender
Chicago, Ill

By HARRY McALPIN
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—President Roosevelt has recommended to Congress that it grant self-rule for Puerto Rico—giving the islanders the right to elect their own governor.

This move, taken by the President on the basis of a report of the special committee appointed by him to study the problem, which report he has had since July 23, follows closely on the heels of the revealing articles on Puerto Rico written by Deton J. Brooks in the Chicago Defender during and after a special visit to the island this past summer. It also follows closely the amendment submitted by Sen. Tydings urging immediate independence for the Philippines.

The move, if taken by Congress, is regarded as a definite step toward increasing American self-respect in the eyes of the darker and oppressed peoples of the world.

Tugwell Report

The President's recommendation is in line with the suggestions made in a recent report by Rexford G. Tugwell, governor of the island. In that report, he said — "Two million people cannot permanently be kept in the twilight zone of colonialism."

In his message to Congress, transmitting the report of his special committee, the President declared: "It has long been the policy of the government of the United States progressively to reinforce the machinery of self-government in its territories and island possessions. The principles for which we are now fighting require that we should recognize the right of all our citizens — whether continental or overseas — to the greatest possible degree of home rule and also of participation in the benefits and responsibilities of our federal system.

"Puerto Ricans of all political parties, however [illegible] their views, as to the political future of the island, are united in asking for the right to elect their own governor. I believe that they are entitled to it."

'Right and Justice'

He said further: "There is no reason why their governor and other officials should continue to be appointed from without. At this stage of Puerto Rican development, the withholding of this right is no longer necessary. There is no question of Puerto Ricans' ability now to administer their own internal affairs and to assume the attendant responsibility.

"It is recommended by the report of the committee that this fact be recognized at once. I agree that this should be done, and suggest that the congress should consider it as a matter of right and justice for Puerto Ricans."

While rejoicing at the move "in the right direction" on the part of America, observers in Washington are saying that America now needs to turn its attention homeward and get the skeletons out of the closet. They indicate that she must now bring participation in self-government to its millions of black subjects in the South. Then, they say America can raise its head, open its eyes, and stare the peoples of the world squarely in the eye without flinching or blinking while talking about the Atlantic Charter.

London West Indians Hail Jamaica Change Of Governor

Chicago Defender Chicago,

By GEORGE PADMORE
(Chicago Defender London Correspondent)

LONDON.—West Indians in London are interpreting the transfer of Sir Arthur Richards, governor of Jamaica, to Nigeria as a significant victory for native nationalist opinion.

In an exclusive interview, the spokesman of the People's National party, leading Jamaican progressive organization, said: "Richards has been the most unpopular West Indian governor of the past century. He ruthlessly suppressed strikes and labor sugar plantation unrest when the natives demanded increased wages in 1938, during which several were killed and a large number wounded.

"Richards imprisoned Bustemante, popular labor leader, and

56L-1943

Movies in Havana Present Truer Picture of Races

Afro-American
Baltimore, MD

SEP 1943 SEP 1943

Cubans Like to Record Daily Activities; Never Blot Out Colored Faces Like U.S.

(Junior Roosevelt Fellow of the Institute of International Education)

HAVANA—(ANP) — I have been to see the movie on the life of Simon Bolivar, liberator and conquistador of many South American countries. I was especially interested and pleased with the way his visit to Haiti and his conference there with Alexander Petion was handled.

I should like to know more about the colored actors. The movie is stirring and the meeting of General Bolivar Petion, father of Pan-Americanism, is most dramatic.

U.S. Movies Different

The one condition upon which Petion promised co-operation was plainly revealed: that there should be no slavery in any of the countries conquered or liberated.

Then follow scenes showing how freedom was celebrated in the various countries. How different from the way in which the announcement of freedom to North American slaves is portrayed in North American movies!

The Cubans enjoy recording their activities for the movies and it is possible to see in the "News of the Day," in all the theatres, the daily happenings.

Colored Shown

In almost all of these there are numerous colored faces present in the audiences, seated on the platform and participating as speakers before the microphone.

On the other hand, I am getting an entirely different slant on international affairs in regard to the war. For example, in the United States the war in Africa is portrayed in the news with but few if any colored faces.

See True Story

When this is not possible the faces are so blurred out or changed with such great rapidity that unless one is a very close observer it is impossible to detect that Africa is primarily a land of the blacks and the browns.

Here I am seeing a different story: I see again and again Haile Selassie and various war activities in Ethiopia and other parts of marvelous and informing news of war preparation and training in India.

Lescot Seeks Closer Ties With U. S.

OCT 23 1943

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

WASHINGTON—President Elie Lescot of Haiti is paying an official visit to the United States as guest of our government, the second chief of state of a Negro republic to visit Washington this year. It was immediately apparent that Lescot's visit is to cement the "Good Neighbor" policy and to win for Haiti and her two million and a half citizens a free and equal place under God's blue sky" in the post-war world.

In his speeches before the U. S. Senate, Howard university and at press conferences Lescot placed stress upon Haiti's war effort, its rich potentials of rubber and rope, and re-emphasized the need for Negro people throughout the world to rally as one bloc in support of the democracies.

ACCORDED FULL HONORS

Not the least important factor in the success of Lescot's mission to this country is the abiding sympathy and active support of Negro Americans. It was recalled in Washington circles that articulate Negro America influenced public opinion and the acts of the government tremendously when Ethiopia was attacked and again when United States Marines were landed in the Caribbean country. In the future it is safe to predict that a Negro America sympathetic to the cause of Haiti could do much to halt a high tariff on rubber or any other unfriendly attitude toward Haiti.

President Lescot and his party arrived in Washington last Thursday, after an official visit to Canada, and were accorded all of the high honors usually given heads of foreign governments.

Met at Union station here by Undersecretary of State Edward R. Stettinius. Jr., President Lescot and his party were driven to the White House grounds where Rear Admiral Wilson Brown and Major General Edwin M. Watson, naval and military aides of President Roosevelt, waited to conduct them into the Oval room of the White House to be received by President and Mrs. Roosevelt, members of the President's cabinet and members of Congress.

GREETED BY FDR

The Haitian party was driven to the White House through an aisle of honor composed of 60 soldiers outside the White House grounds. A United States Marine Corps band played the Haitian national anthem, "La Dessalienne," followed by the "Star Spangled Banner," while a ceremonial detachment of Marines, sailors and soldiers presented arms to President Lescot.

Formerly Haitian ambassador to the United States, President Lescot was greeted as an old friend by President Roosevelt, who then presented the President and his party to Mrs. Roosevelt.

Waiting to welcome President Lescot with the President were: Vice-President Henry A. Wallace, Attorney General Francis Biddle, Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes, Secretary of Agriculture Claude Wickard, Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, Representative Sol Bloom, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs committee; Nelson Rockefeller, co-ordinator of the Office of Inter-American Affairs, and Laurence Duggan of the Latin-American section of the State Department.

GUEST AT STATE DINNER

The Haitian party was served tea at the White House shortly after its arrival and at 8 p. m., were guests of the President at a state dinner. Present at the dinner in addition to President Roosevelt and President Lescot, were the following persons:

Mr. Lacroix, Mr. Dartigue, Mr. Rouzier, Colonel Armand, Ambassador Liautaud, mentioned above, as well as, Colonel Roche B. Laroche, military aide at the Haitian embassy here; Vice-President Wallace, Speaker of the House of Representatives Sam Rayburn, Supreme Court Justice Owen Roberts, Attorney General Biddle, Secretary of Navy Knox, Senator Charles McNary, Republican Senate leader; Senator Alben Barkley, Democratic Senate leader; Under-Secretary of State Stettinius; Congressman Bloom, Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Republican leader of the House; Representative John W. McCormack, Democratic leader of the House; Representative Charles Eaton, ranking Republican member of the House Foreign Affairs committee; Admiral William D. Leahy, Under-Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson, General George C. Marshall, chief of staff; Admiral Ernest J. King, chief of naval operations; Lieut. Gen. Thomas Holcomb, commandant of the United States Marines; Major Gen. Watson, Hon. Leo T. Crowley, of the Bureau of Economic Warfare; Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, Ambassador White, Hon. Harry Hopkins, lend-lease director; Judge Samuel Rosenman, assistant to the President, and Messrs. George T. Sumerlin and Laurence Duggan of the State Department.

EXCHANGE TOASTS

At the dinner, in his toast to the President of Haiti, President Roosevelt, with complete frankness, described himself as the man who (as assistant secretary of the Navy) had ordered the United States Marines to land in Haiti and who (as President) had withdrawn them. Said President Roosevelt: "I think it was a certain Queen of England, who said after her death, 'Calais' would be found written on her heart. When I die, I think that Haiti is going to be written on my heart, because for all these years I have had the most intense interest in the Republic of Haiti, and the development of its people in a way that will never mean exploitation by any other nation."

Responding to the Roosevelt toast, President Lescot pledged Haiti to unbreakable friendship with the United States and to give fullest support to the war effort of the United Nations. "It is true that in the past there have been misunderstandings between our countries, but these errors have been completely forgotten," said Lescot. "Let us forget the past. Let us live in the present, and prepare for the future, for the United States is paving the way to the future."

Continuing, he said: "We have won our freedom and we intend to keep it, and we know that America's respect and generosity to Haiti have been proved in relationships of the past 50 years."

PARTY LEAVES FOR BALTIMORE

After spending the night as a guest at the White House last Thursday, President Lescot moved to the Blair House, official United States guest house.

On Friday he visited the Capitol, addressing the United States Senate, visiting the House Foreign Affairs committee, and later visited Howard university, where he spoke at a convocation of faculty and students. Last Friday evening he was tendered a dinner by the Under-Secretary of State.

His schedule included luncheons in his honor by the Pan-American Union and Mr. and Mrs. Nelson Rockefeller, a dinner given for him last Sunday by Assistant Secretary of State A. A. Berle, Jr., attendance at church services Sunday morning and a visit to Arlington Memorial cemetery Monday morning, where he placed a wreath on the grave of the Unknown Soldier.

He and his party left here Monday afternoon for Baltimore, where he will spend three days, followed with a five-day stay in New York, after which he will fly to Cuba for another official visit.

Illiteracy in Haiti Serious

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Ministers Told

WASHINGTON

Describing Haiti as an island of 500,000 educated and 2,500,000 ignorant people, Maurice Stuppard, 21-year-old Haitian student clergyman, told the Baptist Minister's Conference Monday that the Baptist Church is bringing light to his homeland.

Terming the Catholic Church powerful in Haiti, the young man contended, "this church was at one time supported by Frenchmen, and these they hope to come back sometime and make us their slaves again. They keep us ignorant.

Not God's Plan

"This is not the plan of God," he continued, "because, for twenty-one years we have had light from the Baptist Church on our island, and these people are teaching us to do things for our betterment."

Introduced by the Rev. W. C. Somervile, executive secretary of the Lott Carey Foreign Baptist Convention, Mr. Stuppard was one of two student ministers presented to the body, the other being Charlotin St. Fort.

Baptists Reported $665

The Baptist churches reported total of $665 at the meeting to be applied to the building of a $13,000 church in St. Marc, Haiti, which will be completed during the current year.

In addition to this, the Rev. Mr. Somerville reported that a total of $5,149.79 had been sent through his office for foreign missions during the current year.

Vermont Raises $1,300

The Rev. J. H. Marshall, president of the ministers' conference, presided; announcement was made by the Rev. C. T. Murray, host-pastor, that his church, Vermont Avenue Baptist, had raised the sum of $1,300 on Sunday, for the support of Miss Jette Lois Anderson, his congregation's missionary to Haiti.

Youthful Negro Barrister Prosecutor In Oakes Trial

SEP 11 1943

Informer Houston Texas

NASSAU, Bahamas.—(ANP)—Speculative attention is being focused on Alfred Francis Adderley, youthful Negro barrister retained by Atty. Gen. Eric Halinan to prosecute the famous Oakes murder trial, but the quiet contemplation is being done by uninformed Americans. British natives, and especially fellow legal minds, know Barrister Adderley as a brilliant lawyer, gifted with flowing oratory, a quick brain, and accredited with many sensational victories at the bar.

Of International Fame

While Americans express pleasant surprise that a Negro plays such an important part in the case against Marie Alfred Frouquereaux de Marigny, accused of the recent slaying of his wealthy father-in-law, Sir Harry Oakes, Britishers regard his entrance into the case as inevitable. Adderley, who gained international fame in the Forrester-Scott case a few years ago, has long been considered the outstanding criminal lawyer in the islands, and one of the most distinguished in the empire. It is said that had Defense Attorney Godfrey Higgs not been in America when the case broke, there would have been a scramble over the services of the noted lawyer.

SEP 1943

With the tradition laid down by his family, the excellence of his training and the splendid record of his public service as a background, Adderley is expected to score another victory for the crown, or tax to the limit every legal resource of the opposition to free its client. Adderley's family before him had long been engaged in public service. His father, Wilfred, a wealthy merchant and exporter, served for 35 years in the house of assembly and was the first Negro to be decorated by the king for public service. He received the medal of the Most Excellent Order of the British empire. A great-uncle, William Adderley, for years represented the southern district, including Nassau, in the same legislative body.

Following in the footsteps of his elders, young Adderley won election to the assembly in 1923. When he was elevated by the king to the legislative council in 1938 he relinquished the former post. Of three familes in the colony today with three generations of service in the legislature, Adderley's is one of them. One other is a Negro family also. Adderley, a native of this city, was temple at London on May 14, admitted to the bar of the Middle 1919, after successively graduating from the grammar and high shcools of the island, and Cambridge university. He was awarded both the bachelor of arts and bachelor of laws degrees at Cambridge, certificates higher than any other lawyer then practicing at the Nassau bar.

SEP 11 1943

Adderley is married to the former Miss Ethel Lunn, a member of an old Nassau family. Mrs. Adderley is closely associated with the Duchess of Dinsor in Red Cross work and the health clinics she has established for Negro children. They have two sons whom they are instructing to "carr yon."

HAITIAN CHIEF WELCOMED



Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

In keeping with President Franklin D. Roosevelt's good neighbor policy, several heads and representatives of foreign governments have been extended the [illegible] and invitations to visit this country as guests of the White House. The most recent visitor is Elie Lescot, President of Haiti.

From top to bottom: The greeting at the White House. President Roosevelt and President Lescot shaking hands. Edward Stettinus, new Undersecretary of State at the right.

Center photo: President Lescot gets a bit of history from Premier McKenzie King while in Canada.

Bottom picture shows His Excellency receiving greetings from Representative Sol Bloom, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, following an introduction by President Roosevelt. Mrs. Roosevelt is in the background.—Official OWI and International News Photos.

56L-1943

THE NEGRO IN LATIN AMERICA

Leaders of Puerto Rican Independence Movement Leave Rich History

AUG 14 1943

By CONSUELO LEE TAPIA

THE MOST OUTSTANDING leaders of the independence movement in Puerto Rico have been Ramon Emeterio Betances, Eugenio Maria de Hostos, Jose de Diego and the two present day leaders, Pedro Albizu Campos, and Juan Antonio Corretjer.

Ramon Emeterio Betances (1820-1898), is unquestionably the Father of our country. Those who followed, went on from where he left off. He was the organizer, the one to give the revolutionary content to the struggle against the domination of the Spanish Empire. When in 1897 Spain finally gave in to our demands for independence, and we became an autonomous republic it was the culmination of all the sacrifices of Betances, who died in exile in France.

Proud of Negro Blood

Betances was the son of a woman of Negro ancestry and a Spaniard. He was proud of his Negro blood and abhored and ridiculed all race prejudice. He gave evidence of this in Paris when he fought a duel over the Dreyfus case.

In his last will and testament, Betances asked that his remains never be transferred to Puerto Rico until no foreign flag flew over his beloved country. It shall always remain in the annals of our history as an ugly imperialistic disgrace that a Senator from Puerto Rico wishing, to take a vacation in Paris in 1934 at the expense of the people, requested the government of the United States to grant him permission to bring back Betance's remains for burial in Puerto Rico. The government hastily acceeded, thus humiliating the memory of Betances.

Campos Begins Campaign

He was brought back and for many months his remains were kept in a box at City Hall, where a clerk rested his feet on it daily with utter disregard for the greatest patriot our island had to date produced.

Albizu Campos, then a leader of the Ponce Nationalist Junta, began an intensive campaign to remove the remains and stimulate the people to correct this national insult. It was through his efforts that they were given decent burial at the foot of a monument in Cabo Rojo.

Much can be said about Betances the man, the patriot, the revolutionary. But in these short articles, I wish only to give a glimpse of who some of the leaders of our independence movement were and are, and seek to acquaint the readers of *People's Voice* with their names. The name of Betances is one that any Negro may well be proud of, and for that matter any American.

Citizen of America

The man who was the philosopher of the movement was Eugene Maria de Hostos (1839-1903). He was a Puerto Rican by birth, but such was his work for all the Latin American countries in their struggle for freedom and development of a democratic system of education in those countries which had freed themselves from Spain, that he is known as a real citizen of America.

Although people in this country are taught to believe they are the Americans, we Latin Americans question that on geographical and numerical grounds. There are more ancient American families—that is Indians—in Latin America than in the part of the America known as the United States.

De Hostos was the sixth child of a very aristocratic and ancient family which came from Spain via the Dominican Republic to Puerto Rico. His parents had been born in Santo Domingo. He was educated in Puerto Rico but concluded his higher studies in Spain, taking his law degree there. From 1863 to '69, he was a member of the Abolitionist Society in Madrid and a great propagandist for liberty in Spain.

Aids Latin America

De Hostos made a long tour of Latin America, founding committees for aid to Cuba, Puerto Rican independists leagues in New York, educational centers, etc. . . . The activities of De Hostos in seeking liberation for the Antilles, the only Latin American countries not yet free of the yoke of the Spanish Empire, are so profuse that it would take volumes to follow his itinerary carefully; but when he landed in Santo Domingo on one of his numerous tours in 1875, he met Betances, for the second time. Their first meeting had been in New York. It was here that he worked for a paper dedicated exclusively to the liberation of the political interests of Cuba and Puerto Rico.

The paper was suppressed because of its attack upon the Spanish regime but it came out again under another name. He wanted to join the armed expedition organized by Betances to Puerto Rico. He wrote a friend inviting him to join it with him, but the plan was betrayed. He founded the Normal School in Santo Domingo, which had a tremendous success, and later founded a Workers' School. He fought for equal rights for women, in education as well as all other civil rights.

Sponsors Train

While in Chile at the request of the Chilean government to organize in its entirety the educational system, he backed with his pen and his prestige gratuitously the campaign for the first train to cross the Andes, from Argentine to Chile. The train bore his name. The company wishing to capitalize his immense prestige, offered him 500,000 pesos to make a public campaign for the project, but he refused because he felt it was detrimental to the people—this, at a time when he had a large family and his finances were low and he even had himself expelled from Chile in order to avoid this.

Diego, the Man

Jose de Diego was the transition man between the movement organized by Betances and the present Nationalist Party of today. De Diego arrived at his national consciousness a little late in life and died before he cauld accomplish very much but he did keep the flame of independence burning in the hearts of the nation. His political life was lived when the Spanish domination was dying end was finally given its death blow by the struggle of the Puerto Ricans and the Yankee occupation of the island.

He was a great poet and his last poem, written when he was dying, tells how he hopes to take his flag to his grave to guard his ideal (independence), and that some day he expected the people to rise and fight to save their flag.

Curiously enough, it was on his birthday that the first serious struggle against Yankee imperialism—the assault on the capitol—took place. The story of this memorable day and the leader who led it will be in the next article. The leader was Albiz Campos, recently released from Atlanta Penitentiary.

Ed. Note: The term Yankee is used in all Latin America in reference to any American citizen but especially a term of contempt for American imperialists.)

Latin People's Champi...



MISS TAPIA

PV's NEWEST Contributor, sincerest admirer and a sort of journalistic cousin is a wisp of a lady answering to the name of Consuelo Lee Tapia. A contributor, this personal is bringing PV reader of pointed inside glim the fight of the Pur people for their comp dom—a battle with wh fully conversant becaus she has been an active and articulate champion of the cause.

She's our admirer because she stands for the same thing that we stand for. viz: the complete emergence of the people from the yoke of class tyranny.

Our journalistic kinship traces to the fact that she is the Managing Editor of the crusading Spanish language weekly Pueblos Hispanos—like us known affectionately by two letters, PH.

Born wealthy in Puerto Rico, Miss Tapia came to an American ... school at fifteen. She returned to her native Puerto Rico with an open eye and as a result saw the tragedy, misery and sorrow of her people.

This mother of three children has aligned herself with the Nationalist party and has rolled up her ruffled sleeves to use her effeminate but sinewy muscle to win a people's victory for all Puerco Ricans. Arriva, Senora!

HAVANA, Oct. 21.—The humblest Cuban has a lively sense of dignity. His own individual dignity. He may be peddling numbers of the national lottery or cleaning the streets but always with the air of a prince in disguise. Cubans are a keen and vivacious people. Miss Tapia has been the ple, polite, admiring, flattering E. B. Du- and helpful to the strangers.

But there is one custom (which to one who was brought up to

MANY INTERESTING FACTS REVEALED ABOUT CUBA

By IRENE DIGGS, Bee Magazine Section

(For the Associated Negro Press)

Junior Roosevelt Fellow of th... Diggs, who writes the a... for seven years has be... secretary of Dr. W. E. ... Institute of International Edu... (EDITOR'S NOTE: These in... timate chronicles and observa... cation to the University of ... tions of life in Cuba, with its ... Havana.)

Chicago, Ill.

speak only to those whom she knows personally, although I hasten to add that my sojourn in Atlanta altered by force this training), which at times irritates me and until it was explained was positively maddening.

I am told that if a Cuban woman walks two successive blocks without receiving a compliment and she accepts them from utter strangers, she considers herself "slipping." This custom makes it impossible to remain for long in Cuba without learning Spanish. Wherever you go you will hear "Quo linda," (how beautiful?) "hermosa" (beautiful) "divina" (divine), "santa" (saint) from complete strangers. Of course you continue serenely on your way as if nothing has been said.

Then there are other words, words which are making me daily fall more and more in love with Cuba and its ideals. Cuba is not a perfect place but it does have certain ideals to which the majority is apparently committed. You never hear a speech without these words "las ideales" the ideals of Democracy (la democracia) of liberty (la libertad) of independence (la independencia), of Justice (la justicia). oh what an apartment. I wish you might have seen it. I enjoyed it.

Then there are other words: the Cuban in contrast with the American is somewhat sentimental. When he has arrived in a conclusion or decision he expresses it not as a result of cold, deliberate logic but as something felt in his "corazon" (heart). No public speech is concluded without the use over and over again of "el espiritu" (the spirit), "el amor de hurstra patria" (the love of our country), and when he says patria he has in mind Cuba for all the Cubans for it is always "Cuba por todos los cubanes."

There are other words especially those used by the workers in their desperate struggle for higher wages and better working conditions, such as the right (el derecho) of los trabajadores (the workers), the revolucion), (la revolucion), and must not fail to add "luchando" (fighting) for the Cuban is vigorous and outspoken in his belief in fighting for "la vida" (life).

THE NEGRO WHO HAD A WHITE LOVE.

I have seen the most amazing movie entitled "El Negro Que Tenia un Amor Balnco" ("The Negro Who Had a White Love." It is magnificently filmed and was shown in a playhouse on the Prado in the heart of the city of Havana and apparently without causing any more comment than any other movie. Almost most of Cuba's theaters downtown this theater has a seating capacity of perhaps nearly a thousand. Also as is true of most of the theaters, the day I attended it was filled. The Negro started out in poverty and eventually became the director of a dancing school and the trainer of many of the best dancing choruses. He played the piano and sang beautifully; was handsome and cultured. There was not a single attempt to "low-rate" or humiliate him in any way.

There were various little things which I noticed, perhaps because of having lived in the United States and because of my knowledge of how it is done in Hollywood: for example, the white bootblack shines his shoes with pleasure and pride; he embraces and kisses the girl in the most natural manner; the height of his popularity the women oohed and aahed at every opportunity. As a sensation on the continent he escorted the most fashionable women to the most fashionable affairs. He had a Russian butler, a pedigreed dog, custom-made clothes and oh what an apartment. I wish you might have seen it. I enjoyed it.

CATHOLICISM AND DIVORCE.

I haven't worn a hat a single time since I have been in Cuba. Very few women here wear hats. Perhaps it will be different during the "winter" season. So the other day when I was invited to attend church it was necessary for me to go shopping for a veil. The women wear the most gorgeous lace veils which are afterwards carefully folded and carried in one's pocketbook. You select a veil very much like one selects a hat, trying it on before a mirror.

Cuba is overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. The churches are large and richly ornamented with altars resplendent with lace and silk, the priests with their colorful robes and the fine paintings in gold and silver frames, the huge golden crucifixes and other gold and silver ornaments; the odd life-sized effigies of the saints robed in snow-white satin copiously embroidered in gold, silver or beads with representations of Jesus in the sepulcher, and as in the Mercedes, regarded by some as the most ornate church in Havana, the restos (remains) of some distinguished historical personage.

During that weekend I visited three churches. In each I was impressed with the fact that it is the women flocking to mass with their black lace veils who keep religion alive. I saw very few men, and they were usually old, in the churches.

During the same week, to my utter surprise, I read in the daily paper that during the first six months of this year there were 3,000 divorces in Cuba. I asked, how can it be in a Catholic country? I am told this is due to the activity of "a minority influenced to some extent by Americans and that this minority is "talked about" but nevertheless, and notwithstanding for the Cuban who wants it a divorce can be easy and often.

PROFESSORS-IN-EXILE.

For more than a week a group of the most distinguished Spanish intellectuals have been living in my hotel. Twice daily they eat at a special table in the same dining room. I have observed them with more than ordinary interest. Not a single one of them can be termed as old from all outward indication they are capable of many more useful years. At present in America there are 240 professors-in-exile from various Spanish universities. Many of them are meeting in Havana to discuss the problems of the "future incorporation of Spain in the reconstruction of Europe."

Practically all of the great universities of Spain are represented; and although each professor distinguished in his own right and has made worthy contribution to the art, literature and science of Spain in particular and the world in general he is faced with the necessity of starting life anew under vastly different circumstances; many of them will have to start from scratch; financially they will have to go back to "0". This is the first reunion of exiled Spanish university professors in America and it is being sponsored by the University of Havana. This great loss to Spain is our intellectual gain.

HAVANA CITY OF CONTRASTS; THERE'S BEAUTY vs POVERTY

Bee (Magazine Section)

By ELLEN IRENE DIGGS,
(Junior Roosevelt Fellow of the Institute of International Education.)

Chicago. Ill

HAVANA, Sept. 16. (ANP)—Again and again or continuously here perhaps I should say, I am impressed with the sheer beauty of the world. High above the noise of the street in downtown Havana I sit facing the sea, the Gulf of Mexico. Morro Castle is to my right. In front of me lay the sea, pale and blue and shimmering beneath two little sail boats, a smoking larger grey vessel and above the three, sea gulls.

Over and over I say to myself: it's beautiful! The almost daily afternoon shower continues now only in a sprinkle. Looking back over my right shoulder is the rainbow and below a luxuriant garden with the freshgreenness of thrifty vegetation; palm trees tall, tufted, waving with exalted dignity and majestic grandeur. In the tropics numerous plants are always in bloom. There is always a riot of striking, [illegible]nt but never clashing [illegible]

I cannot describe them but I feel them profoundly and become strangely aware of how they must affect the temperament of the people. In my mind I go back to my nine o'clock class in Spanish pronounciation. The teacher, although an exprofessor of the University of Granada, Spain, is, nevertheless, typical of the cultured Cuban: suave but not tepid; vigorous but gentle, almost to timidity; intense but not violent; expressed in his eyes and mien are qualities of the materials of which dreams are made but he is alive, alert, serious. Cubans are a leisurely people yet the tempo of living here is exceedingly accelerated. One would never describe Havana as a sluggish, indolent city.

In the midst of all this and at times more impressive is the utterly shocking, dire, frightful poverty of the masses of people. One continually asks why, why should so many be with tattered clothes and shoes, underfed and malnourished in a land so rich, fertile and productive; so abounding in natural resources and potentialities. The city is infested with beggars and most of them ask only for bread or pennies.

Coffee is advertised at one cent a cup; a plate at noon can be gotten for seven cents. Maids work all day for $10 a month and a washer woman will come every day for $6 a month. Many of the children of teen-age have already lost a number of their "permanent" teeth; before middle-age the majority of the teeth of most persons is gone and they are too poor to replace them with artificial ones. Farmacias, huge ones, are on every corner and dentists in every block. Pills and bottles are brought regularly to the table or just left there until next time.

The Cubans live from now until night in the narrow streets because the streets are so much more pleasant than the hovels behind the pink and cream-colored cement. There are wide boulevards and thoroughfares but the majority of the narrow streets have a reason for being narrow, it keeps out the brilliant burning sun. One can walk without an umbrella during a shower and not get wet.

There is a battle, and a formidable one it is, against insects: thousands of them of all kinds, classes, species but most of them small. One must learn to tolerate them in the tropics, for so far they are supreme because all nature encourages their multiplication and only a few men struggle to destroy them.

Beauty, poverty and insects—these three—but the greatest of these is poverty.

561-1943

How Puerto Rican Natives Live—and How Gov. Tugwell Woud Have It


OCT 9- 1943
Afro-American
Baltimore, Md

Shown above are some typical native homes in Puerto Rico which were condemned by Gov. Rexford Guy Tugwell in his report to the Senate sub-committee on territorial affairs.


OCT 9- 1943

For the first time in the history of Puerto Rico, American selective service authorities are reportedly dividing people up according to color. This group shows many shades.


OCT 9- 1943

Above is one of the Federal housing projects designed to improve living conditions among the poverty-stricken Puerto Rican natives. The program was halted by Congress reactionaries.

Tugwell Bares Efforts of Unholy Alliance to Stifle Puerto Rico

Tells Senate Group of Ab ject Poverty on Island, How U.S. Tories and Native Reactionaries Tied His Hands

How native reactionary elements of Puerto Rica, through an unholy alliance with American Tories in the U.S. Congress, are combining to stifle the already deplorable economic life of the island was revealed in a report to the Senate Subcommittee by Governor Rexford G. Tugwell this week. Painting a picture of abject poverty, accentuated by the submarine menace and the other dislocations of war, Mr. Tugwell charged that not only were the executives' hands completely tied as far as positive correctives were concerned, but he was faced with opposition both from the vested interest on the island and their counterparts here at home.

He branded as lies the propaganda which found ready listeners in America that the social experiments he had inaugurated in an effort to aleviate the suffering on the island were dangerous precedents, which would communize America if permitted to spread here.

[Editor's Note: Governor Tugwell was credited with being one of the most farsighted of President Roosevelt's New Dealers and many of the reforms created during the early years of the New Deal were supposed to have been his creations. He was therefore the most hated of New Dealers, which explains why Senate reactionaries have made him one of their chief purge targets.]

Congressional Opposition

Mr. Tugwell charges in his report that many of his proposals which were accepted in Congress as economically sound and admittedly good for the island, have been opposed and rejected "as long as he es the governor," by anti-New Dealers. Not only does America have no positive policy in Puerto Rico, the governor charges but it has no policy at all and that this only increases bickering among native political factions who hope to jockey themselves into power once a policy is established. Highlights of the overnor's report are as follows:

Low Standards

"Economically, most of the people live below what is considered by American standards to be a minimum for health, there being in consequence widespread malnutrition and higher incidents of sickness and death than prevail in any part of the United States.

"Their housing is poor, their institutions, schools, hospitals, water and sewerage and welfare agencies are inadequate. All of the deep divisions of contemporary society are made many times worse by tension inherent in an unsettled status.

Military Necessity

"If there were no humanitarian reasons for taking the economic situation seriously and doing something at once, there are strictly military ones.

"It would cost as much to keep peace with an idle and starving population which comes of a spirited stock as to furnish the means for reconstruction. The matter must be put thus bluntly.

"American policy in Puerto Rico has the choice of economic assistance with a rather hopeful prospect or of suppressing an angry people who would feel very deeply that somehow they had been wronged.

"I am only too well aware that it is unpleasant to face this dilemma in time of war. It is difficult for continental citizens, however sympathetic, to realize what Puerto Ricans have gone through in this last year. For most of it they were exposed to enemy attack as no place on the continent could be.

"It cannot be honestly said that with the then prevailing ideas, Puerto Rico has been allowed to but none of them represented an great difficulties could anyone rapidly as ought to have been American scheme. leave or come to this island. Their made possible. The last consider- "The character commerce was hampered by sub able amendment to the Organic statehood were marines so that sometimes it Act took place twenty-six years delay is by now seemed quite possible that total ago when citizenship was "confer- quires excuse blockade might soon result. red.

"The United States was "Other changes in the govern- cisively toward effort were undergone in goodment at that time brought insular would bring the spirit. To that "no one is better arrangements into conformity the standards prepared to testify than I as gov-

"Two million people [illegible] permanently be kept in the twilight zone of colonialism. Or, if closer union is not to be the policy, why is no move made toward independence as was done in the case of the Philippines?

"One lesson we have learned from this year's experience is that an island is altogether different from a mainland area; the kind of administration which works in Iowa or Virginia will not do for Puerto Rico."

Ha[illegible] Helps Win The War

Journal and Guide

WASHING[illegible] Haiti is helping the United Nations win the war through increased production of sugar cane, coffee and other foodstuffs, and the Negro Republic has also developed several new industries vital to the prosecution of the war.

One of these involves the cultivation of derris root from which Rotenone, an important insecticide needed to fight plant pests in the United States and elsewhere is obtained. Before the war, derris root came to the United States chiefly from Java, the Philippines and other sections of the Far East. The Haitian Department of Agriculture is supervising the planting of 150,000 cuttings of derris root by small farmers throughout the country.

By far the biggest industry in Haiti, however, is the cultivation and processing of sisal for rope and cordage. Before the war most of the Manila hemp (abaca) used in this country came from the Philippines and sisal from the Dutch East Indies and East Africa and Mexico. Sisal is now being produced in the West Indies and Mexico but Haiti is one of the largest producers of the white fiber in the Western hemisphere from the leaves of which is made the cordage, lariats and binding twine so much needed in war industries.

The Haitian American Society for Agricultural Development acquired this St. Marc plantation, already replanted several times in its decade of production, as the nucleus for its sisal division. Since then, enough acreage has been leased to bring the St. Marc sisal development to 10,000 acres, covering four plantations employing 2,500 workers.

Norfolk, Virginia

A quarter of the sisal of St. Marc is now in production, utilizing the decorticating plant taken over from the Society of St. Marc. When the recent planting has reached maturity, the entire 10,000 acres of sisal will require enlarged decorticating facilities, for which a factory is planned at Mont Rouis ,28 kilometers south of St. Marc.

POST-WAR PRODUCTION ASSURED

But the end of 1945 will by no means mark the end of sisal production in Haiti, whether the war continues or not. There is a strong probability of a steady and continuous production of this product, so well suited to Haiti and now much in demand in this country.

Famed Negro Barrister Holds Spotlight In Oakes' Trial

Norfolk, Virginia

Journal and Guide

NASSAU, Bahamas—(ANP)—Speculative attention is being focused on Alfred Francis Adderley, youthful Negro barrister retained by Attorney General Eric Hallinan to prosecute the famous Oakes murder trial, but the quiet contemplation is being done by uninformed Americans, British natives, and especially fellow legal minds, know Barrister Adderley as a brilliant lawyer, gifted with flowing oratory, a quick brain, and accredited with many sensational victories at the bar.



A. F. ADDERLEY

AMERICANS SURPRISED

While Americans express pleasant surprise that a Negro plays such an important part in the case against Marie Alfred Fouquereaux de Marigny, accused of the recent slaying of his wealthy father-in-law, Sir Harry Oakes, Britishers regard his entrance into the case as inevitable.

Adderley, who gained international fame in the Forrester Scott case a few years ago, has long been considered [illegible] standing criminal lawyer in the islands, and one of the most distinguished in the empire. It is said that had Defense Attorney Godfrey Higgs not been in America when the case broke, there would have been a scramble over the services of the noted lawyer.

With the tradition laid down by his family, the excellence of his training and the splendid record of his public service as a background, Adderley is expected to score another victory for the crown, or tax to the limit every legal resource of the opposition to free its client.

BACKGROUND

Adderley's family before him had long been engaged in public service. His father, Wilfred, a wealthy merchant and exporter, served for 35 years in the House of Assembly and was the first Negro to be decorated by the King for public service. He received the medal of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire. A great-grand uncle, William Adderley, for years represented the southern district, including Nassau, in the same legislative body.

Following in the foosteps of his elders, young Adderley won election to the Assembly in 1923. When he was elevated by the King to the legislative council in 1938 he relinquished the former post. Of three families in the colony today with three generations of service in the legislature, Adderley's is one of them. One other is a Negro family also.

Adderley, a native of this city, was admitted to the bar of the Middle Temple at London on May 14, 1919, after successively graduating from the grammar and high schools of the island, and Cambridge University. He was awarded both the bachelor of arts and bachelor of laws degrees at Cambridge, certificates higher than any other [illegible] then practicing at the Nassau bar.

MADE OWN WAY

The test of Adderley's character came before he completed his formal education. His father suffered business reverses and was finally declared a bankrupt. As the scion of an affluent family, Adderley depended upon an allowance from his parents, but with the source of supply cut off he was faced with continuing by his own efforts, or abandoning the effort.

After using up the money his mother was able to furnish, the young student went to New York and worked as a shipping clerk until he could earn enough money to return to England and complete his training.

When he was licensed to practice anywhere in the British Empire, he went immediately to his island home to work among his people. He has remained here despite two attractive temptations, one in 1919 when Africa was [illegible] ambitious, qualified Negroes, and again in 1938 when America beckoned.

Adderley had just won the Forrester cott kidnapping case, the first for the Bahamas. Scott, a Philadelphia lawyer, attempted to abduct his two children who were here with his divorced wife, a Delaware DuPont, but the effort was foiled and his prosecution followed.

The stellar performance of Adderley in this case brought international fame and inducements from Chicago for him to come these to practice, but again the lawyer decided in favor of his native land.

WIFE ACTIVE

Adderley is married to the former Miss Ethel Lunn, a member of an old Nassau family. Mrs. Adderley is closely associated with the Duchess of Windsor in Red Cross work and the health clinics she has established for Negro children. They have two sons whom they are instructing to "carry on."

Broadcast to the West Indies

People's Voice

By LANGSTON HUGHES

Radio Station: Harlem
Wave Length: The Human Heart

New York, N. Y.
On Manhattan Island, New York, U.S.A.

HELLO, Jamaica!
Hello, Haiti!
Hello, Cuba!
Hello, Panama!
Hello St. Kitts!
Hello, Bahamas!
Hello! Hello! Hello! Hello!
All you islands and all you lands
That rim the sun-warmed Caribbean!
Hello! Hello! Hello! Hello!
I, Harlem,
Speak to you!

I, Harlem, say:
HELLO, WEST INDIES!
You are dark like me.
Colored with many bloods like me,
Verging from the sunrise to the dusk like me,
From day to night, from black to white like me.
HELLO! HELLO!
HELLO, WEST INDIES!

I, Harlem,
Island, too,
In the great sea of this day's turmoil.
I, Harlem,
Little land, too,
Bordered by the sea that washes and mingles
With all the other waters of the world.
I, Harlem,
Island within an island but not alone.

They say—the Axis—
That the U.S.A. is bad:
It lynches Negroes,
Starves them, pushes them aside.
In some states the vote is dead.
Those things are partly true.
They say—the enemy—
Via short wave every day,
That there is now no way
For you to put any faith at all
In what the Yankees say—
They have no love for you
Or any colored people anywhere.
That's also partly true.
There are people here
Who still place greed and power
Above the needs of this most crucial hour—

But there's a direct line
From your heart to mine—
West Indies—Harlem!
Harlem—West Indies!
I like your people, your fruit,
Your sunrise and your song,
Your strength, your sense
Of right and wrong.
We care for each other—

You for me and I for you—
Because we share so much in common,
And because we are aware
Of vast explosions in the air:
FREEDOM!
FOR FREEDOM!
WE PREPARE!
Hello, West Indies!
Hello, Jamaica!
Hello, Haiti!

Hello, Cuba!
Hello, Panama!
Hello, St. Kitts!
Hello, Bahamas!
Hello! Hello!
Hello, West Indies!

Certain things we know in common:
Suffering,
Domination,
Segregation—
Locally called
Jim Crow.

In common certain things we know:
We are tired!
Those things
Must go!

It's a long ways from where you live to where there are those

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West Indians Celebrating 111th Anniversary of Freedom

New York, N. Y. People's Voice

THE MONTH OF AUGUST marks the 111th Anniversary of the freeing of the slaves in the West Indies. Thirty years before black people of America were liberated the West Indian Negro breathed Freedom's air. On Sunday I addressed a gigantic outdoor crowd in Canada. Then again I will speak to the West Indian Council at the Golden Gate on Sunday, August 29th.

This Anniversary is not an occasion for rejoicing among Colonials only. It is an event that should be shared in by every black man and woman, American or foreign born, for when any portion of the earth is liberated all mankind is benefited.

The West Indian Negro forms a vital part of the life and fate of Afro-America. Gone today are the many false barriers that separated us one from another. True there are still those who walk into ever deepening ruts of intra-racial prejudices, but their number is fast dwindling. Today black America not only considers his West Indian neighbor as his blood brother, but more than that, together we view the world as a vast brotherhood. The problems of the people of India, Africa and wherever a heart beats beneath a black or brown skin are inseparably the problems of we Afro-West Indian Negroes. We would not stop there.

We would not stop until the day the one billion darker folk of the earth cross the barriers of the age-old hatreds and view the problems of every man and woman regardless of color as our problem.

WE KNOW TODAY THAT NONE OF US CAN EVER BE FREE UNTIL EVERYONE HAS BEEN SET FREE.

As we celebrate with our West Indian brothers their emancipation, we must dedicate ourselves to a second emancipation both here and in the islands of the sea.

First it is imperative that the West Indians may not be lured by Uncle Sam's gold to shift the yoke of Colonial bondage from British to American shoulders. The West Indies must be free completely. Every island of the West Indian Archipelago—the Bahamas, Bermuda, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands—all must be free now.

¶ Secondly, living standards in the West Indian Archipelago must be raised immediately. There must be no dual standards. The Trade Union movement must be recognized. The People's Party must be considered and the Right of Franchise extended to all people, without any Poll Tax restrictions. A program of health education must be instituted immediately. Native industries must be encouraged, political prisoners must be liberated.

If this war means anything, it is not on the basis of great military victories, but on the basis of how a common man is treated in the former underprivileged areas of the world.

Black men are marching today, whether they come from Barbadoes or from Boston. They have recognized their kinship. They have sealed it with their blood. They are facing the dawn. Destiny beckons. Our future is sure.

— Helen Chazin Arnstein.

New Day For Haiti

Haiti, long one of the Caribbean poorhouses, is beginning to enjoy a measure of prosperity, thanks to the demand for rubber and sisal by the United Nations and to U. S. loans. Courier

According to President Lescot, presently in this country, Haiti will export 10,000 tons of crude rubber from cryptostegia, a latex-producing vine, to the United States in 1944, and perhaps in excess of 20,000,000 tons of sisal.

The sisal production gives employment to 150,000 Haitians, while more than 75,000 workers are employed in rubber production. Pittsburgh, Pa

Minimum wages of these workers are 30 cents a day, and women get the same wages as men.

President Lescot says "Haiti is ready and willing to put every square inch of her soil under cultivation to help the United Nations in carrying out a post-war program."

Only those who know the terrible poverty and unemployment the Haitian people have suffered can appreciate what this new era means for the little Negro republic of 3,000,000 souls, all of whose neighbors have systematically barred the immigration of the impoverished Haitian jobless.

Of course the new plantation system has its dangers, such as the ultimate destruction of the multitude of small farms which sustained the people after a fashion for over 150 years, but if the Haitian government is watchful of the interests of its people, the change from small to large proprietorship need not necessarily be harmful or catastrophic as it has been in Puerto Rico.

The best safeguard for the Haitian workers will be the organization of labor unions and consumers' co-operatives, and if President Lescot has not sponsored legislation permitting them, he will be performing a great service for the people of his country by doing so.

Wife of Native Wants to Be an American Citizen; Praises the Singing of Marian Anderson

EDITOR'S NOTE: (What do white people in a foreign country think of American blacks and the race problem? Miss Irene Diggs, a Roosevelt fellow of the Institute of International Education to the University of Havana, interviews whites living in Cuba and gets some interesting reactions.)

By IRENE DIGGS

HAVANA. — (ANP) — Three white Cubans have given me their views on race. Here is what one said: Kansas City, Mo.

"You are interested in my views on race? Well, you see, I am a Cuban. You know Cubans don't belong to any race. They are all a mixture of one or the other, African, Spanish, Indian, Chinese or all. Personally, I am interested in race. The problem of race bothers me. I was married for eight years to a very wealthy Mexican of English and French parentage. But our marriage wasn't a happy one. It never w

Interested In Colored

"I became interested in a colored Cuban and while my wife was on her usual visits to Mexico my letters became less frequent and less warm and friendly. In some way she found out about my attiude toward this girl. She threatened to 'squawk' to my employer. I finally made up my mind and sent her divorce papers. Now we have been married, very happily so, and living in Havana for six years.

"I work with an American firm and I knew if our marriage became known I would be immedi-

A German Refuge Said: ... ..to me in German

I met a Cuban m

German. He ask

visit me sometim

derson? Do you know her? I have stayed four or

heard some of her singing in Ger- he knows Nietzsc

man. It's perfectly marvelous. Her and can quote G

pronounciation is perfect. It is as ory. In German!

zine once. Isn't she ugly? Why Yes, he says, I

that use of the w

but once by Goe

"Where is he

has never been o

"You have been in Germany? "Where is he from? Why he

You know in Germany there are

not used to them. Why the

in our house. They are

I hope you are not offend-

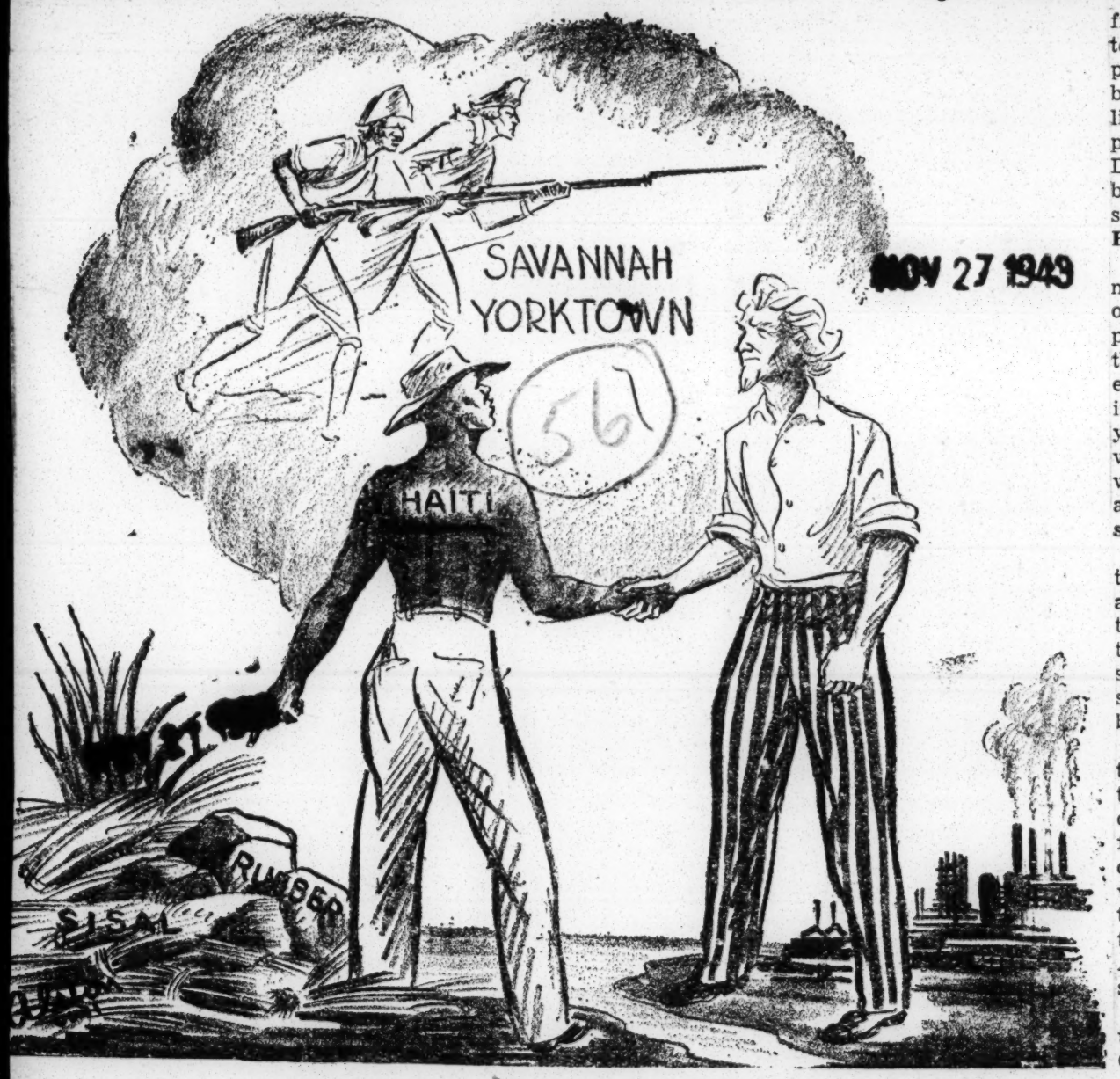
but that is just the way I feel.

"The other day in the library

Democracy in Action . . .

Washington Tribune
Washington, D. C.

By Alston



"TOGETHER AGAIN FOR FREEDOM!!"

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PRES. LESCOT'S SPEECH BEFORE THE SENATE

Chicago Bee ——Illinois

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct 21.—President Lescot of Haiti addressed the Senate in a brief visit to the Capitol and later visited a special meeting of the House Foreign Affairs committee.

OCT 24 1943

Escorted to the rostrum by a guard of honor composed of Senators Wagner of New York, McNary of Oregon, Thomas of Utah and Capper of Kansas, he was presented to the Senate by Vice-President Henry A. Wallace. President Lescot's speech before the Senate follows:

"Mr. Vice-President and Honorable Senators:

"It is with the deepest of emotion that in response to your kind invitation I rise in the midst of this illustrious assembly to bring you the cordial and sincere greetings of the Haitian people whose constitutional representative I have the honor to be.

"As you know, Honorable gentlemen, Haiti is an integral part of the United Nations, fighting together to safeguard our human liberties.

Haiti Proud to Share Sacrifices.

"The height of Haiti's ambition would be to send its sons to take their place side by side with yours, to share the sacrifices they are so generously dedicating to the cause of Right and Justice.

"The course of events, however, has been shaped in such a manner that it is not expedient for every one to be in the line of combat. Nevertheless, it is an uncontested fact that final and complete victory over the barbarian forces of totalitarianism depends upon the full mobilization of all the industrial and agricultural resources at our disposal.

"It is to this latter call that the men of my country have responded. A vast army of 150,000 of them, armed with picks, spades and other agricultural implements are clearing the lands suitable for the cultivation of strategic raw materials needed by the United Nations, more particularly the United States of America, and are now actually planting these lands.

"Very soon we will be assured of harvests never reached before in such products as rubber and sisal.

"On the eve of my departure from Haiti, it was my privilege to sigh a decree law, the purpose of which is to enable us, by legislation, within the fullest limits of our production, to supply the American, British and Dutch possessions in the Caribbean areas with vital supplies of staple food crops.

Haiti's Support Pledged.

"You are, Honorable Gentlemen, the worthy representatives of a generous and powerful people, a people ranking as one of the foremost champions of Liberty, that same Liberty now being preserved by the blood of your sons, the tears of their widows and orphans and for whose defense you will find me and my people always by your side.

OCT 24 1943

"On this solemn occasion we take the pleasure in reaffirming anew that all or any part of our territory which can be devoted to the culture of these needed strategic raw materials, will be so devoted to whatever extent becomes necessary.

"When we freely gave access to the American military forces to penetrate our territory in order to organize the common defense of this continent, it was our precious sovereignty, of which we are so fiercely jealous, that we placed at the service of the noble cause for which the American people are making such limitless sacrifices.

"We, the sons of those who took part in the expedition to Georgia, in the siege of Savannah, leading to the surrender of Yorktown, have answered "present" at the roll call made necessary by the infamous attack of Pearl Harbor, and so we are at your side today, as yesterday our forefathers were.

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"Never can we be indifferent to whatever concerns the United States of America, our pact of friendship having been signed with the blood of our ancestors shed on the same fields of battle."

ADDERLY PROSECUTES CASE AGAINST COUNT

OCT 23 1943

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

NASSAU, Bahamas—Attired in white wig and flowing black robe traditional dress in the courts of the British Empire, Special Prosecutor A. F. Adderley, colored barrister, opened the Crown's case against Alfred de Marigny here, Monday morning, thus setting in motion what may well be the most celebrated case in international jurisprudence in the past 50 years.

An all-male [illegible] jury was selected in 60 minutes after opened to try the dapper Count for the murder of his father-in-law, Sir Harry Oakes, multi-millionaire gold miner and prospector. The jury was selected from a panel of 48 Nigro and white Bahamians.

In opening the case for the Crown, Adderly charged de Marigny with murdered the wealthy Sir Oakes "for revenge, for satisfaction and for gain."

In the tense atmosphere of the small courtroom of the Supreme court, Adderly outlined

OCT 24 1943

sensational trial olves around the o Prosecutor to the beautiful r of Sir Oakes, rtroom when the wever, she has her belief in the husband and i during the trial.

FACES DEATH

Thus the most sensa in recent years devolves ability of a Negro P successfully prove that man who could put a big swath in international society.

If de Marigny is found guilty he will die for one of the most brutal crimes in modern history. De Marigny's wife, the beautiful red-haired daughter of Sir Oakes, was not in the courtroom when the trial started. However, she has publicly expressed her belief in the innocence of her husband and is standing by him during the trial.

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PROSECUTING THE LAW FOR THE BRITISH CROWN IN THE BAHAMAS (BHU)



OCT 30 1943



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Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa

Figuring prominently in the Count Marigny-Sir Harry Oakes muder case being tried in Nassau, Bahamas, in which the Count is being tried for murder of his father-in-law, the two prominent prosecutors of the British Crown, Eric Hallinan and his assistant A. F. Adderly. Adderly presented a dynamic opening speech to the blue-blooded jury which weighed the case of the defendant. Above the two men are shown outside of the court during time out between sessions, because of the ban on cameras in the court house. From left to right: Mr. Hallinan and Mr. Adderly.—INS Photo.

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Of Emotion For Cameraman



CHARACTER STUDIES OF HAITI'S dynamic president, M. Elie Lescot, taken in the Presidential suite in the Hotel Waldorf Astoria last Friday by Amsterdam News photog, Vondel Nichols. President Lescot's animation was as a result of a special interview with Amsterdam News staff writer, A. M. Wendell Malliet, with whom he discussed a a wide range of topics, from the wage of the Haitian worker, race leadership, to coopera tion among the various peoples of African descent throughout the world. M. Lescot is shown with his favorite New York newspaper, The Amsterdam News.

Haiti's Dynamic President Runs Gamut



PRESIDENT LESCOT OF HAITI, LEFT, SHOWN looking at his favorite picture of his meeting with President Roosevelt at the White House in last week's Amsterdam News, while Staff Writer A. M. Wendell Malliet awaits the presidential pleasure. Here, in the Hotel Waldorf Astoria, last Friday, M. Lescot granted The Amsterdam News an exclusive interview, and talked freely about his official visit to Ottawa, Washington and New York. M. Lescot emphasized two things as his immediate ambition: To do everything possible to defeat the Axis and raise the standard of living of the Haitian worker.

The Haitian Chief Outlines His Plans

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

By A. M. WENDELL MALLIET

THIS IS HAITI!

His purpose in the Black Republic of Haiti is the building of a new nation, conceived in liberty and prosperity and dedicated to the proposition that there shall be no beggars on the streets or highways of Haiti; social security for all the people; schools, hospitals and other social institutions adequate to meet the needs of a people increasing in numbers and a country developing its natural and human resources to its fullest capacity.

In the field of international relations and race problems, he demands that man shall be judged for what he is and recognized for his character and worth as a citizen, and not have races and classes divided because of race, color or creed. He feels strongly, too, that by virtue of the fact that he is the only ruler of a black nation in the New World it is his "duty to make an AMSTERDAM NEWS Friday morning in his suite at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria. He praised the spirit of the American people and government, which have helped to clear the way to Haitian prosperity. The economy of his country has been beared to produce new materials in the form of rubber, sisal for hemp, and foodstuff for the war effort, he said.

But it was the program and success of the administration of his own country that seemed to have fired Mr. Lescot's enthusiasm in the interview. In Canada, he said, he had arranged with the International Bureau of Labor to send two experts to Haiti to assist in formulating modern labor legislation [illegible] methods to improve the lot of the Haitian worker. Social security benefits have been put into effect and workmen's compensation on the American plan has been adopted.

Pres. Lescot's Program

"My program, very definitely," President Lescot declared, "is to raise the standard of living of all the people. When I took office, one of the first acts of my administration was to increase the wage of the Haitian worker 50 per cent, which constituted a minimum. Housing, which was started by my predecessor in Port-Au-Prince, the capital, has been extended to other cities, including Cap Haitien. The Haitian worker and peasant are entering upon a new era of prosperity due to the part that the republic is playing in the war effort.

"I should emphasize, however, we did not enter the war with any selfish motive. Any prosperity that comes to us is purely accidental. We are behind the war effort first and last. The great handicap is still lack of shipping facilities. We can only hope that these will improve soon," M. Lescot asserted.

Haitian Chief Greeted

President Lescot arrived in New York City from Washington Wednesday night, and has been the guest of honor at several functions. He was officially received at City Hall on Thursday by Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, and a luncheon guest of the National City Bank on the same day, The Pan-American Club honored him at dinner on Friday, and among his last acts before leaving for Haiti was his call on Archbishop Francis J Spellman.

On his way from Ottawa, the Canadian capital, where he was the official guest of the Dominion of Canada, President Lescot was the guest of the American Government. He was the over-night guest of the White House and was entertained there at a State dinner on Thursday evening, October 14. As such, the Haitian president is the second Negro head of state to be the official guest of the United States. President Edwin Barclay, of Liberia, was the first Negro to be so honored. M. Lescot left for Port-Au-Prince on Monday.

Lescot Asks World Negro Bloc Behind Democracies

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Negroes of America, Africa and the West Indies were urged last week by Elie Lescot, president of Haiti, to "form a bloc and support the great democracies [illegible] threatened liberties and for the defense of our rights [illegible] live as men under God's blue sky.

Addressing students, faculty and the public at convocation at Howard university here, President Lescot declared:

"No occasion seems to me more appropriate to cite to you a sentence from the message of which I addressed to the population of my own country and to all those who are of our race. Brothers of the same blood, I then said, we defend together the same ideal, and we protest against the same indignities. Our each part then is to die together or to save ourselves together.

"Our destiny is joined and can be realized with good fortune only in proportion as we shall have fully understood that we must without reservation aid the great democracies in the struggle for life of death which we are waging with the unchained forces of evil.'

Appeal To World

"From this rostrum of Howard university I think I should launch once more the appeal of 1942 to all the Negroes of the world—the Negroes of Africa, the Negroes of America, the Negroes of the West Indies. I believe that I should once more ask them in whatever latitude they may be and under whatever skies they may be to arise. We must form a bloc and support the great democracies for the defense of our threatened liberties and for the defense of our right to live as men under God's blue sky. The device inscribed at the bottom of the Republic's arms is strength. There is strength in union and should be that of all those who like ourselves belong to a common race."

Recalling his association with Howard university during the period when he represented his country here as envoy President Lescot said:

"As the chief executive of a black republic, the only one in the American continent, it is pleasing to me to find myself among members of the same race, who have given such [illegible] bringing their remarkable fidel-

ities

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NO COLOR LINE IN LAND REFORM

Defender
Chicago, Ill.



Ramos Antonini, labor lawyer, member of the Popular Political Party and floor leader of the Insular House of Representatives, explains provisions of the land reform bill to a gathering of aggregados and their families.

The Plaindealer
Kansas City, Kan.

THE NEGRO IN LATIN AMERICA

SECOND OF THE SERIES

By Harold Preece

When President Elie Lescot of Haiti sat down at the dinner table with President Roosevelt in Washington recently he was affirming the deep and close bond that exists between America's two senior republics—one white and one Negro.

Men were dreaming of liberty at Lexington and at Port Au Prince in 1776, and the men of Port Au Prince crossed the sea to fight with the men of Lexington for that great hope of freedom now taking on the form and shape of an enlightened humanity in this century of the common man.

Henri Christophe, that Negro genius and statesman, fought to bring the day of the common man about when he and hundreds of other Negroes fought under General Lafayette at the Battle of Savannah for the independence of the United States.

Haiti's declaration of independence from France dated November 29, 1803, signed by Christophe and that other great liberator, Jean Jacques Dessalines, might have inspired that classic speech on the Peoples Revolution and the Century of the Common Man delivered by Vice President Wallace 140 years later.

"We will be inexorable," says that declaration memorized by Haiti's school children. "Perhaps even cruel, towards all troops who, themselves, forgetting the object for which they have ceased fighting since 1780 should come from Europe to bring us death and servitude.

"No sacrifice is too costly and all means are lawful to men from whom it wished to wrest the first of all blessings. Were they to cause rivers and torrents of blood to flow; were they in order to maintain their liberty to fire seven-eighths of the globe, they are innocent before the tribunal of Providence which never created men to groan under so harsh and shameful a struggle."

In the darkest hours of Latin America's struggle for independence when the bloody legions of Imperial Spain killed and tortured the [illegible] the manner of poets, but who also write of the coming new world in their books and in Haiti's constantly improving newspapers and magazines. It is highly significant that Haitian writers and scholars are becoming increasingly interested in the country's African culture still surviving generation after generation among the sugar and coffee workers back in the brooding, ancient hills.

African religious ceremonies, blended more or less with the dominant Catholic religion of Haiti, flourish in the highlands. Generally, for all the silly movies that Hollywood turns out about "Voodoo" and "Zombies," the ceremonies are as harmless as a country school house Christmas party held in Alabama or Georgia. Unfortunately, American Negroes have accepted the ideas money-seeking, sensation-mongering white people about a country built and perpetuated by their brothers.

We have to realize in this age when all people begin to realize their common kinship, that men and women are fundamentally alike wherever they live. We get a clearer picture of this proud little republic of ten thousand square miles if we compare our Haitian brothers with the thousands of French-speaking Negroes in Southern Louisiana and Southeastern Texas.

Most of Haiti's citizens are good, kindly farmers who ask you in for a cup of the hot native coffee so thick that a spoon will almost stand upright in it. They are good farmers when they can get good land on which to grow their principal crops — coffee, cocoa, and many other agricultural products.

President Lescot is the president of a nation of poor people living in a country which could be rich—and the people are poor because corporations in this country take most of Haiti's products for whatever price they want to pay. The president is now trying to develop the rubber industry in Haiti, and it is to be hoped that his country will not become simply one big plantation of the American rubber trust as has unhappy Liberia.

America, the great white liberator, Simon Bolivar, read the Haitian Declaration of Independence and took heart again. He sailed to Haiti; when he went back he carried with him guns, cartridges and a printing press furnished [illegible] by the Revolutionary Negroes.

ernment of the [illegible]erous West Indian Republic. From that visit was born the Republic of Colombia which is largely Negro and which will be discussed in another article.

Maybe, the struggling little countries of the world realize better than their big neighbors that the cause of liberty is without boundaries and that freedom for any country must be fought for by the people of all countries. When the French Revolution came from the explosive agony of a long suffering people, Haiti took the same road that was being taken by the enlightened intellectuals of Paris and the rebellious peasants of Gascony and delegates from the little island sat in the French National Assembly and helped draw up that document which remains as a lasting monument to freedom — The Declaration of the Rights of Man. When the egotistical little madman, Napoleon Bonaparte, prostituted the French Revolution to satisfy his own greed for power, Haiti remained loyal to that Declaration, remained loyal to the French language and the best to be found in the French humanist culture but struck out for herself as an independent Republic.

Today in Haiti, one finds that combination of France and Africa which makes it one of the most interesting of the world's democracies. The surnames are French, but some authorities on language say that the Haitian speech has developed from the French foundation to such an extent that it must now be regarded as a separate tongue.

African idioms mix with the French to form a new literary medium which is being developed to express the African soul of Haiti by such outstanding scholars and authors as Dr. Price Mars, the brilliant sociologist; Jacues Roumain, the celebrated novelist; and a group of poets who not only future security to the future Haitian rubber industry. It's now the time for American Negroes to speak up for Haiti and see that it is allowed to progress in the interests of its Negro citizens. It's time for Negro Americans to speak up and remind this country not only of how black Haitians fought at Savannah but that this country might not exist today had not Toussaint L'Ouverture stopped Napoleon at Haiti.

Napoleon had hoped not only to whip the black Haitians fighting for their independence under that Toussaint, born in slavery. He had [illegible] to attack the United States and reduce it [illegible] French colony after marking Haiti off his slate. He planned to do this by invading the United States from the men proved they could be wrong. This time, fifty thousand French, ha dever been before. Hollywood ought to stop making movies about Hitler, was able to subjugate the other sold the Louisiana Territory to the European country after European country after that many lay dead in the hills of Haiti; the survivors were glad to hire Paul Robeson to hire Paul Robeson to hire Paul Robeson

Puerto Rico Has No Big Race Problems

Defender
Chicago, Ill.
AUG 14 1943

This is the third of a series of articles on Puerto Rico by Denton J. Brooks Jr., Defender staff correspondent, who has recently returned from an extended tour of the American outpost in the Caribbean.

By DENTON J. BROOKS, JR.

Puerto Ricans like to think of their country as a place where race discrimination doesn't exist. Most of the islanders will proudly declare, if the problem comes up for discussion, "We don't have any racial discrimination here."

After pointing to Ramos Antonini, brilliant labor lawyer and floor leader of the Insular House of Representatives, or Senora Barbosa de Rosario, head of the Social Science department of the University of Puerto Rico, as examples of Negroes who have reached the top, they politely but firmly close the subject. It's a taboo subject which they don't like to discuss.

This holds true for leading Negro as well as white Puerto Ricans. They like to think of themselves as a nationality rather than as distinct races.

Newspapers for instance never refer to the race of the individual like American papers do. None would refer to Ramos as a "Negro political leader."

No Color Problem

With a colored population conservatively estimated at 25 per cent of the island's two million the question of color is bound to arise from time to time regardless how much it is shoved in the background, however.

As we know it, there is truthfully no color problem. There are no laws or [illegible] which limit a Negro's opportunities or circumscribe his activities. There are no restrictive covenants which make for separate ghetto districts, there is no prohibition of intermarriage, and there are no separate schools which indoctrinate children with an idea of racial exclusiveness when they are young and plastic. On the other hand Negroes themselves are not organized into a racial pressure group. They apparently do not feel that this is necessary. Instead they tend to identify themselves with the particular economic and class group to which they belong. They have all shades of political and economic viewpoints from communist to rock-ribbed conservative.

Because of this tendency there are no racial tensions. There isn't a chance under present conditions in spite of the fact that they have a greater percentage of Negroes than are here for a race riot, like the Detroit one to develop. 'I was in the island at the time that incident flared up and the Puerto Ricans couldn't understand it. Trying as they did to comprehend a race riot in terms of their own [illegible] relationships, it [illegible] grossly brutal. More than one leader said to me, "How can the United States expect to help us and the rest of the world solve its problems when it can't even learn to live decently with its own citizens?"

Centered in Lowland

To get a true picture one must understand how Negroes are distributed over the island. Most colored people and those who have a Negroid strain live in the coastal lowlands—in the sugar regions and in the cities. As you go up in the hills and mountains of the interior the white strain becomes purer. There I saw a great percentage of the people with blue eyes and blond hair living somewhat like our Tennessee hill-billies. But unlike their brothers of the South they seem to have no racial prejudice.

Among the lowest classes there seems to be very little racial feeling or even recognition that they are of different races. As I walked down the streets of congested cities and traveled by car through the country, I saw ample evidence of this. Living as they do side by side their little bare-footed children play together. I became accustomed to seeing musically-toned, dark-complexioned girls with Negroid features and hair, laughing and talking to their lighter-hued boy friends who by latin standards are white, as they walked hand-in-hand down the street.

This same pattern held true in the country. As our car rolled along the highway, I saw in front of many thatched-roof shacks mothers who were definitely on the colored side holding babies while white fathers sat and smoked.

As you come up in the social stratification race consciousness becomes more pronounced. Hotels like the Condado, the exclusive hostelry catering to Americans and upper class islanders, are said to have refused in the past to serve dark-skinned Puerto Ricans in their dining rooms. To offset this evil the Insular legislature passed a non-discrimination bill last fall. Certain clubs use the expediency "For members only," to keep out Negroes.

Haughty wealthy artisocrats who feel a close affinity to the United States and want their sons and daughters to marry into American families do not want their children to keep company with Negroes.

This discrimination carries over to the better type jobs. I visited numerous government offices and have yet to see a Negro clerk or stenographer. I talked at length with administrators about this. They readily admitted that they didn't have any colored employed, but denied that it was a studied vicious system. Their attitude resembled somewhat that of the American business man who tries to get what he considers the best looking girl. Puedto Rico's standard of beauty is the same as other so-called white countries. If two girls present themselves for the job, one white and the other colored, the administrator invariably selects the white one. This same tendency holds true for first-class stores and private business establihment. And in the absence of organized pressure the system continue.

Race Not Protest

I talked to a young Negro whom I met at the University of Puerto Rico about this—asking him why colored people didn't demand that this economic discrimination cease. He said that while Negroes were bitter, they were as reluctant to bring this question out in the open as the whites.

There seems to be the feeling that within the framework of the democratic concept that this subtle prejudice will work itself out. As my young informer said, "We at least can point to some of our people who have reached the top, it would be especially unfortunate if we focused too much attention on the racial angle of our problem."

In some sections of the government they are working extremely hard to break down social discrimination. At the university for instance, Jaime Benitex, young forceful chancellor, has given fraternities and sororities one year in which to abolish by-laws providing for exclusion of Negroes. The penalty if they don't will be expulsion from the campus.

One of the reasons why Negroes are not more forceful in demanding immediate complete integration is because of the general belief in the island that amalgamation will take care of the problem of discrimination. Tomas Blanco, outstanding Puerto Rican authority on race, expresses this viewpoint. "In time our people will be so blended together that they will be one race. This process while operating slowly is going on now. When it has finally worked itself out, the danger of discrimination is passed."

There is considerable intermarrying ,especially between Negro girls and white men. There is no objection to the situation being reversed. Those girls who want to marry Negroes don't find themselves in the awkward position of an American girl with the same inclination, unless she happens to be of the upper class.

One of the things which helps to relieve bitter racial feeling is the desire of the average Puerto Rican to consider the sensibilities of another person. The same man who because of position and money would not invite a Negro to his home will be most courteous when thrown in his company.

While there is room for improvement in Puerto Rico's race relations, if one compares it with conditions in the States, even northern States, it's the difference between heaven and that place down under.

Alas, The Poor Puerto Ricans

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

At a time when talk of America carrying democracy [illegible] and civilization to all the world is ringing around the globe, the report on Puerto Rico by its governor, pioneer New Dealer Rexford Guy Tugwell, is like a dash of ice water.

He pointed to the sad fact that Puerto Rico is no better off than it was when won from Spain in 1898, and he might have said with greater truth that Puerto Rico is actually worse off, what with most of the people poverty-stricken and malnourished.

Small holdings have been largely wiped out to make room for the Sugar Trust, the territory has been a Happy Hunting Ground for carpetbaggers from the Mainland who have long held down the best jobs, and color prejudice and discrimination have been introduced over the objections of the multi-colored natives.

Governor Tugwell declared that "The great empires, especially those of the British and the Dutch, wait with concern to learn the intentions of their partner in the United Nations toward its largest possession," and urged that the United States must prepare Puerto Rico for greater political freedom in accordance with respect to subject peoples."

It is likely that the British and Dutch, who have never to give any of their dark possessions independence, are quite satisfied with American rule in Puerto Rico. They were both much irritated and alarmed when we half-freed the Philippines because of the effect on their colonial serfs.

Of course the United States should either admit Puerto Rico as a 49th state or grant the island complete freedom. It has any large contingent of dark representation in the one case or what might be done with the property of the Sugar Trust in the other.

Puerto Rico is desperately poor because the big plantations take up so much of the little island that only enough food can be raised to feed half of its 2,000,000 people, and because it has no factories all clothing, shoes and furnishings must be bought from the mainland at exorbitant rates. Obviously, we should free Puerto Rico now if we are to be not hyprocrites.

56L-1943

Martinique Negroes Threaten Rebellion

PM
New York, N. Y.

Adm. Robert Took Away Their Rights; They Blame Him For U. S. Blockade

By SELWYN JAMES

The solid opposition of 500,000 French West Indian Negroes and colored elite against continued Vichy control of the Caribbean isles of Martinique and Guadeloupe appears to be pushing the delicate political situation there toward an explosive climax.

Latest word brought back by travelers emphasizes the imminent possibility of a native uprising against the Vichy administration of Adm. Georges Robert, whose refusal to renounce allegiance to Vichy and join the Allies recently inspired the U. S. State Dept. to maintain a food blockade of the islands.

MAR 25 1943

This tends to confirm the hint of impending trouble given by Navy Secretary Frank Knox last Tuesday—that "there is a good deal of local resentment for Adm. Robert for being so stubborn."

Eliminated Council

The Negro islanders—workers on banana and sugar-cane plantations, small merchants and fishermen—have lived under Robert's dictatorship since the fall of France. The rights they enjoyed under the Third Republic—the right to vote, to speak, and write freely—were snatched from them the moment Marshal Petain announced creation of the Vichy Government.

Adm. Robert maintains his authority with the help of several thousand French sailors—crews of the French warships stationed at Fort of France, Martinique. One of Robert's first acts was to eliminate the General Council, a democratic body of Negroes and Mulattoes which used to vote the budget and manage the local affairs of the islands. Before the war, the General Council possessed the power to oppose the Governor of Martinique and even the Minister of Colonies in Paris on certain legislative issues.

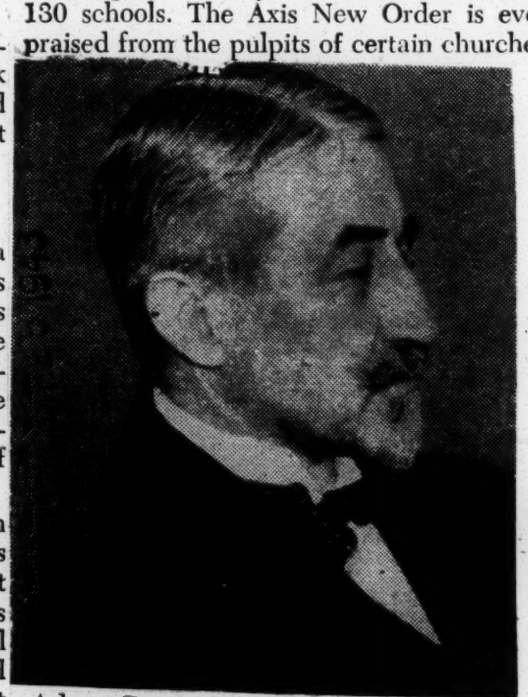
Praise for Axis

There have been no municipal elections since France's collapse, the Vichy-sponsored mayors carrying out the executive orders of Adm. Robert. A purge of the 4300 civil servants of Martinique and Guadaloupe—all but about 30 of whom were non-whites—resulted in all the higher officials being fired. All those suspected of De Gaullist or Allied sympathies not only were watched closely, but often imprisoned. They were replaced by special agents imported from Vichy France, officers of the French Navy, and policemen.

By early 1942, each village had its garrison of gendarmes, constantly on the alert against civilian uprisings. Their numbers were increased last July, when rumors of an early U. S. invasion spread through the islands.

MAR 25 1943

An official intelligence service, operating under direction of the French Navy, pries into the lives of the Negroes, forbids on pain of instant imprisonment all expression of anti-Vichy sentiment, or listening to British or American short-wave broadcasts. The Navy also directs the information services which spread pro-Axis propaganda not only in the press and by radio, but also in the 130 schools. The Axis New Order is even praised from the pulpits of certain churches.



Adm. Georges Robert, Vichy's High Commissioner on Martinique and Guadeloupe, faces the revolt of 500,000 Negroes and mulattoes.

Suspicion of allegiance to De Gaulle or the Allies is apparently enough to warrant an immediate summons to police headquarters, where all the legal rights of the citizen are violated. Even death sentences have been pronounced, though evidence of actual executions is lacking.

MAR 25 1943

De Gaullists Sentenced

Those sentenced to prison terms for "traitorous activities" have been sent to the French penal colony in French Guiana. Now that this French colony in South America has joined the Allies, these victims presumably will be released.

The Robert dictatorship has infuriated the Negro and Mulatto population which for a century enjoyed political freedom. The French West Indian natives always have militantly safeguarded their rights and privileges and have had a genuine affection for the mother country which extended those rights. Prior to Robert, no French Governor had succeeded in violating the rights of the natives.

The 6500 white folk of the islands—largely the owners of the huge plantations and the barons of commerce—are predominantly for Adm. Robert, in whose anti-Negro policy they see the extension of their privileged positions.

MAR 25 1943

Economic Status

The economic status of the islands is daily becoming more desperate—with the Negroes bearing the brunt of the suffering. Their diet consists almost entirely of tropical fruits and vegetables and sometimes fish, though fishing has been restricted drastically by the French Navy to prevent escapes from the islands.

The U. S. food blockade—for which, according to travelers, the Negroes blame Adm. Robert, *not* the Americans—is stimulating the symptoms of rebellion. Seeing no indication that Adm. Robert intends to give in to the State Dept., the native blacks are said to be preparing an uprising designed to produce such widespread disorder that U. S. forces will move in "to restore law and order."

MAR 25 1943

Success of such revolt, it is said, would be entirely dependent on the quick arrival of American troops. The Negroes are not armed well enough to do the job alone.

Philadelphia, Pa. Tribune

Officers File Case Against Night Club

SAN JUAN, (ANP)—Two colored army officers of the went to court last week allegin

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Haiti To The Fore

New York, N.Y.
People's Voice

By ALAIN LOCKE

In the inaugural lecture of a series which I am giving at Port au Prince as exchange professor, I very naturally expressed appreciation of Haiti's prompt and courageous alignment with the forces of democracy in the present war against fascism, pointing out its consistency with Haiti's proud tradition of 140 years of democratic independence.

JUN 12 1943

The French translation, made by my good friend, Dr. Camille Lherisson, to my surprise, however, corrected my compliment about Haiti's having so promptly joined the United States by stating the actual fact that Haiti's declaration of war against the Axis powers anticipated our own by a brief but noteworthy interval.

Since the fight against fascism is just as intimately a fight against racism, this is a symbolic action in which we may all take warrantable pride, as indeed we may also view with deep satisfaction the inevitable participation of a Negro nation in the peace councils of the United Nations, with its hope that racial justice and equality may receive their necessary share of consideration in the world settlement.

Already during my visit, there have been encouraging signs of an awareness and alertness on these issues, which give basis for vivid hope that as in the earlier issue of war, Haiti may be to the fore in such urgent issues of peace and world democracy.

On the equally important cultural front, there is already substantial and significant victory to the credit of Haiti. The award of the Pan-American Prize this year to the Haitian writers, Philippe and Pierre Thoby Marcelin, is more than a national victory. It is a cultural triumph of general racial importance, especially at this critical juncture of inter-American relations. The vindication of the high possibilities of Negro talent and subject-matter comes at this time with telling forcefulness and, one hopes, telling effect.

The novel, — **Canape Verte**, is a realistic one of the peasant life as it is today in the environing hillsides of Port au Prince, and was originally written under the Creole title of Madichon. The elder of the two brothers was an original member of the literary group known as the Poetry Group for expressing the indigenous Haitian life, and it is quite to the credit of these writers, that even with the classical French tradition strong in their cultural background, they have patriotically and democratically turned to the native tradition for their materials and inspiration.

JUN 7 1943

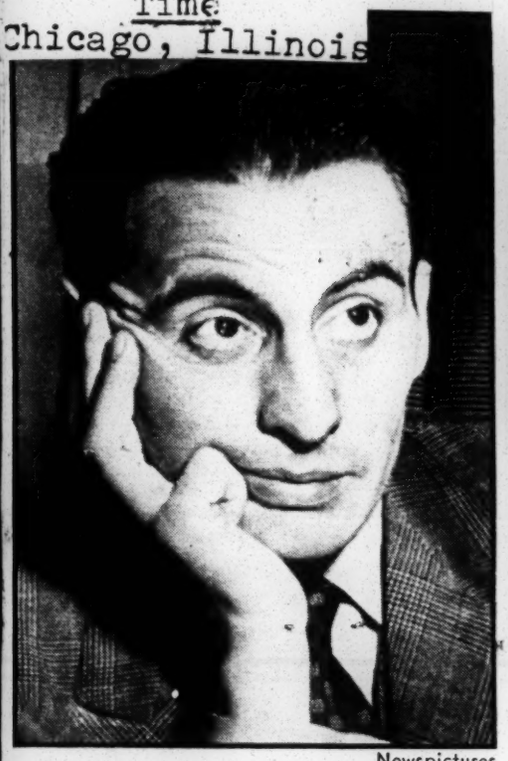
Their success has created evidently profound interest and respect throughout Latin America, particularly in Cuba, whose representative here, Dr. Aleman, was one of the main speakers at the testimonial banquet given recently in their honor at the Hotel Savoy.

JAMAICA

Quiet Revolution

Hot, verdant Jamaica is a richly productive Crown Colony in the British West Indies, but the bulk of its black inhabitants lives in poverty. The war has strangled its exports of rum and bananas, and

Time
Chicago, Illinois



Newspictures

RAÚL MORALES
Youth was an annoyance.

the shipping shortage has brought the island's home economy to a new low. As 1943 began, transportation was almost at a standstill; some towns had been dark nine months because there was no oil for lamps; meat, bread, salt, rice, fish and matches were either rationed or unavailable. Economic ills weakened political order. During a funeral procession the coffin of an unpopular public magistrate was broken to bits.

JUN 14 1943

Something had to be done, and London hopefully sent constitutional reforms for Jamaica's consideration (TIME, Feb. 22). To demonstrate political unity, Jamaica's Governor Sir Arthur Richards publicly shook hands with Norman Washington Manley, democratic, popular Irish-Negro leader of the People's National Party, one-time Rhodes Scholar and personal friend of Sir Stafford Cripps. W. A. Domingo, a Negro labor leader, was released from the detention camp where he had been held without hearing for 18 months. Also out of jail was the rambunctious labor demagogue Alexander Bustamante. Governor Richards announced an expansion of public works to reduce unemployment, said that a minimum-wage law would be considered and an effort made to hold living costs at 90% above the 1939 level.

Manley's People's National Party campaigned vigorously for self-government, shorter hours and better working conditions. Thousands of signatures were obtained for a resolution: "We do now with one heart and voice demand a form of government freely elected by all the people, responsible to us and free to carry out effectively the policies that will make our country a better place."



Roger Mais

NORMAN MANLEY
The vote was an opportunity.

Jamaica's Legislative Council finally met to discuss the liberalized constitution. In a "scene of greatest cordiality" it was unanimously approved. It will be at least a year before the new voting register can be completed and the constitution put into operation. But if it goes into effect as approved, Jamaica will at last have full adult suffrage.

In a country where few are well-educated, where the population is 95% Negro and mulatto, the new suffrage was a broad, democratic gesture by the Colonial Office in London; and the constitution itself was important as an expression of a new and more enlightened British colonial policy. Some English on the island thought last week that the constitution might eliminate "experienced legislators" and produce a "working-class landslide." But Governor Richards seemed unworried about the possibility. Norman Manley, who works as hard for unity as he works for freedom, hopefully declared his confidence "in the good sense of the public."

JUN 14 1943

STORY OF HAITI TOLD BY PAN AMERICANS

Bee
Chicago, Ill.

JUN 14 1943

Haiti was discovered by Columbus on December 6, 1492. The island of Haiti is the second largest in the West Indies group. Its territory is now divided into two republics: Haiti in the west and the Dominican Republic, or Santo Domingo, in the east. The Republic of Haiti occupies about one-third of the island, or about 100,700 square miles. It is a mountainous country so that even if it is in the tropics it has a mild climate. The yearly range of temperature is from about 70 to 85 degrees Fahrenheit. It never becomes as hot as Chicago or New York City. There are about three and one-half million inhabitants in Haiti which makes this republic the most densely populated in America. About four-fifths of the population live in the country and one-fifth in the cities.

Haiti was, in the beginning, ruled by the Spanish Crown, but later it became a French possession and was under French rule until some two hundred years later, in 1804, when it became an independent nation under Dessalines.

JUL 11 1943

The native inhabitants of Haiti were the Indians of the Arawak Tainos tribe. Haiti is a word of the Arawak Tainos which means Land of Mountains. When the first Spaniards came, the population of the island was in the neighborhood of one million. The wars against the Spaniards, and later, the hadr labor to which the Indians were subjected, almost caused the total extinction of the native population. In the year 1517, Father Las Casas obtained permission to import into Haiti the first of the African Negroes to come to America as slaves. On the other hand, the first slaves to come to the other end of the island, to Santo Domingo, were white. They were called engages, that is contract labor, but for the duration of their contract they were treated as slaves and their lot was not less hard than that of the Negro. But as time passed, it was found that the greater powers of resistance of the Negro made him a better worker. It then became the general practice to bring only African slave labor. Gradually the population of the whole island became almost all black.

JUL 11 1943

Since neither the French nor the Spanish nor the Negro had, at that time, race prejudices, the population of the island soon became so mixed that all possible shades of color were general. As the number of white women was small, the white population grew smaller and smaller. In time, there grew up a large class of freedmen, mostly mulattoes, until finally they were the majority. It is from this class that the great leaders of the Revolution came: Toussaint L'Ouverture, Dessalines, Petion, Geffrard, Capios, etc.

TRINIDAD GETS NEGRO ASST. POLICE HEAD

Chicago Bee Chicago, Illinois

By REGINALD PIERREPOINTE.

NEW YORK, June 24.—For the first time in the history of the Trinidad and Tobago police force, a Negro, Arthur Johnson, has been promoted to the rank of assistant superintendent of police. It has always been an unwritten law in the West Indies that a Negro could only rise to a regimental representative in the police department. All of the other officers were imported from England or transferred from other parts of the British empire and had to be taught their duties by Negroes who were always denied the opportunity to rise consistent with service and experience.

JUN 27 1943

The promotion of Johnson, follows quickly upon recent appointments made in the Jamaica police force and elsewhere in British colonies.

It is interesting to observe that shortly after promotions were announced in Jamaica, questions urging the adoption of a similar policy in Trinidad were tabled by an elected member of the legislative council.

JUN 27 1943

Assistant Supt. Johnson is a very popular officer in Trinidad and his promotion is welcomed by all ranks of the force and the general public.

According to information received from a well-educated member of the force who had decided to resign and leave Trinidad: "This promotion is an incentive to me. I am going to stay here with the younger men and work my way up."

1200 Attend All-Jamaican Meet in Boston

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

BOSTON. — Over 1200 persons attended the opening of the two-day session of the All-Jamaican Conference here May 30 at which a federation of the West Indies was urged as the salvation of the islands.

The theme of the meeting, sponsored by the Jamaican Associates, Inc., of Boston, was "The Four Freedoms for the Island of Jamaica."

JUN 12 1943

session was held at Ebenezer Baptist Church.

The keynote speeches were delivered by Dr. Eric E. Williams, a native of Trinidad and associate professor at Howard University, and the Rev. Ethelred Brown, a native of Jamaica. Both urged a federation of the West Indies.

Hits 2-Crop System

Dr. Williams said that the two-crop system, bananas and sugar, must be subordinated and the Jamaicans must learn to develop some of their own foodstuffs if they expect to be independent.

Panel discussions dealt with questions pertaining to social, economic and political problems of Jamaicans. A greeting from Ambassador Halifax was read by Boyd Tollington, acting consul general in Boston.

JUN 12 1943

The delegates drew up plans for a federation of Jamaican organizations to be the central, authoritative, and representative body of Jamaicans in the United States to safeguard the interests of Jamaicans at home and abroad.

Jamaicans Hold Meet In Boston

Chicago Ill. Defender
June 12, 1943

BOSTON, Mass. — (ANP)—National interest was focused on the two-day session here last week of the All-Jamaican conference on "The Four Freedoms for the Island of Jamaica" under the sponsorship of the Jamaican Associates, Inc., of Boston, an organization of people of Jamaican birth and ancestry.

The conference, attended by delegates from all over the United States, assumed greater interest due to the recent decision of the United States Department of Agriculture in importing 10,000 Jamaicans to relieve the manpower shortage in agricultural labor.

June 12 1943

There were already 15,000 Jamaicans in the United States, with nearly 3,000 in the Greater Boston area, 10,000 in New York, and others in Detroit, Florida, mid-west and west coast.

The opening session, held at the Ebenezer Baptist church, was attended by over 1,200 people and opened with a greeting from Ambassador Halifax read by Boyd Tollington, acting consul general in Boston.

The keynote speeches were given by Dr. Eric E. Williams of Oxford a native of Trinidad, who is associate professor of social science at Howard university, Washington, and the Rev. Ethelred Brown, a native of Jamaica, and only Unitarian pastor in the United States. govern themselves." Deploring the Panel discussions dealt with Both urged a federation of the island, Williams feels questions pertaining to social, economic, West Indies, and Dr. Williams point-that the two crop system, bananas and politi problems of ed out that "the people of Jamaica and sugar must be subordinated Jamaicans. were suffering from the lack of the and Jamaicans must learn to first freedom, the freedom from develop some of their own food-want and unable to get their griev-stuffs if they expect to be indepen-

56L-1943
The Worker
New York, N. Y.

Trinidad Resents Army Jim Crowism

FEB 13 1943

By Joseph Starobin

You must have seen that story in yesterday's Daily Worker about the way Negro troops have been treated in Great Britain. Not by the British—who are friendly—but by some of the Southern white officers who haven't been able to submerge their prejudices in the interests of an all-out war. If you didn't see it, you ought to look it up.

But unfortunately, it is only one of a number of cases where American Army Jim-Crow practices are creating ill-will against us.

Take an incident down in Trinidad, for example, a British Carribbean colony, where American troops are stationed.

It happened back in October and November of last year. The Port-of-Spain city, Trinidad, council had set aside a strip of vacant property, at the South Quay and St. Joseph's Road, for housing construction. There is an urgent need for new housing in the overcrowded capital of Trinidad.

Along came the United States Army and petitioned for the right to build a USO headquarters, on this land, **for the use of Negro soldiers only.**

FEB 13 1943

Let the minutes of the City Council meeting of Oct. 29, 1942, tell the story:

Councillor Gomes: **"Because of the fact that in the American Army a definite amount of segregation is effected as between black and white, the colored men cannot use the USO buildings at Docksite and in other areas, and we are asked to yield up this piece of land for the purpose I have already stated.**

"There will remain, if we should agree to this, just one step further for us to take, and that is the introduction of Jim Crowism in Trinidad whereby people will not be able to walk on certain pavements of the streets.

"Despite color and race prejudice which, we know, does exist in Trinidad, we have been able to mingle among ourselves to some extent."

But a Jim-Crow USO house, said Gomes, would be too much. "Consider the psychological effect it is going to have on people at large."

The proposal aroused a vigorous debate. One alderman said: "We are going to tell the American authorities that **we are giving you the land for the purpose of service men, and not for colored service men.** I do not see how the Americans can come here where all various races live together, regardless of their pigmentation, **to create divisions and factions."**

After debating the issue back and forth—and they all said they would forego their own housing plans for the sake of the American Army—the Council decided to consult with the British colonial secretary.

On Nov. 16, the United States military authorities withdrew their request for the use of the South Quay site. And the Council proceeded to legislate for the urgently-needed workers' homes.

FEB 13 1943

Trinidad is a small part of the world, it is true. But discrimination is a deadly virus, and contagious. The people of Trinidad wanted none of it. Neither did the British people, as the story in yesterday's **Daily Worker** made clear.

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

FDR Asks Home Rule For Puerto Ricans

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Election of the governor of Puerto Rico by the people of the territory is a possibility if Congress enacts legislation asked by President Roosevelt, last Tuesday.

Senator Tydings, chairman of the Territories and Insular Affairs Committee said that the President's suggestion did not go far enough, and proposed Puerto Rico receive complete independence, with the United States retaining control only of the miiltary and naval bases there. The latter are important in the defense of the Caribbean sea.

Roosevelt's message noted that Governor Tugwell and Secretary Ickes had recommended a change in Puerto Rico's organic law to permit islanders to choose their own governor.

MAR 26 1943

West Indies Education:

Sugar Planters Prefer Natives In Ignorance

MAY 15 1943
MAY 15 1943
Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.
MAY 15 1943

HAROLD PREECE

Special

The cotton planters of Dixie have a stock answer when they are asked to vote money for the education of Negro children.

MAY 15 1943

It's "n——rs and mules—don't need no education, N——rs and mules was made to work."

The sugar planters of the West Indies are just as enlightened as their brothers in Alabama and Georgia. They know the people will demand wages of more than twenty-five cents a day if their minds are unlocked by education.

A West Indian planter once wrote on the question of education for these unhappy, festering islands.

MAY 15 1943

GIVE THE LE

"Give them (the Negroes) some education in the way of reading and writing, but no more. Even then I would say, educate only the bright ones; not the whole mass. If you do educate the whole mass of the agricultural population, you will be deliberately ruining the country.——"

"Give the bright ones a chance to win as many scholarships as they can; give the others three hour's education a day—but if you keep them longer you will never get them to work in the fields."

The patterns of subjection run very much the same for the Negro in Dixie, in Africa, and the West Indies—disfranchisement at the ballot box, forced labor in the fields, educational systems which are an insult to the native intelligence and the great civilized traditions of black people.

MAY 15 1943

Let us consider British Guiana where a compulsory education law says that children shall attend school up to the age of fourteen. The same law forbids the employment of children under twelve during school hours.

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It's a good law, but it needs more teeth. As it works now, a parent earning twenty-five cents a day may be prosecuted for letting his child work to supplement the incomes of the family. But the sugar planters may not be prosecuted for hiring the child, nor is there any minimum wage law requiring them to pay the fathers of children wages which will support families.

MAY 15 1943

HALF ARE ILLITERATE

And in British Guiana, more than 50 per cent of the population is still illiterate. Book learning is so conspicuous by its absence in nearby Trinidad that more than 40 per cent are unable to read the simplest sentence or to sign their own names.

MAY 15 1943

One only wonders how many sons and daughters of British lords owe their culture and their Oxford degrees to the ignorance which has been imposed by their fathers upon the children of the West Indies. But conditions are no better in the West Indian islands under American rule.

Less than half of the children in Puerto Rico are enrolled in school. Less than twenty per cent of the Negro children ever see the inside of a classroom—for Negro children in Puerto Rico learn to cut and cultivate sugar cane from the time that they are able to walk. And only about one-fifth of the Puerto Rican schools provide for instruction beyond the third grade.

MAY 15 1943

Jimcro classes are the rule in the elementary schools of the British West Indies. Little black children go to run-down public schools conducted by teachers earning $15 or $20 per week; little white children go to sumptuous private schools conducted by imported English teachers with the correct Oxford accents and the correct social or anti-social viewpoints—laid down for all time and eternity by the absentee directors of the sugar corporations in London.

MAY 15 1943

DROP FROM SCHOOL

In the secondary or high schools there is a theoretical equality of all children—white, black, and East Indian. But the children of the twenty-five cent a day men have already dropped out of the running by the time that they have reached high school.

Joseph C. Morris, president of the American West Indian Association on Caribbean Affairs in New York, and his associates have embodied as principles in their proposed Caribbean Charter:

MAY 15 19

● 1. The establishment of free compulsory education up to a reasonable age in all the British-owned West Indies together with an extension of secondary education.

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● 2. The establishment, somewhere in the West Indies, of a central university for modern academic professional, and technical training.

This university would train the statesmen, doctors, and technicians necessary to reorganize and guide the West Indies once the West Indies have become an autonomous federation under the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

MAY 15 1943

SCHOLARSHIP WINNERS

Mr. Morris points out that Negro boys invariably win most of the scholarships offered in the British West Indies for study in English universities.

"No people can live or move forward without leaders from its own ranks," declares Mr. Morris. "The time has come, during this Peoples War, for the people of the West Indies to live and to move forward under leaders who are of their own blood and their own choice."

Fight Jim Crow In Puerto Rico

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

SAN JUAN, P. R.—(ANP)—Two recently enacted civil rights act which Negro army officers went to court forbids denial to service men by the club was a violation of the refusal to admit them to racial groups.

The complainant, Capt. and Mrs. Rafael Garcia and Lt. and Mrs. Rafael Muriel, alleging that they were excluded from a night club here.

The Porto Rican anti-discrimination law has characterized this country as an outstanding example of pro-satisfactory adjustments among proprietor's refusal, claim that the



New Constitution For Jamica Proposed

WASHINGTON.—The recent announcement in London of a proposed new Constitution for the island of Jamaica, B. W. I., authoritatively has been termed proof of the intention of the British and the United Nations to take steps during the war to extend opportunity to the people of the West Indies to learn the responsibility of democracy by exercising it.

This view was expressed by S. Burns Weston, executive secretary of the United States section of the Anglo-American Carribbean Commission, after Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for Colonies, had reported to the British Parliament on the acceptance of certain proposals for a new form of government in Jamaica.

The proposed constitution, if accepted by the Jamaicans, will establish a bi-cameral legislature and grant universal adult suffrage in the election of a House of Assembly.

Discussing the proposed constitution in the absence from this country to Charles W. Taussig, chairman of the United States Section of the Commission, Mr. Weston said:

"Obviously we have been very much interested in reading about the new constitution the Britsh have offered Jamaica.

"It is further proof of the intention of our Britsh allies and all of the United Natons to take steps during the war, and not waiting until after it is over to extend opportunity in the West Indies for people to learn the responsibilities of democracy by exercising it.

"The United States Section of the Commission itself feels that this development is in line with the Commission's responsibility to advise the British and United States governments in regard to social and economic problems. One of the important steps in solving these problems is to provide the people directly concerned a greater share of responsibility in meeting their own problems."

Britain's position regarding Jamaica was summed up by Mr. Stanley in the following proposals:

(1) A House of Assembly of no fewer than 24 members, elected by universal adult suffrage.

(2) A Legislative Council of 15 members nominated not only by officials.

(3) An Executive Committee of 10, five chosen by the Assembly and others, of whom only three will be officials, by the Governor.

(4) A committee system whereby agriculture, education, social welfare, communications, etc., each would receive individual consideration.

(5) The Governor to retain veto power and to exercise certification power with the advice of the Executive Committee, and

(6) The new Constitution is to be tried out five years and the situation reviewed at the end of that period.

William H. Hastie is a member of the President's Caribbean Advisory Committee.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

Britain Removes Police Color Bar In West Indies

By OWEN C. MATHURIN
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

PORT-OF-SPAIN, Trinidad —Britain is removing its color bar against the appointment of non-Europeans to police officerships in the West Indies and British Guina.

Following promotion in Jamaica last month of two colored subofficers to commissioned rank, it is reported here that "in keeping with the new colonial policy" colored men will be eligible for commissions in the Trinidad police when vacancies occur.

Similar news comes from British Guiana where, as in the Caribbean, the police force is officered by whites while the rank-and-file are colored men who never rise beyond the rank of sergeant-major.

While colored men are members of the governor's executive councils and of legislative and municipal councils, mayors, judges, magistrates, medical officers, and engineers in the government service, commissions in the police and defense forces have been the exclusive preserve of the white population.

The color bar in the police has been the cause of much questioning in West Indian legislatures for many years. In 1931 the British government, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, denied its existence.

The matter cropped up in the British Guiana legislative council last December and last week, following the Jamaica appointments, Sir Gordon Lethem, the Governor of British Guiana, issued a communique stating:

"Though there have been occasional exceptions, it is a well-known rule of recruitment in the colonial police force that officers should be of European decent but it has been authoritatively stated that the Colonial Office is sympathetic to fresh steps forward in this direction, and recent appointments in Jamaica and elsewhere bear this out."

Because of the barrier the better-educated colored youth throughout the West Indies have shunned the police force lest they should have to take orders from white former schoolmates with less brilliant records in the classroom and in military training.

Even now the Trinidad police force is below strength despite repeated appeals for recruits. The unusual procedure has been adopted of advertising in the neighboring islands but men have been found only in Barbados.

With a beginning wage, of but $44 a month after training, the youth prefer other jobs offering greater benefits and with none of the rigid discipline of police life.

News Brie·s

Bystander
From Far and Near
Des Moines, Iowa

SOUTH AMERICAN PAPER DEVOTES SUPPLEMENT TO NEGRO QUESTION

Rio de Janeiro Reflecting the growing concern of the people of

In addition the issue contains several articles and poems by South Aferican writers concerning the Negro problem in Cuba and Haiti.

The lead article, titled "A Representation of a Continental Theme" asserts that "the story of the Negro is to a great extent the story of all our countries.

Included in the group of articles Franklin Frazier.

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THE NEGRO IN LATIN AMERICA

JUL 31 1943 New York, N. Y.

Puerto Rico: Its Location And Ethnological Composition

Peoples Voice

By CONSUELO LEE TAPIA
Managing Editor of Pueblos Hispanos

JUL 31 1943

IF YOU LOOK AT A MAP of the Western Hemisphere you will notice that the Americas are connected by a long strip of land which is known as Central America, and directly opposite there are a group of corresponding islands forming a semicircle, which look like stepping stones for a giant, in case the land route between the continents were shut off. These islands are known as the Greater and Lesser Antilles. Among the Greater Antilles is the island of Puerto Rico.



Miss Tapia

The Taino Indians knew it as Boriquen, or Borinquen, and the Spaniards, for whom Columbus took it on his second trip to America, called it Puerto Rico.

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Borinquen means "the land of the brave." "Puerto Rico," means literally "rich port." The island was used by the Spaniards as a place to keep their treasure, which they obtained in Peru, Mexico and other of the Latin American countries.

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"Rich Port" for Exploiters

The natural safety of the harbor made the protection of the island simple by the use of a series of excellent fortifications all along the approaches to the capital.

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Puerto Rico is a very "rich port" indeed for the exploiters—but very poor for the natives. How rich it is can be seen by government statistics, which report that we are the *seventh* customer of the United States in the world, the *FIRST* in Latin America and the *SECOND* in the whole Western Hemisphere, Canada being the first.

The sugar interests which are the chief exploiters, is almost totally controlled by United States' absentee owners, who have paid fabulous dividends up to 115%.

This wealth has been extracted at the expense of the most horrible impoverishment to the natives, the Yankee imperialists having converted the island into one of the most hideous and diseased habitats of man. In a nearly perfect climate disease is rampant.

It is ludicrous to hear the argument that we are too small and too poor to be granted our independence. These statistics are their own. Not ours.

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Debt Free When Yanks Came

When the Yankees invaded our island, it was debt free and prosperous. We had wrested our independence from Spain after many years of bitter struggle. Our dollar was on a par with the American dollar. We woke up the next day after the invasion to find that our dollar was worth 40 cents. The process of wresting the land from us began, and in the first 10 years 60,000 small land owners were dispossessed.

The way that the Imperialists, once having laid the foundation for absolute exploitation, proceeded to hold the booty safe for themselves has been to prohibit our use of ships other than United States ships, giving them practically a monopoly on our commerce—the importing of all the goods we consume and the exporting of almost all of what we produce.

It costs seven times more for us to bring rice from the United



JUAN ANTONIO CORRETJER

Ten years ago when Mr. Corretjer visited Puerto Rico he talked to an old man who told him that his family had lived right on the same spot for at least 300 years.

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States to Puerto Rico than it does to bring it a distance three times further from Japan via San Francisco. This is only one instance.

They have converted our country into a monoculture—sugar—making it necessary for us to import the most simple foods. It is better for them that we import rice, which we do not grow, and canned fish, which we must pay for although the Caribbean and the Atlantic are teeming with health-giving fish. Then they have the temerity to insult us for our way of eating and living. But Imperialism follows a general pattern—the debasing of humanity and Puerto Rico is an open book; a living tomb of the evils of Imperialism.

JUL 31 1943

Degradation Shocked Tourists

The sight of the degradation that the U. S. invasion has meant for Puerto Rico is so shocking that even with all the lure that Governor Winship put out to catch tourists, he could not hide from view the horrible sight of what his government had meant for us.

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or convince the tourists that our misery was good for us. People shied away from it, especially people seeking a good time.

The island is very small and you cannot get out of the way of the people's misery as you could in a larger place.

One thing the jibaro was famous for was his joyous music, but the last time I remember the jibaro singing on his way to market at night was in 1924. The Imperialists have taken even the song out of our hearts.

But the most hideous of all the changes wrought by the Imperialists was the introduction of racial discrimination as a system. In 1937, an official told me quite plainly that the plan of the government was to import southern judges, teachers, etc., from the United States—an unheard of thing for us before the occupation. You can now read ads in the papers asking for a white clerk or a white stenographer.

The Yankees divided the recruits for the Army by the color of their skin, this being a preposterous thing to do, considering that in a country of such racial admixture one brother may be pure white in appearance while his brother may be as dark as any of his African ancestors. When the Spaniards came to Borinquen, the island was populated by the Taino Indians. It was the most advanced of the group. The Tainos extended throughout the Antilles and part of the South American mainland and to this day there are tribes of these Indians in the valley of the Orinoco River.

JUL 31 1943

Spaniards Intermarried

The Spaniards intermarried with them and later when the slaves from Africa were imported they also intermarried so that today the pure white Puerto Ricans are very few and the native Puerto Ricans are a new type developed out of all of these three groups.

Negro slaves were never as numerous as in the other islands in proportion to the whites, and as they were constantly being freed, they developed on an equal basis with the whites. By the time slavery was abolished Puerto Rico already had all the characteristics of a nation with a new well-developed enthnological group. The cultural and racial influence was so well assimilated that none of the original groups is predominant, as is the case in some of the other islands.

Our music is not as Negroid as the Cuban, yet it is not Spanish. At the same time you see the influence of both. Our language is permeated with Taino Indian words and our inflection is Andalusian for the most part, especially among the *jibaros*, and more Negroid among the city and coast dwellers.

JUL 31 1943

Race Blending Natural

In La Indiera, near the town of San German, on the western part of the Cordillera, there is still a small colony of Indians. When Juan Antonio Corretjer visited them in 1933, he talked to an old man who told him that his family had lived right on that spot for at least 300 years.

The blending of the races was not the rich. He sat them around known, opened to a very natural one in Puerto Rico his work table where he made and under the Spanish domin- cigars and taught them all alike ation it was not looked down upon. My grandfather Alejandro Tapia In fact, all the early schools were Rivera was one of his pupils and open to both white and Negro chil- speaks very affectionately of him

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Race Prejudice Artificial

The present day artificial introduction of race prejudice is part of the siege by the slave- and parcel of Yankee Imperialists who would like to enslave and di-

vide us further. These racial antagonisms are not natural to a group of people of an origin such as ours, and neither the Southern racists, or the Hitler variety, can get very far in spreading it.

The American Negroes by aiding us in our struggle against our oppressors are helping to destroy a common enemy. We are natural allies and should seek to understand and know each other better, which is the best way to forestall all efforts of our enemies to divide us.

Imperialists Rule by Dividing

Let us not make the same mistake which was used against the Cubans and Puerto Ricans when the Imperialists divided us and committed us to the slavery in which we find ourselves today. In Cuba, the whites were a minority. The invaders used them against the Negroes. Quintin Banderas the leader of the Negroes was assassinated. This lead to a Civil War, with the Imperialists being, as usual, the sole winners.

In Puerto Rico the majority was white. So they worked with Jose Celso Barbosa, a Negro who was given full authority to form the Republican party—the ruling party under the occupation. When the people awakened to the reality that the Yankees had not come to bring democracy, but to end it for all time if they could, Barbosa made a public statement that the Republican party would be formed if necessary, with only one vote, namely, his. When the wealthy white land owners realized he was speaking with the authority of the invaders, they jumped on the bandwagon and left the road clear for the Imperialists.

Nevertheless, the Puerto Ricans will fight through against discrimination and oppression and for their full independence now.

Puerto Rico Will Fight Through to Gain Her Independence, Writes Spanish Editor

By CONSUELO LEE TAPIA

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

THE MOVEMENT OF LIBERATION of the Puerto Rican people, which is 108 years old, culminated last April in the National Independence Congress of Puerto Rico. Ever since the leaders of the Nationalist movement were imprisoned and exiled, the people of Puerto Rico have kept the movement alive though leaderless. Sporadic protestations have arisen here and there. The Ponce massacre was the first sign given to Yankee Imperialists that although the best leaders and fighters for Puerto Rican independence had been put out of activity the people would take over and carry on.

On Easter Sunday of 1937, in the southern city of Ponce, men, and women and children began to gather for a demonstration in Ponce. They came from all over, all ages, types and classes. The city government had granted them a permit to hold the demonstration. When the demonstration was about to begin the chief of police, on order of General Blanton Winship, came to the youth in charge of the "Cadets of the Republic" to notify him that the permit had been cancelled.

Patriots Shot Down

Lopez de Victoria, who was the youth in charge of the corps, a simple unassuming youth but a noble patriot, turned to his men and in answer to the police request gave the command, "Forward March."

The barrage of machine guns started and the people began to disperse in panic. The "cadets" remained calm. The police had surrounded them from all sides and had mounted machine guns in the adjacent buildings to assure a real massacre of men, women and children.

One little girl fell in her desperate flight to get away from the line of fire and as she fell a policeman bashed in her brains with the butt of his gun.

"Long Live Puerto Rico!"

Another youth fell and with his last drops of blood wrote on the sidewalk for all to see, "Long live the Republic! Death to the assassins!"

A woman hidden in a house close by and who had not come to participate in the demonstration, but only to visit some relatives, saw the Puerto Rican flag fall on the ground as its bearer was shot and left the safety of the house to run out in the street amid the firing and picked up the flag and walked with it to safety.

When asked later in court why she had risked her life at such a moment, she answered calmly that sometime before she had heard the nationalist, Albizu Campos, state at a meeting in the public square of the western city that the flag of our country must never be allowed to lie on the ground.

Many heroic incidents occurred on this historic day in the struggle of the borincanos for their independence.

Massacre Planned

Albizu Campos and Juan Antonio Corretjer were the inspiring leaders of the people; the enemy assassins were the combined forces of Yankee Imperialists and their native lackeys. The whole massacre had been planned by them. And so, the people were left leaderless.

A month later the Nationalists gathered to celebrate the birthday of Jose de Diego, one of the forerunners of the independence movement in Puerto Rico, and once more the Imperialists planned their attack. Again the people answered with heroism.

Leaders Jailed

The struggle has continued until today when every single United States Federal prison has in it Puerto Rican patriots, whose only crime is the desire to see their country freed. Every local prison in Puerto Rico has also within its walls others who have struggled that our people may enjoy their right to nationhood.

As if this brutal oppression were not sufficient, our workers on government properties are subjected to horrible treatment and discrimination. But this does not prevent the oppressors from demanding that we serve to save their own freedom, which today is endangered by the fascist menace.

Still, the Puerto Ricans fight on.

Ask FDR to Commute Albizu Campos' Sentence

More than 200 distinguished Americans have asked President Roosevelt to commute the sentence of Don Pedro Albizu Campos, president of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, the Council for Pan American Democracy announced last Saturday.

Albizu Campos, recently released after serving seven years in Atlanta Penitentiary, is still under a 4-year suspended sentence imposed at the time of his trial. He is now ill in a NYC hospital, and fear has been expressed that a return to prison would endanger his life.

Among those who signed the letter were Rev. W. C. Anderson, Hugo F. Artucio, Dr. Henry Lambert Bibby, Alice Blackwell, Louis Bromfield, Zara DuPont, Wendell H. Furry, Jay Gorney, Donald Henderson, Katherine Hoffman, John H. Lawson, James McLeish, Robert Hasting Nichols, William G. Rice, jr., Dr. Abraham Wolfson and Mary E. Woolley.

The struggle of the U. S. for its own liberation has given us a golden opportunity to join hands with the people of U. S. in demanding that recognition of our rights be the first example of the Government's true intention in living up to the statements in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms.

The Nationalist leader Juan Antonio Corretjer, now out of prison but not yet free of a probationary sentence which he is serving in this city, has been working all winter to achieve a mobilization of the progressive forces in Puerto Rico.

Two Bills Before Congress

The results of the clamor of our people at home and the steady work of Corretjer to mobilize sentiment for our cause has culminated in many positive things to bring a peaceful settlement of our problem.

Congress has at present two bills dealing with our independence. The President has asked a committee to plan the separation of our government from the Federal Government of the United States. These are signs that our people's struggle for liberation is being finally recognized.

Then the bill was presented by Senator Tydings for our liberation and bad as it was, the mere fact that a Congressman had heeded our demands in concrete form, caused the people to take heart and call a Congress.

People Are United

This Congress represents a unity of all the people and the rallying cry is, "Puerto Rican Freedom, Now!"

In spite of the difficulties in travel due to the lack of conveyances at the present moment, all of the 75 towns, villages and hamlets in our island sent their representatives and formed their local committees. This movement is a genuine people's movement and must be protected against the influence of the Falange, which seeks to capture and destroy it. This should be the concern of the people of the United States as well as of our people in Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rico must have her independence now and must take her place among the United Nations.

The Puerto Rican people are democratic. Independence is her right. Further, it is to the interests of the nation who holds her in bondage to free her. It is necessary to the victory of democracy the world over. And, the Puerto Ricans will continue to fight through.

U.S. Takes Jim Crow to the West Indies

ANTIGUA, B.W.I. (ANP) — The failure of Col. George L. Kraft, white, of the United States Base command in Antigua, B.W.I. to include any of the prominent colored officials of the island, in his invitation to the ceremonies at the base theatre, celebrating united nations day, was denounced editorially by the local press.

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

56L-1943

Jamaica's New Constitution

Although the island of Jamaica has been granted a new and more liberal constitution for its government, too little has been said about the great step toward responsible self-government that it represents.

Under the old constitution, only men over 21 years old could vote—if they paid a 10 shilling direct tax—while women had to be over 25 years of age and had to pay the same tax, with the result that only 70,000 Jamaicans could vote out of a population of a million and a quarter.

Under the new constitution, there is universal suffrage for all men and women over 21 years of age without payment of tax, with the result that 700,000 persons are eligible to vote.

Where the legislative council formerly consisted of 14 elected members and 15 official and nominated members bound to vote as the Governor dictated, there are now two legislative houses, with 32 representatives in the lower house and 15 nominated members in the council.

Where formerly the Governor appointed, each House now elects its own presiding officer.

In the past, the Governor was able to veto any proposal, but today the Governor must consult his executive council and accept its advice.

In many other ways there has been a big step toward representative government such as Jamaica has never known before.

While the change is specified for a trial period of five years, there is little reason to believe that the change will be lasting.

This change for the better is a tribute to the Jamaicans at home and abroad who have fought for it for many years.

BWI In Need Of University Says Authority

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

West Indies Now In Unsatisfactory Educational Set Up

LONDON, (ANP)—After Col. Stanley in a speech introducing the colonial office estimates, described the present state of West Indian education as unsatisfactory, Prof. A. V. Hill last week suggested a policy of education to be crowned with a federal university for all the West Indies.

Col. Stanley, in his speech, distinguished the three main lines of colonial progress, political, social and international.

In a review of Col. Stanley's speech, Times newspaper stated:

"Fundamental to Col. Stanley's treatment of his subject matter was the truth becoming more clearly self-evident as the empire adapts itself to the economic stringencies of a world at war.

MATERIAL FOUNDATIONS

"No advance of institutions or culture can be sustained unless the life of the people can be firmly based upon material foundations and can maintain themselves by their exertions above the level of want.

"The corollary follows that this nation which missed responsibility before history for leading so many races towards political freedom and richer cultural life bears a responsibility no less urgent for helping them to liberate themselves from penury that may make freedom of culture sternly more difficult to obtain."

Stanley described the third line of colonial progress as education, and according to Times, "by only such means can these colonies assure themselves of one service that can, over long, arrange and guarantee all the rest—service not of money or goods but men and women of public spirit and trained capacity drawn from their own ranks dedicated to the leadership of their kindred."

Three Whites In Cuba Give Views On Race; German Refugee "Surprised" At Negro

The Plaindealer
Kansas City, Kan.

By Irene Diggs

Havana, Aug. 2 (ANP—Three white Cubans have given me their views on race. Here is what one said:

"You are interested in my views on race? Well, you see, I am a Cuban. You know Cubans don't belong to any race. They are all a mixture of one or the other: African, Spanish, Indian, Chinese o rall. Personally, I am interested in race. The problem of race bothers me. I was married for eight years to a very wealthy Mexician of English and French parentage. But our marriage wasn't a happy one. It never was. "I became interested in a colored Cuban and while my wife was on her usual visits to Mexico my letters became less frequent and less warm and friendly. In some way she found out about my attitude toward this girl. She threatened to 'squawk' to my employer. I finally made up my mind and sent her divorce papers. Now we have been married, very happily, and living in Havana for six years.

"I work with an American firm and I came across our marriage be- would be immediately dropped so we kept it a secret until a sufficiently long time had elapsed (six years) and it wasn't until early this year that I persuaded my wife to come to my office for the first time. Before this we were never seen together. If we went to the movies we met at the movies. All this for the sake of my job.

"We are both studying Portuguese. We want to go to Brazil. I have heard there is no race problem there. I am only fitted for work with an American concern outside the United States. I am getting along right here but I should like to live somewhere else for a time. My wife has already passed the preliminary test to become an American citizen."

A German Refugee Said:

"Have you heard Marian Anderson? Do you know her? I have heard some of her singing in German. It's perfectly marvelous. Her pronounciation is perfect. It is as though it were her mother tongue. I saw a picture of her in a magazine once. Isn't she ugly? Why her mouth spreads—from here to here. Why, I can't believe that such a person can sing in German.

"You have been in Germany? You were in Germany there are very few black people and I just am not used to them. Why the servants in our house. They are awful. I hope you are not offended but that is just the way I feel.

Haitian Aiding United Nations Through Productivity Of Sugar Cane And Coffee

New York Age

New York, N. Y.——Haiti is helping the United Nations win the war through increased production of sugar cane, coffee and other foodstuffs, and the Negro Republic has also developed several new industries vital to the prosecution of the war.

One of these involves the cultivation of derris root from which Rotenone, an important insecticide needed to fight plant pests in the United States and elsewhere is obtained. Before the war, derris root came to the United States chiefly from Java, the Philippines and other sections of the Far East. Rotenone, extracted from this root, paralyzes the breathing apparaus of insects although it is harmless to man and beasts. The Haitian Department of Agriculture is supervising the planting of 150,000 cuttings of derris root by small farmers throughout the country.

Ranks First In Fibre Industry

Another new industry is being built around the cultivation of the loofa sponge, used in marine engines to filter water. About 98 per cent of these sponges formerly came from Japan, but now, through the efforts of the Office of Economic Warfare, various countries in the Caribbean area are cultivating them.

Ranks First In Fibre Industry

By far the biggest industry in Haiti, however, is the cultivation and processing of sisal for rope and cordage. Before the war most of the Manila hemp (abaca used in this country came from the Philippines and sisal from the Dutch East Indies and East Africa and Mexico. Sisal is now being produced in the West Indies and Mexico but Haiti is one of the largest producers of the white fiber in the Western Hemisphere from the leaves of which is made the cordage, lariats and binding twine so much needed in war industries.

The Haitian-American Society for Agricultural Development was one of the first organizations to realize an opportunity to capture world markets in this particular industry. In 1942, they received a contract from the United States Defense Supplies Corporation for delivery of 25,000,000 pounds of sisal by November 15, 1945, and this contract is now well on the way toward fulfilment.

No more indigenous to Haiti than was rubber, sisal finds a natural home in the dry soil below St. Marc and in the Plaine du Nord near Cap-Haitian. Thorny sisal is now one of the Haitian-American Society's sturdiest offsprings and is expected to become a staple product of that country.

Sisal came to Haiti 15 odd years ago and has made a good record in the extensive Pettigrew and Cook plantations at Phaeton and Caracol in the northeast. A few years later some 2,500 acres of sisal (of Pettigrew stock) were planted on St. Marc cape by the St. Marc Society a private organization.

The Haitian-American Society for Agricultural Development acquired the plantations of St. Marc plantation, already planted several times in its history, the entire 10,000 acres of sisal division. Since then the recent planting has reached its first cutting during the St. Marc sisal will require enlarged decortication facilities, for which a factory is now planned at Mont Rouis, 28 kilometers southeast of St. Marc.

In the Cap-Haitian National Park division 5,600 acres have been planted in sisal, so well suited to Haiti, and now

new planting, much in demand in this country. same time The Haitian-American Society it will all for Agriculture Development is a during 1945, Haitian Corporation whose stock is wholly owned by the Haitian gov- will by no ernment. of sisal production. her the war is a strong and continuous production of this product. probability of a steady and

Haitians Out For Victory Over Axis

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

WASHINGTON—(SNS)—Climaxing a 9-day 1,000-mile tour of the sisal, cryptostegia and hevea plantations and laboratories in both Northern and Southern Haiti President Elie Lescot recently urged workers in the Negro Republic to increase their war production as "the Haitian workers' way of helping assure victory over the Axis powers."

Addressing more than 40,000 workers on plantations in both sections, and speaking in the Creole patois used by most of these Haitians, President Lescot declared:

"If Germany wins this war it will mean slavery. This program of growing cryptostegia and sisal is the Haitian workers' way of helping assure victory over the Axis powers.

"You, my friends, are soldiers in this war for freedom as much as our brothers in uniform for whom we furnish the material of war. You are in army fighting with machetes and the tools of the soil as those who fight with ships and guns.

"Every drop of latex, every pound of rubber and sisal you help to produce means more shells and bullets to fire against the Axis enemies of our liberty; more ropes and cordage for battleships and the merchant marine; more tires for combat vehicles and airplanes.

This is Haiti's conrtibution to the fight for freedom and we are all soldiers in the free armies of the world. We cannot fail our soldier comrades in the war — and I know that you will not fail them."

The Presidential tour was made under the auspices of SHADA (the Societe Haitiano-Americaine de Development Agricole) which is working jointly with the Haitian Government to produce strategic materials for the United Nations war effort. It included visits to the new cryptostegia plantations, the Gonaives experimental farm and research station in the Artibonite and similar installations and farms in the shadow of the Citadel of Christophe.

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At Gonaives, President Lescot participated in the tapping of mature cryptostegia plants in the research plots and then helped to convert the milky latex into sheet ruber — a simple operation requiring only a few minutes in the elaborate research laboratory there.

The official party included M. Maurice Dartigue, Secretary of State for Agriculture, Labor and Education, and also vice president of SHADA; M. Gontran Rouzier, Under-Secretary of State for the Interior; Col. Durce Armand, commander of the Palace Guard; Capt. Charles Lochard, President's Aide; Lieut. Roger Lescot and other members of the military staff.

Protest U. S. Jim Crow In Antigua

Chicago, Ill.
Defender

ANTIGUA, B. W. I. — (ANP) — Bitterly denouncing the failure of Col. George L. Kraft of the United States Base command in Antigua, B. W. I., to include any of the prominent Negro officials of the island, in his invitation to the ceremonies at the base theatre, celebrating United Nations Day, the "Antigua Magnet," daily paper of that island, declared in its editorial:

"In Antigua there are only a few white officials and tens of thousands of colored natives. In commemorating United Nations Day there should be practiced the principles of the new outlook by which recognition is supposed to be given not only to members of the white race but also members of the dark skinned races.

"If United Nations Day is not observed in a way to put an end to jim crow and racial discrimination, then it is a mockery to invest the day with any significance.

"We repeat, two races dwell in Antigua and if functions of an international character are held at the base, then broadmindedness (which is synonymous with democracy) should be displayed and invitations extended to representatives of colored as well as white to participate because, beside the handful of white officials and white traders, planters, etc., that reside, the bulk of the population is preponderantly colored, Negro or Negroid. Col. Kraft has been stationed here long enough to know that."

AUG 21

The writer and publisher of the "Antigua Magnet" is Harold Wilson, one of a party of West Indian journalists who visited the United States two years ago enroute to England at the invitation of the British Council.

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

No Colored US Troops Found Down in Cuba

SEP 4 1943

Only Lighter Cuban Medical Students Sent to Study Here

DO CENSORS BAR COLORED PAPERS?

Pan-American Airways Instructs Agents on Color

By JUAN DIBRIGO

HAVANA, Cuba. — I should like to ask five pertinent and, I hope, embarrassing questions about race relations with that neighboring republic of the United States.

First, why are no colored American soldiers stationed in Cuba? The United States has several bases here. In building those bases, the authorities were careful to employ both white and colored workers.

Whites from All Over U.S.A.

Nevertheless, I failed to see or hear of one colored soldier among the many U.S. troops sent to man those bases. White boys from all over the USA—and especially from Dixie—are well in evidence. There are even a few light-skinned Puerto Ricans around.

Could the reason possibly be, as one friend suggested, that colored troops are being reserved for more dangerous fronts, that Cuba is too delightful and too safe a haven for brownskinned American soldiers?

Does another San Juan Hill have to develop before the boys can be sent here?

No Aid for Colored Students

Second, why are colored Cubans so rigidly excluded from the tangible benefits of our Good Neighbor Policy?

For example, more than twenty members of last year's graduating class from Havana University's medical school have received fellowships for further study in America.

Not one black or brown graduate was included, despite the fact that there are more colored students in the college of medicine than in any other branch of the university.

If this is a matter of individual American medical schools or hospitals, why can't Howard, Meharry, and the various colored U.S.A. hospitals wake up and do something about it?

Colored Officers Barred

Moreover, colored Cuban officers have told me that not one of them has been given an opportunity to visit various camps in America to obtain specialized training in modern warfare.

Many white Cuban officers have been so privileged. The result is that the latter will be in line for more rapid promotion than their darker-skinned compatriots.

Are Weeklies Censored?

Third, why is the censor so difficult about permitting colored newspapers to enter Latin America? Frequently I fail to receive my AFRO.

Issues of other colored weeklies also seem to have fallen under the ax. Incidentally, a Cuban acquaintance tells me that PM's account of the Harlem riot was unobtainable in Havana.

Could this cover-up of the news be prompted by a desire to conceal from colored Latin Americans the injustices to which their North American brothers are subjected? Or is it the result of a well-understandable shame that such injustices should exist in 1943?

Cubans Not Fooled

All this concealment notwithstanding, white and colored Cubans are not being fooled. One day recently I overheard two white Cuban youths comment on a poster ridiculing the Nazi master race doctrine.

"That's the same idea many North Americans have," said one of the youths.

Air Line Policy on Race

Fourth, why do the printed instructions that Pan American Airways issues to its ticket agents make color more important than nationality?

White residents of South America are to be listed as "Latin Americans."

Colored Venezuelans, Peruvians, Brazilians, and Cubans are "Negroes." The North American yardstick: "one drop of African blood," is applied.

Most Latin Americans think this distinction crazy. It is hardly likely to make new friends for the "gringo."

Embassy Lily-White

Fifth, why is it that the American ambassador to Cuba, J. Spruille Braden, who talks so much about democracy, runs his embassy as a lily-white concern, with the exception of an occasional colored messenger boy or porter?

The employment of one brown-skinned official would do more to prove his sincerity than all his speeches to various colored Cuban clubs.

It is alleged that the American consul in Havana speaks no Spanish. It is a safe bet that a colored consul would!

The answers to all five of my questions can be summed up in a sentence: Dixie is sabotaging the Good Neighbor Policy!

SEP 4 1943

Afro-American
Baltimore, Maryland

Colored Lad Wins Prizes in Trinidad

PORT-OF-SPAIN, Trinidad B. W. I.—There is no race discrimination among colored and white American soldiers in Trinidad.

Here, there, and everywhere colored and white soldiers are seen mingling together, but that spirit of comradeship was evident at a bumper athletic meeting held by the colored American troops recently.

A baseball game was one of the featured events and both teams were composed of colored and white soldiers. A spirit of friendship existed among the players throughout the match.

Ky. Boy Takes Honors

Pfc. Stanley L. Williams of Middlesboro, Ky., was the hero of the day. He won the 50-yard, the 100-yard, the 200-yard sprints and the broad jump.

At the conclusion of the sports events he was awarded a special prize by Major General Patch, commanding general of the Trinidad base command. Private James V. Bloney of Pittsburgh also did well in the events.

V.D. Campaign Success

Colored American troops who compose the anti-aircraft regiment on Trinidad have been chosen for experimental purposes in the venereal disease campaign and the results have been very successful.

The men's outfit far surpassed any other in this sector. Report on their achievements has been taken back to Washington by the visiting medical authority.

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